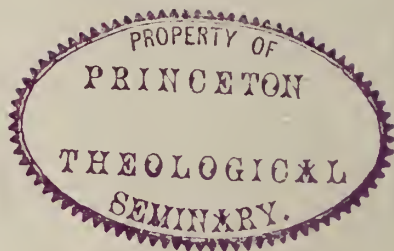
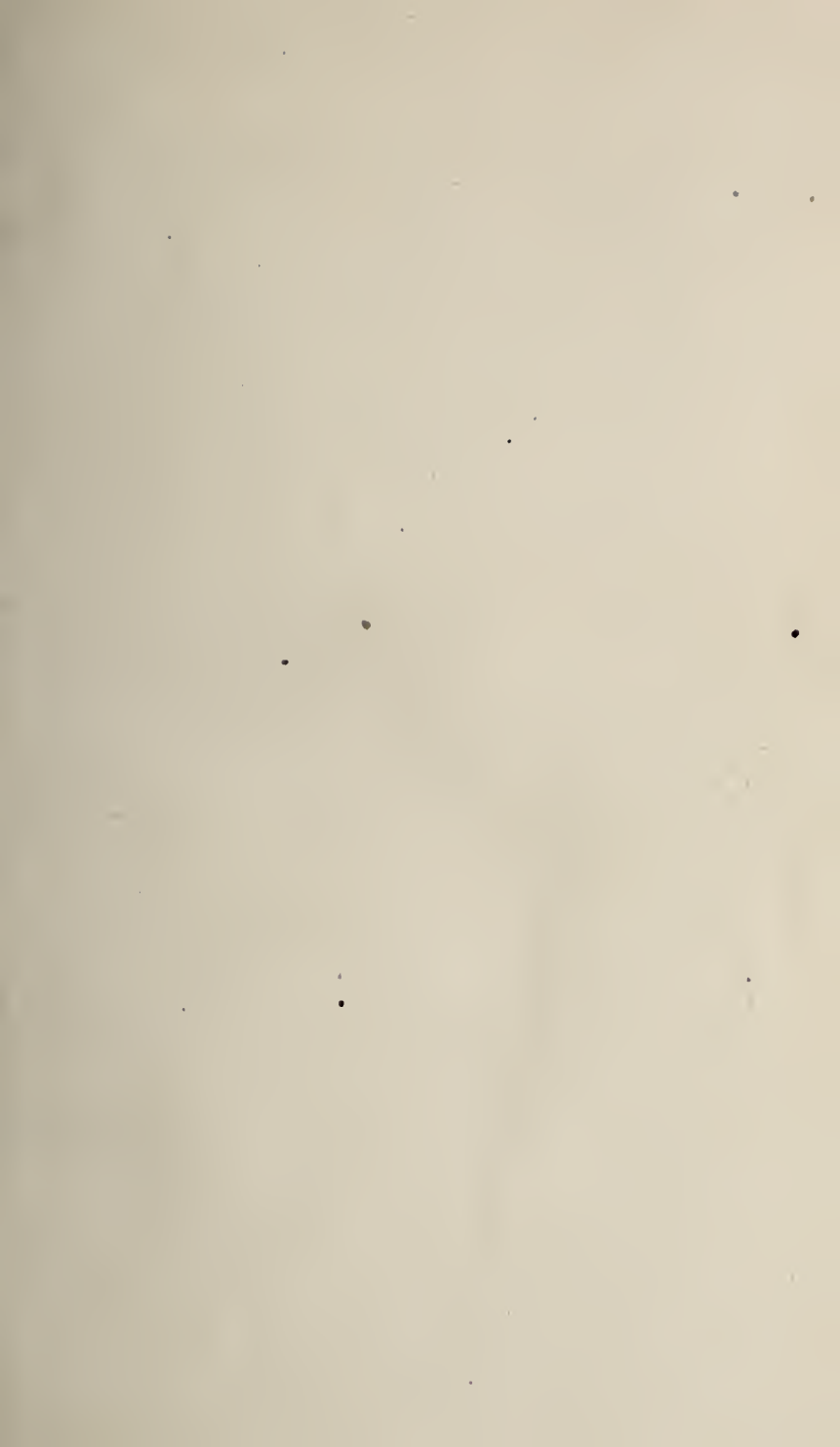


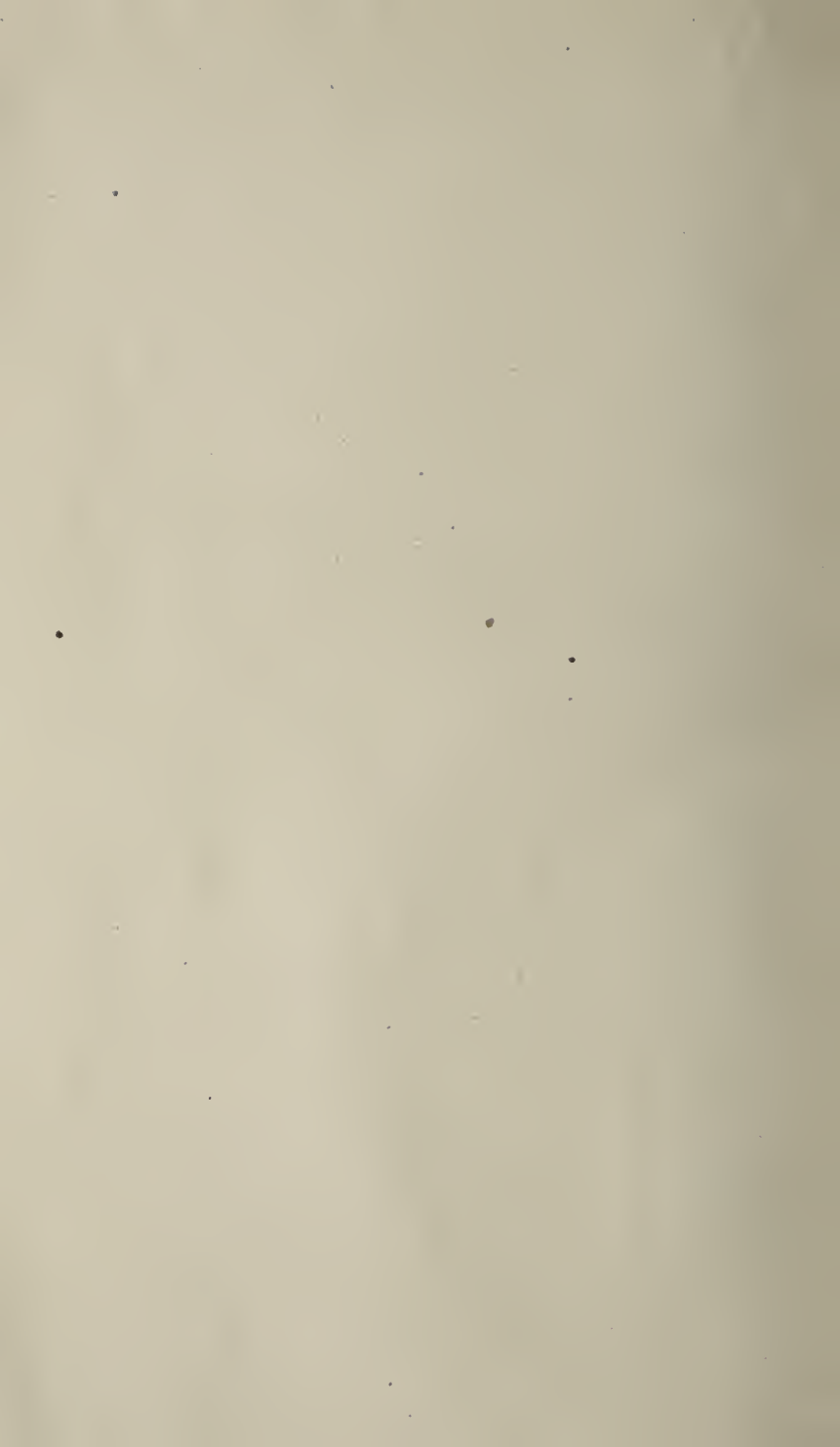


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CORRIGENDA.

Page 331, l. 32, for "Shamaji," read "Shyâmajî."

„ 337, 19, „ „

Report, p. lxxiv, l. 3, for "Mr." Chotzner, read "Dr."

„ „ 8, for "notice by the same writer," read
"paper by Dr. Chotzner."

NOTE FOR BINDERS.

The Society's Annual Report, which was issued in Part III.,
should be bound up at the end of the Volume.

The Secretary will be much obliged to Members if they will give him notice of any change of Address, as on this knowledge depends the due and regular transmission of the Society's Journals.

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JOURNAL
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ART. I.—*The Story of Devasmitâ.* Translated from the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, Tarânga 13, Sloka 54, by the Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM, M.R.A.S.

UPON this carth a famous city stands
Called Tamraliptâ ; once a merchant dwelt
Within that town, possessed of endless wealth,
Named Dhanadattâ. Now he had no son.
Therefore with all due reverence he called
The priests together ; and he spoke and said :—
“ I have no son : perform, most holy Sirs !
Such rites as may procure for me a son,
Without delay.” The Brâhmans answering
Said : “ This indeed is easy : there is naught
Impossible to Brâhmans by the means
Of sacred rites ordained by Holy Writ.
This be a proof to you. In times gone by
There lived a king, and though his wives surpassed
By five a hundred, yet he had no son.
At last a son—the fruit of sacrifice—
Was born to him : to whom they gave the name
Of Santu : and the prince’s wives were filled
With joy as if the newly risen moon
First broke upon their eyes. It happened once
The child was crawling on the ground,—an ant
Bit him upon the thigh ; and at the smart
He sobbed and cried. Immediately there rose
The sound of woe, and lamentation filled
The royal palace, while the king himself
Forgot his royal state, and cried aloud,

'My son! my son!' Ere long the child's lament
 Was pacified—the ant removed. The king,
 Reflecting thus upon the cause which led
 To all his sorrow, thought; 'My heart is filled
 With pain because I have, alas! but one,
 One only son. Is there,' he asked, in grief,
 'Most holy Brâhmans,—is there any means
 By which innumerable sons may be
 My lot?' They answered him, 'There is, O king,
 But one expedient. Slay this thy son,
 And offer up his flesh a sacrifice.
 Thy wives shall smell the savour of his flesh
 Burnt by the fire: so shall they bear thee sons.'
 The King, obedient to the Brâhmans' word,
 Strengthened with all due pomp and ritual,
 Offered the sacrifice: and thus ere long
 Each wife bore him a son. So too will we
 By sacrifice and offering procure
 A son for you." When Dhanadattâ heard
 The Brâhmans, then the sacrificial fee
 He gave, and they performed the sacrifice;
 So through that sacrifice the merchant gained
 A son, named Guhasena. Time went on,
 The boy grew up and Dhanadattâ sought
 A wife for him. So then the father went
 To some far distant country with his son,
 On the pretence of traffic: but in truth
 To get his son a bride. And there he begged
 One Dharmagupta—held in high repute
 Among his fellow citizens—to give
 His daughter Devasmitâ as a bride
 To Guhasena. But the father loved
 His child, nor cared that she should be allied
 With one whose home was in a distant land.
 But Devasmitâ saw the merchant's son,
 And at the sight of him, so richly graced
 With virtues, lo! her heart fled from her grasp,
 Nor thought she more of sire or home, but sent

A trusty friend to tell him of her love.
 And then, leaving her native land, she fled
 By night with her beloved. So they came
 To Tamraliptâ : and the youthful pair
 Were joined in wedlock, while their hearts were knit
 Together in the bonds of mutual love.

Then Guhasena's father passed away
 From earth to heaven : and kinsmen urged on him
 A journey to Kaṭâha, for the sake
 Of merchandize. But Devasmitâ, filled
 With doubt,—fearing her husband's constancy
 Might fail, attracted by another's charms,
 Refused to listen to him when he spoke
 Of his departure. Guhasena's mind
 Was filled with doubt, on one side urged by friends
 To go, while on the other side his wife
 Was hostile to his journey. Thus what course
 He should pursue—his heart intent on right—
 He knew not. Therefore to the god he went
 With rigid fast, and now, hoping to find
 His way made plain before him, through the aid
 Of the Divinity ; and with him went
 His wife. Then in a dream the god appeared
 With two red lotuses : and Śivâ said—
 Placing a lotus in the hand of each :—
 " Take each of you this lotus in your hand ;
 If in your separation one shall be
 Unfaithful, then the lotus flower shall fade
 The other holds." The pair awaking saw
 The lotus blossom in each other's hand.
 And as they gazed it seemed as though each held
 The other's heart. Then Guhasena went
 Forth on his journey, bearing in his hand
 The crimson lotus : while, with eyes fast fixed
 Upon her flower, Devasmitâ stayed
 At home. No long time passed—in Kaṭahâ
 Arrived her husband,—making merchandize
 Of jewels. Now it happened that there dwelt

Four merchants in that country : when they saw
 The unfading lotus ever in his hand,
 Wonder possessed them. So by stratagem
 They brought him home, and put before him wine
 In measure plentiful. And he, deprived
 Of mastery o'er his sense, through drunkenness,
 Told them the whole. Then those four merchants planned,
 Like rascals as they were, to lead astray
 The merchant's wife through curiosity.
 For well they knew that Gubasena's trade
 Would keep him long in Kaṭahâ engaged
 On merchandize. Therefore they left in haste
 And secrecy—to carry out their plan,
 And entered Tamraliptâ. There they sought
 Some one to help them, and at last they found
 A female devotee, dwelling within
 The sanctuary of Buddha : "Honoured dame !"
 They said, addressing her with reverence,
 "Wealth shall be thine in plenty, if in this
 Our object, thou wilt grant to us thy help."
 "Doubtless," she said, "some woman in this town
 Is your desire : tell me and you shall gain
 Your wish. I want no money : for enough
 I have, through Siddhikarî's care,—
 My pupil of distinguished cleverness,
 By whose beneficence I have obtained
 Riches untold." "We pray thee, tell us now,"
 Exclaimed the merchants, "how these riches came
 To thee through Siddhikarî." "Listen then !"
 Replied the devotee. "If you, my sons,
 Desire to hear it, I will tell the tale :—
 Some time ago a certain merchant came
 Here from the north, and while within this town
 He dwelt, my pupil, meaning treachery,
 Begged, in disguise, the post of serving maid
 In his abode : and after having gained
 The merchant's confidence, she stole away
 At early dawn, and carried off with her

The merchant's hoard of gold. And as she went
 Out from the city, flying rapidly
 Through fear, a certain Domba followed her
 Bearing his drum, on plunder bent. At length
 In headlong flight, a Nyagrodha tree
 She reached, and seeing that her foe was close
 Behind her, putting on a look of woe
 The crafty Siddhikari said, 'Alas!
 A grievous strife of jealousy has come
 Between my spouse and me, therefore my home
 Have I forsaken, and I fain would end
 My life; therefore I pray thee make a noose
 That I may hang myself.' The Domba thought,
 'Nay! why should I be guilty of her death?
 Nought is she but a woman! let her hang
 Herself.' And therefore tying up the knot,
 He fixed it firmly for her to the tree.
 Then said she, feigning ignorance, 'This noose—
 Where do you place it? I entreat of you
 To show me.' Then the Domba put the drum
 Upon the ground, and mounting on it, tied
 Round his own neck the noose; 'This is the way,
 He said, we do the job!' Then, with a kick,
 The crafty Siddhikari smashed the drum
 To atoms: and the thievish Domba hung
 Till he was dead. Just then in view there came
 The merchant, seeking for his stolen gold.
 Standing beneath the tree, not far ahead,
 He saw his servant maid. She saw him too—
 Into the tree she climbed, unseen by him,
 And hid among the leaves. The merchant soon
 Arrived, attended by his serving men.
 He found the Domba hanging by a rope,
 But as for Siddhikari, nought of her
 Could he perceive. One of his servants said:
 'What think you? Has she climbed into this tree?'
 And straightway clambered up. Then seeing him,
 'Ah! sir,' said Siddhikari, 'now indeed

I am rejoiced : for you have ever been
 My choice. Take all this wealth, my charming friend,
 And come ! embrace me !' So the fool was caught
 By Siddhikarî's flattery ; and she,
 Kissing him on the lips, bit off his tongue.
 Then uttering spluttering sounds of pain, the man
 Fell from the tree, spitting from out his mouth
 The blood. The merchant seeing this, in fear and haste,
 Ran homewards, thinking that his serving man
 Had been the victim of some demon foul.
 Then Siddhikarî, too, not less alarmed,
 Descended from the tree, and got clear off
 With all the plunder. In this way, my sons,
 Through her ability I have obtained
 The wealth, which through her kindness I enjoy."

Just as she finished, Siddhikarî came
 Into the house : and to the merchant's sons
 The devotee presented her. " My sons !"
 Said the ascetic, " tell me openly
 Your business : say what woman do you seek—
 She shall be yours." They said, " Procure for us
 An interview with Devasmitâ, wife
 To Guhasena." Said the devotee,
 " It shall be done for you," and gave these men
 A lodging in her house. Then she assailed
 With bribes and sweetmeats all the slaves who dwelt
 In Guhasena's house : and afterwards
 Went there with Siddhikarî. When she came
 To Devasmitâ's dwelling and would go
 Within, a bitch chained up before the door
 Kept her from entering. Devasmitâ then
 Sent out a maid to bring the stranger in,
 Thinking within herself, " Who can this be ?"
 The vile ascetic, entering the house
 Treated the merchant's wife with feigned respect,
 And blessed her, saying : " Long have I desired
 Exceedingly to see you : in a dream
 To-day you passed before me : therefore now

I come with eagerness: affliction fills
 My mind when I behold you from your spouse
 Thus torn asunder. What avails your youth,
 Or what your beauty, since you live deprived
 Of your beloved?" Thus, with flattering words,
 The ascetic tried to gain the confidence
 Of virtuous Devasmitâ. No long time
 She stayed, but soon, bidding farewell, returned
 To her own house. Ere long she came again,
 This time bringing a piece of meat well strewed
 With pepper dust: before the door she threw
 The peppered meat; the bitch with greediness
 Gobbled the morsel up, pepper and all.
 The bitch's eyes began to flow with tears
 Profusely, through the pepper, and her nose
 To run. Then went the crafty devotee
 Within, to Devasmitâ: and she wept,
 Although received with hospitality.
 Then said the merchant's wife: "Why do you weep?"
 Feigning reluctance, the ascetic said:
 "My friend! you see this bitch weeping outside;—
 Know then! this creature in a former state
 Was my companion: seeing me again
 She knew me, and she wept: my tears gush forth
 In sympathy." When Devasmitâ saw
 The bitch outside seeming to weep, she thought,
 "What may this wonder be?" "The bitch and I"—
 Continuing her tale, the ascetic said—
 "Were in a former birth a Brahman's wives.
 Our husband often was from home, engaged
 On embassies by order of the king.
 Meanwhile I spent my time with other men,
 Living a life of pleasure, nor did I
 Defraud my senses of enjoyment due
 To them. For this is said to be, my child,
 The highest duty—to indulge one's sense,
 And give the rein to pleasure. Therefore I
 Have come to earth again, as you behold

Me now, remembering my former self.
 But she thought not of this, setting her mind
 To keep her fame unsullied : therefore born
 Into this world again, she holds a place
 Contemptible and mean : her former birth
 Still in her memory." The merchant's wife—
 Prudent and thoughtful, said within herself—
 "This doctrine is both new and strange : no doubt
 The woman has some treacherous snare for me."
 "Most reverend Dame!" she said, "too much, alas!
 I fear, have I neglected hitherto
 This duty. So, I pray you, gain for me
 An interview with some delightful man."
 The ascetic answered, "There are living here
 Some merchants, young and charming, who have come
 From far ; them will I bring you." Filled with joy
 She homeward turned : while Devasmitâ said—
 Her natural prudence coming to her aid :
 "These scoundrelly young merchants, whose'er
 They be, I know not, must have seen the flow'r
 Unfading, carried in my husband's hand.
 It may be that they asked him, over wine,
 And learnt its history. Now they intend
 To lead me from my duty : and for this
 They use the vile ascetic. Therefore bring"
 (She bid her maids) "as quickly as you may,
 Some wine mixed with Datura : and procure
 An iron brand, bearing the sign impressed
 Of a dog's foot upon it." These commands
 The servants carried out : one of the maids,
 By Devasmitâ's orders, dressed herself
 To personate her mistress. Then the men
 All eagerness, each wished to be the first
 To visit Devasmitâ : but the dame
 Chose one of them : in Siddhikarî's dress
 Disguising him, she left him at the house.
 The maid, clothed in her mistress's attire,
 Addressed the merchant's son with courtesy,

Politely offering him the wine to drink
Drugged with Datura. Then the liquor stole
His senses from him, like his shamelessness,
Depriving him of reason ; and the maid
Stripped him of all his clothes, and ornaments,
Leaving him naked. When the night had come,
They cast him out into a filthy ditch,
Marking his forehead with the iron brand.
The night passed by, and consciousness returned
In the last watch to him, and waking up
He thought himself in hell, the place assigned
To him for his offences. Then he rose
From out the ditch, and went in nakedness
Home to the devotee, the mark impressed
Upon his forehead. Fearing ridicule
He said, that he had been beset by thieves
Upon the way, and all day long at home
He sat, a cloth bound round his head to hide
The brand, saying that sleeplessness and wine
Had made his head ache. In the self-same way
They served the second merchant. He returned
Home naked ; and he said, " While on the road
From Devasmitâ's house, I was attacked
By robbers, and they stripped me of my clothes,
And ornaments." He sat with bandaged head
To hide the brand, and made the same excuse.
Thus all the four suffered the same disgrace,
And all concealed their shame ; nor did they tell
Their ills to the ascetic when they left
Her dwelling : for they trusted that a plight
Like theirs would be her lot. Next day she went
Followed by her disciple, to the house
Of Devasmitâ ; and her mind was filled
Full of delight, because she had achieved
Her end so happily. With reverence
The merchant's wife received the devotee,
And feigning gratitude, with courteous speech
Offered her wine mixed with the harmful drug.

The ascetic drank : and her disciple : both
 Were overcome. Then helpless as they were
 By Devasmitâ's orders they were cast
 With ears and noses slit, into a pool
 Of filthy mud. Then Devasmitâ thought,
 "Perchance these merchants may revenge themselves
 And slay my husband." So she told the tale
 To Guhasena's mother. "Well, my child,"
 Answered her husband's mother, "have you done
 Your duty ! Still misfortune may befall
 My son through this." "I will deliver him,"
 Said Devasmitâ, "as in times gone by
 By wisdom Śaktimatî saved her spouse."
 "My daughter, how was this ! tell me, I pray."
 Then answered Devasmitâ, "In our land
 Within this city stands an ancient fane,
 The dwelling of a Yaksha : and his name
 Is Munibhadra. There the people come
 And offer up their prayers, and make their gifts,
 To gain from heaven the blessings they desire.
 If it so happen, that a man is caught
 At night with some one else's wife, the pair
 Are placed within the temple's inmost shrine.
 Next morning they are brought before the king,
 Sentence is passed on them, and punishment
 Decreed. Now in that town the city guards
 Once found a merchant with another's wife ;
 And therefore by the law, the two were seized
 And placed within the temple : while the door
 Was firmly shut and barred. The merchant's wife,
 Whose name was Śaktimatî, came to learn
 Her husband's trouble ; and she boldly went
 By night with her companions to the shrine,
 Bearing her off'rings for the God. The priest,
 Whose duty was to eat the offering,
 Beheld her come : desirous of the fee,
 He let her in, telling the magistrate
 What he had done. Then Śaktimatî saw

Her husband looking like a fool, within
 The inner room, in company with him
 The woman. So she took her own disguise
 And putting it upon the woman, bade
 Her flee with haste. But Śaktimatî stayed
 Within the shrine. Day broke ; the officers
 Came to investigate the merchant's crime,
 And lo ! within the temple's inner room
 They found the merchant and—his wife. The king,
 Hearing the tale, punished the city guard
 But set the merchant free. So he escaped,
 As if held in the very jaws of death,
 Out of the Yaksha's temple. So will I,
 As Śaktimatî did, in bygone times,
 By wisdom and discretion save my spouse."

Thus Devasmitâ spoke : and putting on
 A merchant's dress, she started with her maids
 Under pretence of merchandise to join
 Her husband at Kaṭâha. When she came
 To that fair country, she beheld him sit,
 Like comfort come to earth in human form,
 Amid the merchants. He beholding her
 Afar, clothed in a merchant's dress, then thought ;—
 " Who can this merchant be, so like my wife
 In form and feature ? " Earnestly he gazed
 Upon her face. Then Devasmitâ went
 And begged the king to send throughout his realm
 And summon all his subjects ; for she had
 A boon she fain would ask of him. The king
 Convoiking, full of curiosity,
 His citizens, addressed that lady clothed
 In man's attire, and said, " What do you ask ? "

Then answered Devasmitâ, " In your town
 Four slaves of mine are living, who have run
 Away. I pray you, noble king, restore
 My slaves." " The citizens," replied the king,
 " Are all before you, therefore recognize
 And take your slaves." Then Devasmitâ seized

The four young merchants, whom she had disgraced
And treated so disdainfully : their heads
Still bound about with wrappers. Then enraged,
The merchants of the city said, " Why these
Are sons of honourable men : then how
Can they be slaves to you ? " She answered them :
" If you believe me not, here is the proof :—
Take from their heads the bandage ; you will see
A dog's foot on their forehead : with this brand
I marked them." Then the wrappers were removed
And on their foreheads all beheld the mark—
The dog's foot brand." Then were the merchants filled
With shame : the king himself in wonder said :
" Pray what means this ? " Then Devasmitâ told
The story. Laughter filled the crowd : the king
Turned to the merchant's wife : " There are your slaves,"
He said ; " your claim indeed none may dispute."
Then all the merchants in the city gave
Vast sums of money to the prudent wife
Of Guhasena, to redeem the four
Young men from slavery : and to the king
They paid a fine. Thus Devasmitâ gained
Money, and honour too, from all good men.
Then to her native city she returned,
Even to Tâmrâliptâ, never more
To be disjoined from her beloved lord.

ART. II.—*Pujahs in the Sutlej Valley, Himalayas.* By
WILLIAM SIMPSON, F.R.G.S., Hon. Associate R.I.B.A.

IN the summer of 1860, I started from Simla to pass a few weeks at Chini, so as to avoid the rains. Chini is 16 marches about due east, which may be roughly put as being nearly 200 miles. Being just beyond the higher range of the Himalayan chain, the rain cloud is generally spent before it reaches the locality; still there is enough moisture to nourish vegetation, so that trees and flowers are plentiful. About two or three marches beyond this the rainless region commences, where trees are few and far between, and crops depend on the irrigation of small streams coming down from the melted snow of the higher peaks. Chini is about 10,000 feet above the sea, hence it is a most delightful climate in the summer; and few places in the Himalayas can present such a splendid view as the one looking across the Sutlej from the village. A bungalow had been erected at the time of Lord Dalhousie, and in it I put up for about two months; as I did my best when any of the people applied with ailments, they became friendly, and seeing me sketching, and taking an interest in their doings, they announced their ceremonies, and invited me to come and see them. I regret that my knowledge of the ordinary Hindostani was, at that time, but very small, so that I was unable to ask questions and collect information; from this cause my account of their Pujahs is far from complete. Were it not, that, so far as I am aware, no account of these curious ceremonies has appeared,—except a poplar sketch I gave in *Good Words*,¹—the present notice would not have been attempted. Gerard, who travelled for about four months in the Sutlej Valley and neighbourhood, in 1821, does not seem to have witnessed them, or he would have been certain to have given a description. Travellers passing through

¹ Sept. 1866.

have but small chance of seeing such doings; it was the lengthened stay I made which gave me the opportunity.

Himalayan villages are generally very small, but in nearly every one will be found a temple. These temples are unlike those on the plains of India; they attract the eye from their being larger and more important than the other houses, and generally there is more carving and ornament about them than on the ordinary dwellings of the people. Their purpose is simply that of being a house for the local representation of their divinity. "Devi-ke-makan" is the name usually given to them, but "Thakoor-dwara" is a term not unknown in the hills. At nearly all the temples there is a shed in front, formed of four wooden pillars with a roof of the same material, and ornamented in the style of the temple. It is called a "Dharmsalah," as it is the only place of shelter in the village for travellers: but it has a purpose connected with the ceremonies, the god when brought out of the temple is at intervals placed in it; round it is a circular space, rudely paved, bearing a strong resemblance to the thrashing floors of the villages, on which dancing and other rites are performed.

The peculiar object of worship in these temples is a structure which can be carried by two men with staves on their shoulders. So far as I was able to see the one at Chini, it was formed of a square frame-work—an office-stool with the seat removed will convey a rough notion of this part of it,—this frame was completely concealed by pieces of silk of various colours which hung down all round, and a piece of red cloth hung over the staves on each side, covering them, except where they touched the men's shoulder. Above the level of the staves were some faces round the central part, they were formed of masks, either of gold or brass. I understood that they represented Devi; the central part was surmounted by a mass of Yak's tails dyed red; it may be presumed that they were looked upon as chowries, which are royal emblems, and were placed there as a mark of honour.

This gives only the outward appearance of this god. What constituted its sanctity I never could find out. It would

have been looked upon as an act of sacrilege if I had touched the object, and the want of language stood in my way, so that proper inquiries could not be made. My supposition is that there was something enclosed in the central part, which endowed it with the character of a deity. I should feel grateful if any one travelling in the hills about Simla could investigate this subject, and would kindly let me know the result. I have always regretted not having acquired the necessary knowledge on this point, as it may be of importance in relation to the ceremonies.

The name used in relation to this peculiar object was "Khuda," but perhaps "Devi" was more generally given. This word would imply that they were all feminine, a point I do not feel quite certain upon. Mahadeo has temples in the north-western part of the Himalayas; and Lloyd states that there are temples at Rampur "to Seeta Ram, Nur Sing, and Shalgram"¹—these imply the worship of Vishnu; but the worship of Kali seems to be the most common in the region. It might have been expected that Parvati, the mountain-born bride of Siva, would have been the favourite in the hills, but the sacrifice of animals, and the offering of blood, which will be described, show that the more terrible forms of Kali receive adoration. Gerard, writing in 1821,² says, that only six or seven years before that time human sacrifices were offered to Bhima-Kali in a temple at Serahn; this particular goddess being called the "Governess of Busahir," will show her importance in this section of the Sutlej Valley.

I was fortunate enough to see and make sketches of similar Devis on the Ganges and the Jumna, which differed somewhat from those of the Sutlej. One of these was at the village of Karsali, near Jumnotri; in it the central part rose about eight or nine inches above the staves, and terminated in a flat pyramidal form, this was covered with red cloth, and bandaged round with other colours. It had no masks or chowries. Another was at a place called Balah, on the Ganges. Here the central part stood up, and was cubical

¹ Lloyd and Gerard's Narrative, vol. i. p. 183.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 302.

in form, also covered with orange-coloured cloth, and garlanded with flowers. This was surmounted by a silver vase, above which was a miniature umbrella of the same material. A white pall, richly decorated with elephants, bulls, and other forms of ornament, in red and buff, extended along the staves and hung down almost to the ground. Over this was a smaller piece of drapery of bright orange, and a couple of chowries, one white and the other black, hung down from the central part. Some of the men with the Devi carried banners, the staff of which was of iron, and each was surmounted by a trisula; this may perhaps be seen in other parts of India, but I have never chanced to meet with it. I only know from the old Buddhist sculptures that it was common about 2000 years ago. I am inclined to class the trisula with a number of old forms, which have come down almost unchanged from the past, and the Devis themselves will in all probability turn out to be objects which have existed from a remote antiquity. Indeed I may state that I was much struck with the number of things which seemed to be primitive, and unaffected by the usual influences of time, in this part of the world. As an evidence on this head it may be mentioned that the houses of the Sutlej Valley bear a strong resemblance, in some important particulars, to those represented on the gateways of the Sanchi Tope, and other remains of a similar date, showing that great changes which have made transformations in the plains have not affected the hills.

On enquiring at Chini about the people and their caste, it was answered that there were only two classes—*Kati-Wallahs* and *Cooli-log*; the first being owners or occupiers of the land, and the Coolies being the labouring population. Gerard states that there were no Brahmins to the east of Serahn, which agrees with my information. As there was no priesthood, the rites, I understood, were performed by the villagers. In relation to this unbrahminical state, it may be as well to say that Chini is close on the borders of the Lama region, and that there was a small Lama temple at Chini, the first to be found, I think, on the way eastward. It was a



Devi at Chini, Wm Simpson, Nov. 1835.

W. SIMPSON PHOTOGRAPHIC PICTURES, LONDON.

DEVI AT CHINI, SUTLEJ VALLEY.



Devi at Balah, Wm. Simpson, Nov. 1883.

W. P. 1883, PROF. W. P. SIMPSON, DELHI, B. I.

DEVI AT BALAH, ON THE GANGES

very unimportant establishment, and only one man belonged to it, who did not wear the Lama robes, which are red in that part of the world. The mass of the villagers evidently "belonged"—to use a familiar expression at home here—to the Devi Temple.

Every morning one of the villagers—I have an impression that the *Kati-Wallahs* only attended to the rites of the temple—came to the well near the bungalow, and carried back water, and a handful of mint, which grew plentifully there. I understood that the mint was either offered to Devi, or that it was used with the water to wash the masks, in which case it would be considered that Devi had her bath on getting up in the morning.

At times the Devi was taken out, seemingly with no other object than for a *hawa khana*, or a constitutional airing. On such occasions a few of the villagers attended, in order that a proper state of honour should be maintained. One carried a chowrie, and the musicians with their instruments followed, for the state of royalty, although in a rude condition, was always preserved. The trumpets were very large, about four or five feet long, some of them straight, and others bent in the form of a letter S. Similar trumpets are represented in one of the sculptures of the Sanchi Tope, where the upper end of the S is shaped into a serpent's head.¹ The figures represented in this particular sculpture are different from all the others, and Mr. Fergusson suggested that they were people from Cabul, which is highly probable; but the Sanchi sculpture shows how old the form of the instrument is, and it may be referred to again here as another instance of an ancient type being still in existence in the Sutlej Valley.

The first festival which took place during my stay at Chini was on the 14th July. In the morning the villagers all came to the well to wash themselves and their clothes. It may be mentioned that the people are not cleanly like the Hindus of the plain, washing is not their custom, and on asking them when they had washed before, they said "six

¹ See The Identification of the Sculptured Tope at Sanchi, by William Simpson, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV. Part III.

months," and to the inquiry when they would again perform this act of cleanliness the same number of months was given. Later in the day the pujah began, and hearing the sound of it, I went over to the temple, where the villagers had turned out dressed in their best. The costume of the women is very picturesque, a woollen cloth is wrapped round the body, and is kept in its place by means of a kummerbund and a large brass brooch.¹ The ceremony on this day, so far as I saw, was a peculiar circular dance, which was performed on the paved space on which the Dharmsalah stands, already described as being in front of the temple. In this dance the Devi was carried round in the usual way by two men with the staves on their shoulders, and each with their face towards each other. The drums and large trumpets were of course out and in full operation. The villagers, both men and women, formed a large segment of a circle, facing the dharmsalah. Each person had his or her arms twisted into those of their next neighbours behind their backs. The end man had his right hand free, and in it he held a chowrie, which he waved in the air, keeping time to the movement of the dance. This consisted of a peculiar step, half forwards, half towards the right, this last giving the progress round the centre. At the same time the half step forward was followed by a retiring movement, accompanied by a bending of the body forwards, as if howing or salaaming to the Devi, which, with its attendants, took up the other part of the circle not occupied by the dancers. The performers continued singing all the time. The direction of the circular motion was with the left hand to the centre²; it is thus the opposite of the way the Lamas turn their praying wheels, and also of their custom of passing the Manies, which they invariably do with their right hand to them; by doing this in going and coming, they necessarily make a circuit round them.

¹ An exact copy of one of these brooches has been exhibited for some years in the South Kensington Museum as an Irish Celtic one. I have communicated with the authorities about it, but as they can get no satisfactory reply from the firm in Dublin who manufacture and sell it as an Irish brooch, it remains in the South Kensington Museum as a Celtic work of art. [The original of this brooch was found at Tara many years ago.—Ed. J.R.A.S.]

² In *Good Words* the opposite direction is given, but on reference to my sketches, I am now convinced that what is here stated is correct.

These details may be of value in considering the origin of the peculiar *culte* they belong to. In the evening they lighted a fire, and kept up the holiday till a late hour. After going to bed I heard the instruments and the chant still going on.

Being anxious to know the words sung at this puja, I got one of the villagers to repeat to me what seemed to be the favourite song. Here is a copy of what I wrote at the time from the man's dictation :—

OKUNG GEE TUNG.

Goli gohona i abi hona shung ma buna banlung na geen gae too japtak kuoo kae go la'mo zdoo koo lang tee banglung na geen Jumee ja to keema juna new dum maba zhung beshtory banglung na geen Holy zanwee pia mooloo tsompoo mooloo beshtory geesee meesee sbanoo po rango yo tcha la den zangoo doong kora tootcha la shung sata sorrow gong sata sorrow gong geesee meesee holy bala batson ho sata sorrow gong meesee kung bolo masung panasoo parra o rogu o tung tolo holy parra japyn o kangsha linga pay yo pia osheem gayama key na leh a go ho sho go sheem dia nia kena leh ago.

I have not been able as yet to find any one who could translate these words. Mr. Vaux has tried more than one Oriental scholar, but without success. I took the words down by ear, and they may not be very correct. Not knowing the sense, I have not risked any attempt at punctuation.

My friends in the village announced to me that there would soon be another *burra din*, or holiday, which they gave the name of the "Croat ke puja," in their patois they called it "Croat," but the word is *Acroat*, or walnut. This took place at the village of Coatí, about a mile and a half to the east of Chini, on the 4th August, exactly three weeks after the one already described. There is a small tank close to the temple, with fish in it. A friend who was with me went off one day with fishing tackle, thinking he would provide a treat for our dinner, for food supplies are not particularly

varied in the hills. As soon as the people understood his intention, they implored him to desist, as the fish all belonged to Devi. This had never occurred to my friend, and of course he carefully avoided any offence to their religious feelings. The pujah did not take place in the village, but at a temple in the woods close by; beside it there was a levelled space, with, in this case, two dharmshalahs, and round it were some very fine Deodar trees. At such places, I understood, that these trees were never cut down except for the repair, or rebuilding of the temple; as the deodar is a cedar, closely allied botanically to the Cedars of Lebanon, we have a suggestive resemblance here to the wood which was used for Solomon's Temple. I went down to the spot early and found some of the people, principally women, busily engaged preparing small chupatties which they cooked by dipping them into boiling oil. The people gathered at this event from a number of villages round, but it was the Coatî Devi which figured in the ceremony. It would be about midday when we heard the drums and trumpets, and at last we could see the Devi coming along a path through the woods, a crowd of people with it, and some of them dancing round. It was impossible at the moment to avoid comparing it with the account of David dancing round the ark, but as it came along another comparison came to the mind,—these people are in the most primitive condition, probably unchanged in anything for a thousand years. There was the magnificent scene around,—the Sutlej some three thousand feet beneath, and the snowy peaks glittering some ten or twelve thousand feet overhead, add to this the forest of old trees, with the strange performance of the figures, and you have a living picture of Keats' description of the villages on the side of Latmos where the simple folks had come out to sacrifice and pass a holiday. Such impressions I am aware do not exactly belong to Archæology, but the sense of a primitive condition of things may have its use in a record of this kind.

The Devi was duly brought along and placed in one of the dharmshalahs. This day an old man appeared with a red dress, the same as that worn by the Lamas, he was the

principal officiator at the ceremonies, in which he was assisted by a boy. I saw the man after the pujah, and he had put off the red dress, and appeared in the usual costume of the locality. Dilloo, which was the old man's name, first approached the Devi, and washed the faces, or masks, with mint and water, he then offered incense, and presented flowers, fruit and bread. A number of kids, some black and some white, were then brought forward, these were sprinkled with water, and one of the attendants, with an implement, shaped somewhat between a knife and a hatchet, highly ornamented,—I noticed that such articles are kept in the temples, hence it may be presumed they are used only on such occasions—cut off one of their heads at a blow. The boy who assisted Dilloo lifted up the head, and advancing towards the Devi, presented it, muttering some words in a low voice. He touched the blood still dripping from the head with his finger, and with a jerk he flicked a drop or so, as near upon the masks as he could. After doing this once or twice, he dipped the point of his forefinger into the blood, and touched the Devi with it. The head was then deposited among the offerings. The body of the kid when it fell was so placed that the blood ran into a chillinchee or brass basin: after two or three of the kids had been despatched, and the basin was pretty well filled, it was lifted by one of the men, and presented to Devi, then turning round to the temple, with a swing of his body, the man emptied the vessel upon the wall. The sacrificing of the kids went on, and it may have been three times that the contents of the basin were thrown on the building. The wall of the temple seemed to be whitewashed, and as this is unusual in the hills, the conclusion was natural that its object was to cover up the effects of the former ceremony, and to present a clean surface for the new.

This part of the pujah seemed to be completed, and being in the autumn might have passed as a kind of harvest festival, and that which followed, as walnuts and pine cones were employed, might also have some relation to the ripening of the fruits of the earth, only it is difficult to understand how a fierce battle could be associated with such a ceremony.

Unfortunately I was unable to get any explanation, all I learned being that it was "dustoor" or custom. This being the case, I can only describe what I saw. The temple had a rough balcony, which went round on the level of an upper story; Dilloo, with his red dress on, appeared in this balcony with some of the villagers, which became the signal for action, and a spirited warfare began, the missiles being the walnuts which gave the pujah its name, but pine cones were also used, and being larger, they were the more dangerous. Dilloo and his party first made the circuit of the balcony, when those below began throwing the walnuts and cones at them; the defenders soon returned the fire, covering themselves as well as they could by means of the balcony, and some of them using one or two small windows as embrasures. This lasted for about half an hour, when those in the temple returned and mixed with the others below, seemingly none the worse from the encounter; this, I understood, was not always the case, for accidents had taken place.

While the battle had been going on, the kids had been at the same time cooking; when they were ready, the people sat down on the grass in front of the Devi, and the meat and bread were handed round—one noticeable thing being that the women were served before the men.¹

When the feast was over, the Devi was lighted up, and the march back to Coatî was begun. Here a very remarkable feature connected with these Devis attracted our notice. The movement towards Coatî suddenly stopped, and a considerable agitation took place; the red Yak-tails that surmounted the Devi shook and bobbed up and down, while the people crowded round, and seemed very excited. On asking about the meaning of this, the answer was, "Khuda bolta hai," which means the God speaks. By what means the utterance was accomplished I could not make out, but in some manner the wishes of the Devi were understood, and its desire was not to go back to Coatî; being out for a holiday, it, or perhaps those around it, seemed to desire a continuation of

¹ A very striking resemblance to what is here described will be found in 2 Sam. xi. 17, 18, 19.

the day's amusement, so its wish was to go to Chini, and pay the Devi there a visit. When this became known, the villagers from Chini gave a great shout of joy at the honour of the visit. The excitement was great, and the Yak-tails shook very much, the long trumpets sounded, the drums beat, and the dancing commenced again round the Devi as it moved away to the neighbouring village, the crowd all following. The dancing was much more lively than when the Devi was first carried out from Coatî.

A number of the Chini Wallahs went off at once to their village, and it turned out that their object was to bring out the Devi there to receive the other. When the Coatî Devi arrived, the Chini Devi was at the outskirts of the village with all its attendants, with trumpets and drums. The reception of the one Devi by the other was like two rajahs meeting; there was a great amount of shaking and bobbing, which ended by the Chini Devi getting behind, and allowing the visitor the honour of going first at the head of the procession. When the temple was reached, there was more shaking, and the Coatî Devi was carried once or twice round the dharmsalah, and then into the temple. This was repeated with the other Devi, and the proceedings of that day, so far as I saw, terminated. Next morning the visitor returned to Coatî, and was accompanied by the Chini Devi to the outside of the village, where, with the usual shaking, they parted, and the Chini Devi was carried back to the temple.

There is a striking resemblance in many of the details here described to that of the Mosaic ritual. Whoever will read chapter xxix. of Exodus might be almost excused for supposing that I had copied the details from that source. The putting of the tip of the finger into the blood is exactly the same as I have here recounted. If the Jewish origin of the Afghans had any foundation, I should have had no hesitation in supposing that some of these people, or their religious customs, had extended as far to the south-east as the Sutlej Valley. Dr. Bellew, in his *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857*, gives a number of state-

ments which are in favour of the Jewish origin of the Afghans, and says, that "the physiognomic resemblance of the Afghans to the Jews is most remarkable, and is more especially observed among the Nomad tribes of this people, and those of them who dwell among the wild and inaccessible mountains of the Sulaiman range, and in the hilly regions of the northern parts of the country."¹ As a Jewish colony penetrated somehow into Southern India at some former date, and another reached a spot in the centre of China in some mysterious way, a Jewish origin of the ceremonies I have described may not be altogether impossible; on this account I shall make a quotation from Dr. Bellew's work, which he gives from one of the Afghan *Tawarikhs* or Histories. It is regarding the Ark of the Covenant which the Afghans seem, according to it, to have had with them, and it may be stated that the Afghans call themselves the "Beni Israil."

"The Ark of the Covenant (Tabut i Sakina) was the oracle of the Bani Israil. It is generally believed to have been a box of Shamshad wood, on which were figured the forms of all the prophets of God. In length it was three cubits (A'rsh), and its breadth was two cubits. It was sent to Adam from Paradise, and Adam at his death bequeathed it to his son Seth (Shish), and so on it was handed down from generation to generation to Moses. Ibn 'Abbas says that it was a basin of pure gold, in which the hearts of the prophets of God were washed and purified. According to the learned Muhajid, it was an image in the form of a cat. It had a head and tail, and each eye was like a torch. Its forehead was formed of emeralds, the brilliance of which was so great that no one had the power to look in them. In the time of battle, it moved forward like the wind, and overpowered the enemies of the Bani Israil; and the Bani Israil, when they heard the sound of its rushing, knew that victory was on their side. On the day of battle, it was always placed in front of their camps; and when the oracle moved, the Bani

¹ p. 66.

Israil advanced; and when it stood still, the Bani Israil also held fast. Habb bin Mania says it was an oracle or command ('Amr) from the Spirit of God, and that it spake words, and that whenever any difficulty arose before any of the Bani Israil, they represented their case before the 'Amri Khuda, and acted on its reply."¹

Being looked upon as a God, having the power of speech, and causing the people to follow it, are sufficiently near as points of resemblance to the Devis to justify the above quotation. I do not chance to know what value is attached to these *Tawarikhs*, but it may be suspected that this legend of Jewish descent of the Afghans arose in some way after their conversion to Mohammedanism; there are legends about Ali having been in many parts of Afghanistan,—Ali Musjid being one of the places which derives its name from him; the tombs of Lamech, Lot, and others, which are now noted shrines in Afghanistan, may be cited as illustrations of the same kind.

It may be of interest in connection with this subject to point out that the Arks of the Egyptians were looked upon very much as these Afghan Arks and the Himalayan Devis seem to have been. Sir Gardner Wilkinson states that "when the shrine reached the temple, it was received with every demonstration of respect by the officiating priest, who was appointed to do duty upon the day of the festival: and if the King happened to be there, it was his privilege to perform the appointed ceremonies. These consisted of sacrifices and prayers; and the shrine was decked with fresh-gathered flowers and rich garlands. An endless profusion of offerings were placed before it on several separate altars."² Macrobius speaks of these arks,—“being carried forward according to divine inspiration, whithersoever the Deity urges them, and not by their own will.”³

Although these resemblances are very striking, and may possibly be connected by links which our knowledge has not

¹ pp. 49, 50.

² Ant. Egyptns. vol. ii. p. 274.

³ Saturn. i. 30.

yet reached, I am inclined towards another explanation. If an origin can be found in India, it would on that account be more likely to be the true one; and I suspect that these pujahs of the Himalayas are only a variety of the Rath Yatra. To most people unacquainted with India the Rath Yatra, or Car Festival, is associated only with Jagan-natha (Jagganath) at Puri, but this is not so; cars are kept in the temples over the whole of Southern India, and the festival is celebrated every year throughout this region, and I think it is also common in Bengal. Although now a ceremony connected with Hinduism, we have evidence that the Buddhists also had a similar festival. Fah-Hian, in the beginning of the fifth century, describes a Buddhist Car Festival at Patna, and another at Khoten; from which we see that this practice extended over a wide extent of space, Khoten being about 300 miles due north of Chini, and on the other side of the Himalayas, thus showing that the ceremony was in all probability common to the whole of India, and even to districts beyond. If this festival was common to the whole of India, including the Himalayas, it is very easy to understand that, wherever there were no roads in which to wheel a car, the god, or symbol of a god, would have to be carried on men's shoulders. In the Himalayas the roads are only "*Pugdundies*," the word meaning a path or trail made by the feet of a single person passing. A traveller will soon realize what this condition means, for as soon as he enters the hills he has to leave all carriages, carts, and horses behind, he must walk himself, and all luggage is carried in *hillas* on the backs of coolies. Of course, a large object like the car of Jagan-natha could not be carried by two men, and the size would be made to suit the circumstances; this would explain the small size of the Devis in comparison to the Rathas.

I understand that in the present day, with the exception of Jagan-natha, none of the Hindu divinities are ever placed in car sat any of the pujahs.¹ Surya is certainly represented

¹ The Antiquities of Orissa, by Rajendralala Mitra, LL.D., vol. ii. p. 135.

in sculptures with a car. Cars are used with the Jain saints Parsvanatha and Mahavira. Cars in connection with deities are of very frequent mention in the Vedas. There is a most wonderful description of one on which Brihaspati stands. It is described as a "luxurious, awful, foe-subduing, raksha-slaying, cow-pen-cleaving, heaven-reaching, chariot of the ceremonial."¹ In the description of the city of Ayodhya in the Ramayana is the following,—“Above all, there were the sacred and resplendent chariots of the gods.” These numerous allusions to cars, I think, help to confirm my suggestion that ceremonies in which they figured were more common than in the present day. “In some of the Tantras a car has been enjoined for Durgá, but they are the most modern works of their class, and the indications in them of the imitation Vaishnava ritual are obvious.”² As Durgá is Kali, or Devi, in that terrible form to which sacrifice and blood are offered, this quotation from Rajendralala Mitra is of some value in reference to the Himalayan pujahs. In his work on Orissa there is another short quotation which I must give,—it refers to the Parashurámáshtami Yatrá, one of the ceremonies connected with the great temple of Bhuvaneśvara; it “is celebrated on the 8th of the waxing moon in the month of Áshádha (June-July), by taking the proxy to the temple of Parashurámeśvara, and there entertaining it with flowers, incense, music and dancing. The vehicle used in this procession is called a Vimana, a kind of sedan chair carried on men’s shoulders. These visits constitute a peculiar feature of the local custom, as it is almost unknown in other parts of India.”³ This quotation shows that the carrying of gods on the shoulders of men, which is done in almost every village of the Sutlej valley, is all but unknown to the plains of India.

In the yearly ceremony at Puri, Jagan-natha is carried along the Baradand, to the Gundicha Garh, which is a summer house in a garden; this has a very strong resemblance

¹ Rig-Veda, ii. 23; Muir’s Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 276.

² The Antiquities of Orissa, by Rajendralala Mitra, vol. ii. p. 135.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 79.

to carrying the Devi to the temple in the wood. Of course the sacrifices and offerings of blood could find no place in the worship of Jagan-natha. As we have in the modern Lama system of Tibet, the strange and incongruous mixture of the worship of Siva with the system of Buddha, it is not surprising to find the sanguinary rites of Devi interwoven into a festival which was most probably at one time connected with the humane teachings of Sakya Muni. On the inaccessible parts of the hills, which seem to have been so little liable to change, if, in the pre-Buddhist period, as is most probable, there existed a worship of a fierce and terrible form of the deity, the chances are that this worship was never quite obliterated, and that it only took on a veneer of Buddhism. If this has been the case, then in these pujahs of the Sutlej valley we have perhaps the most perfect remains of some of the oldest ceremonies to be found in India.

I have given the dates of the pujahs in the Sutlej Valley. I think it was Colonel Sykes who first noticed that the date, as given by Fah-Hian, of the Car Festival at Khoten, agreed with that of the date of the Rath Yatra of Jagan-natha. The date of the latter is on the second day of the waxing moon of Ashadha ; I have not at hand the means of knowing what date that would be for 1860, the year I was at Chini ; but by means of a Bombay Almanac for 1874, the Rath Yatra of that year was on the 16th July, and the first pujah I saw at Chini—the one at which the six-monthly washing of clothes took place—was on the 14th July. The date of the one is thus very close upon the other, and this Himalayan ceremony may become an important link between the Vaishnava Car Festival at Puri and the Buddhist one at Khoten.

The second pujah I take to have been connected in some way with the harvest, but of the battle with the walnuts and pine cones I cannot pretend to offer the slightest explanation. The only instance of fighting as a religious ceremony that I have chanced upon in reading is contained in a passage of Herodotus. It is this : "In Papremis they offer sacrifices and perform ceremonies, as in other places ;

but, when the sun is on the decline, a few priests are occupied about the image, but the greater number stand, with wooden clubs, at the entrance of the temple; while others, accomplishing their vows, amounting to more than a thousand men, each armed in like manner, stand in a body on the opposite side. But the image, placed in a small wooden temple, gilded all over, they carry out to another sacred dwelling; then the few who were left about the image draw a four-wheeled carriage, containing the temple and the image that is in it. But the priests, who stand at the entrance, refuse to give them admittance; and the votaries bringing succour to the god, oppose, and then strike, whereupon an obstinate combat with clubs ensues, and they break one another's heads, and, as I conjecture, many die of their wounds; though the Egyptians deny that any one dies."¹ There is much in this that resembles the Himalayan ceremony, and the car with the temple and image in it, is, so far as the description goes, a perfect counter-part to the Rath of Jagan-natha. Herodotus gives the Egyptian explanation of the ceremony, but unfortunately it throws no light on our subject.

To these ceremonies of the Sutlej Valley I shall add a very few notes on what I saw the next year at Jumnotri. The nearest village to that place is Karsali, and chancing to halt for a day or two, a pujah took place on the 30th May, and lasted for some days. It came on to rain, which interrupted the performances, and this cause also interfered with my observations. I have already described their Devi, and when I chanced to see it carried, they ran about with it in a much quicker way than at Chini. There was no dancing round it so far as I saw. The men stood in one row, and the women in another; both men and women had in their head-dress bunches of a pale yellow grass, which I understood had been grown in the dark in order to get it of this peculiar tint. On the 2nd of June, after a heavy rain in the forenoon, I went over to the village, and found that the Devi

¹ Herodotus, ii. 63.

and all the people had moved to a small temple outside of the village. Here I found the girls dancing by themselves; while the men were earnestly engaged at a peculiar ceremony. There was a Brahmin here, who seemed to be connected with the temple. His name was Roop Ram, his figure was tall, and he stood in the centre of a crowd seemingly taller than ever. I found that he was standing on the sharp edges of two of the sacrificial hatchets, which were held on the ground by some of the men. Roop Ram talked in a very excited way, and at last put his hand into a dish in which were what seemed to be grains of corn; taking some in his hand he dashed them in a man's face standing near. A third hatchet was placed in advance, and Roop Ram moved forward a step—he was supported all the time by men on each side to keep him from falling—and at every step a hatchet was moved in advance for his foot. At each of these movements a villager stood near, and Roop Ram's excited words seemed to have reference to him, and corn was in every instance dashed on the face. Each step with the talking took about a minute. He must have gone about thirty steps after my arrival, when the performance terminated, when they all ran over to the Devi. It was lifted in the usual way by two men, who ran about with it as fast as they could, and the usual music making as much din as possible. I had a conversation afterward with Roop Ram, who told me it was a yearly custom, but he applied the word "Khelna" or *game*, to it, and yet it was evidently part of a puja. He showed me the soles of his feet; they were not in the least injured, and he explained that he was not hurt, for the god was in him. He stated that he could do the same thing on swords as sharp as my penknife. I asked if I could do it. He said, "No." I pointed to a coolie, and asked if he could. Again he said, "No." Only a Brahmin, I understood, could walk under such circumstances: his father had done it every year before him, and his son would succeed to the office, and would do it when he was dead. This was all I learned regarding this puja.

ART. III.—*On some New Discoveries in Southern India.* By
ROBERT SEWELL, M.R.A.S., Madras Civil Service.

I HAVE the pleasure to announce to the Society the recent discovery at Kâñchipura, the capital of the Pallava Dynasty of Southern India, of some ancient temples, the importance of which in the history of Dravidian architecture it would, I think, be difficult to overrate. The present paper is put forward merely by way of notifying the existence of these temples, and of calling attention to them; there is reason to hope that ere long reliable details will be laid before the public in the shape of photographs, plans, and drawings, prepared by the Archæological Survey of Southern India under the superintendence of Dr. Burgess.

The city of Kâñchipura (*Anglicé* Conjeveram) is a very ancient one. The Pallava Dynasty, which was entirely overthrown by the Choḷas in the eleventh century A.D., appears to have been one of the most important dynasties in the peninsula for several centuries previous to that period. According to tradition, apparently believed in from a remote date, certainly as early as the eleventh century (*vide* the Chalukyan inscriptions), the first Chalukya established his sovereignty in the peninsula about the fifth century A.D. by conquest of territory from the Pallavas, south of the Nerbudda; the Pallavas at that time ruling over the most part of the Dakhaṇ and the eastern coast of the peninsula, but having the Pâñḍiyan and Choḷa Dynasties to their south. Their capital, Kâñchipura, which is situated about thirty miles S.W. of Madras, was near their southern boundary. The city was always remarkable for the beauty of its sculptures, if we may believe the testimony of an early Chalukyan inscription, which relates how the brother of the sovereign

of Kalyânapura fought against and defeated the Pallavas, seized the capital and entered it in triumph ; for it is therein stated that the victor was so much struck with the beauty of the sculptures and temples in the conquered city that he refrained from injuring it in the slightest degree, and even went so far as to cover the statue of *Râjasimhêsvara* with gold, in order to create a lasting memorial of his admiration. Kânchipura is therefore a city where naturally one would search for temples and sculptures of older date than most of those so plentifully strewn over Southern India, few of which have yet been found earlier than the eleventh century, the period of the palmy days of the Chôlas.

By that time a style of architecture had been established which was destined to remain almost unchanged, or at least unchanged in its main arrangements and details, for eight centuries. As regards its shrines, the idea universally prevalent was that of a building divided into not less than two divisions, viz. an *adytum* entered and lighted by a single door opening into a little hall. Often, in the more pretentious shrines, this hall opens into others, larger and pillar-supported, called *mandapams*. But whatever number there may be, the hall nearest the *adytum* is remarkably dark and mysterious in character, surrounded by solid unbroken walls and entered by a door generally opposite the entrance to the shrine, which door affords almost its only light. When the temple is a small one it consists of only a shrine and hall, and in this case the building from outside presents the appearance of a solid mass of masonry unbroken except by the single door, and surmounted by a *gopura*, or pyramidal tower of two or three stories, terminating in a member called the *kalasa*.

Now the idea governing the structure of the "Seven Pagodas," the well-known monolithic temples or *Rathas* at Mahâvallipura, which, according to the best authorities, date from the period A.D. 650 to 700, or thereabouts, was different from this, as will be gathered from a perusal of the "*Cave Temples*" of Mr. Fergusson and Dr. Burgess. In these the hall was open, like the main chamber of the caves, which

appear to be of date coeval with the *Rathas*. In other words, the whole front of the larger chamber was exposed by the cutting away of the rock, and the hall then represented a sort of piazza, sometimes walled in on three sides, but entirely open on the fourth. In the back wall of rock was cut, in the case of the caves, one or more cells, the centre one of which was the *adytum*. The front of the cave or *Ratha* was supported by two or more pillars of a peculiar shape, one of which is figured on p. 119 of Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess's work, from a drawing by Mr. Chisholm.

Regarding these pillars Mr. Fergusson writes: "They are all of the same pattern, which, in fact, with very slight modification, is universal at Mahâvallipur. They all have bases representing Yâlîs and conventional lions, with spreading capitals . . ." And again (p. 115): "They are the most characteristic features of the architecture of the place, being almost universal at Mahâvallipur, but not found anywhere else that I know of." I may state, in passing, that I have seen several of these in different parts of the country close to Mahâvallipur, but none at any distance. They are all in the Pallava country.

With this, by way of introduction, I return to the newly-discovered Kâñchipura temples. It was in May last that I observed them first, and since then I have examined them several times, once in company with Mr. Alexander Rea, of the School of Art. They have been cleared by my orders of noxious vegetation, which threatened to do them very serious injury, and now only await careful inspection by the Archæological Surveyor.

These temples are three in number, and stand not far from the Railway Station. Two are dedicated to Śiva, one to Vishṇu. The latter, and one of the Śiva temples, stand in the outskirts of the town; the other Śiva temple, almost a pair to the first, is rather more among the houses. We will consider the Śiva temples first, and a description of one will answer for both. Any one familiar with the usual forms of Dravidian architecture will at once recognize the difference between this and the ordinary Hindu fane, and will, I think,

not fail to appreciate the extreme importance of the discovery. The temple is, to begin with, constructed entirely of stone from top to bottom, almost all the pyramidal parts of South Indian temples being made of bricks plastered over. The two storeys of the tower are distinct storeys; the simulated cells, so characteristic a feature of the style, with their retaining wall, being quite distinct from the body of the tower in each case, a sure test of age. The chambers below are two in number, the *vimāna*, over which rises the tower, and the *maṇḍapam* or entrance-hall. The floor of the entrance-hall is very high above the ground, and there are now no steps up to it, so that broken slabs have been piled up to make temporary steps. Once inside the *maṇḍapam*, any visitor acquainted with the subject must be startled to find that he is actually standing *inside one of the Mahāvallipur caves*. There is the same chamber entirely open to the front, walled in on three sides, and supported on four pillars of precisely the type alluded to above, with the lion bases and spreading capitals. There are its half-pillars in continuation of those standing free, dividing the walls of the hall into panels. And, more characteristic perhaps than anything else, all the panels in the walls are richly sculptured with groups in high relief, representing subjects similar to those treated of in, for instance, the *Yamapuri* or *Mahishamarddanî* cave at Mahāvallipur (*"Cave Temples,"* pp. 145-147). In the case of one of the Śiva temples, the outer walls are covered with inscriptions in the old Tamil character, which await decipherment (I had no leisure to examine them carefully), and on one pillar I noticed two letters of the Cave character, such as is used on the *Rathas* at Mahāvallipur.

So far as my experience goes these two temples are unique, and I should not be surprised to find that after careful examination, experts declare them to be coeval with the *Rathas* and *Caves*.

It may be suggested that the caves must be older than any structural building now standing. Possibly; but is it not almost certain that the caves were imitations of structural buildings, and not the reverse, when we find the façade of

almost every cave at Mahâvallipur sculptured in imitation of the simulated cells and retaining wall, which stood free over the façade of the oldest-known structural temples? The cave-fronts would not be so sculptured except in imitation of structural buildings, whether in wood or stone, which bore those peculiar features. I do not assert that these particular Śiva temples at Kâñchipura are necessarily older than the caves, but I think there is no reason why they should not be. Even if they are coeval, or a little later in date, I believe these temples to be four centuries older than any structural temple yet discovered, and therefore to be of extreme importance in the history of Dravidian architecture.

The Vishṇu temple is different. Unfortunately it is still used for worship, and appears to be in the keeping of a number of priests, remarkable for their bigotry. I could see nothing except from quite outside, and cannot therefore describe the lower storey, owing to the principal building being surrounded by a high wall, which prevented me from seeing anything but the pyramidal tower above the *vimāna*. The wall is of extreme age, so that the stones of which it is composed, and which have not long since been taken down and replaced in position, seem almost as if made of coal rather than granite, they are so black and weather-worn. A peculiar feature of this wall is that at all corners stands a *Yālī*, as if to protect the edifice within. The tower is older in character than any other I have seen elsewhere. It rises in distinct storeys, consisting of platforms, each less than the other, and each surrounded by a row of simulated cells and retaining wall, and presents precisely the appearance of the *Dharmarāja Ratha* at Mahâvallipur (*"Cave Temples,"* pp. 124, 125). Just as in that case, some, at least, of the panels of the tower-walls are sculptured with figures, probably of deities.

While the interior of the two Śiva temples, therefore, represents exactly the caves at Mahâvallipur, the Vishṇu temple from outside is a structural reproduction of the *Dharmarāja Ratha*. Which is the older? At present it is impossible to say, but it is extremely interesting to find these

entirely new types of temples of hoary antiquity at the capital of the Pallavas, when it is believed that the Pallavas were the sculptors of the monoliths on the sea.

With these samples before us, and the fact of the existence of the Chalukyan inscription referred to, which praises Kâñchipura in the seventh century as being a city remarkable for its beautiful sculptures, I think we may fairly assume that sculpture and architecture was further advanced amongst the Pallavas of the fourth century than has been supposed. At least these newly-discovered structural temples will form an interesting subject for study to those concerned in investigating the origin and course of temple-architecture amongst the Dravidians.

There are a number of other most interesting relics of great age in and about Kâñchipura; amongst others, some very remarkable pillar-bases, sculptured each with three figures of woodmen or soldiers about four feet high, which I cannot help thinking represent the Kuṟumbar of those days.

Mr. Fergusson has called attention to the curious apsidal shape of the *gopura* of the *Sahâdera Ratha* at Mahâvallipur ("Cave Temples," pp. 135-139). Another example not far from Mahâvallipur, at the village of Manimarigalam, has long been known, though all are not aware that the entire tower of this latter *gopura* is made of brick and plaster, and not of stone. I have found some further examples. One is at a little temple in Kâñchipura, amongst the trees, on the way (*one way at least*) from the Tahsildar's office to the Jain temple near the river. Two are to be seen inside the last-mentioned Jain temple; while a portion of a small temple at Vandalûr (a railway station on the South Indian Railway) shows an apsidal base, though it has no cupola.

One very interesting and, as far as I know, unique variety of form is to be seen in the construction of a temple at Uttramallûr, not far from Kâñchipura. Here is a temple having three shrines one above another, the tower not being composed simply of the usual pyramidal form, but consisting of three storeys, each containing the statue of one of the many forms of Vishṇu in a *vimâna*, with a *maṇḍapam* outside

it, and an entrance court or platform, the whole surmounted by a *kalasa*. The tower is not one pyramidal block, but consists of a central block in which are the chambers mentioned above, having round it a number of smaller *gopuras* in a picturesque cluster, each surmounting one of the numerous *mandapams* erected round the several shrines. The effect of this group of towers, rising up to the central dome-like member above, is exceedingly architectural and picturesque, and it is much to be regretted that the builders of South India did not, as in this instance, allow their fancy more play when constructing their temples, and so save us from the dreary monotony which characterizes their style.

ART. IV.—*On the Importance to Great Britain of the Study of Arabic.* By HABIB ANTHONY SALMONÉ, M.R.A.S.

I BELIEVE that the short paper on this subject which I propose to read to you will be interesting to this ancient association for the cultivation of Oriental research in all its branches; but, for it, I lay no claim to any special qualifications for its discussion; on the contrary, I approach it with much diffidence, in the presence of men my seniors in science and erudition. This consideration, however, is the main ground of my encouragement; for, according to the Arabic adage *المعذرة من شيم الكرام* “Indulgence is an innate quality of the liberal,” I feel assured beforehand of a lenient judgment from you.

I am only stating what I have heard on all sides, when I say that the study of Arabic is almost wholly neglected in this country. A gentleman of wide experience recently told me that the number of Englishmen conversant with this language might be counted on the fingers of one hand. And this, notwithstanding the fact that Her Majesty the Queen rules over a larger number of Muhammadans than any other Potentate, and that with these, the Kurân is their Book of Divine Inspiration, their rule of Faith, their code of Civil and Criminal Law, their universal Directory in all matters intrinsic and extrinsic to themselves. So widespread has Arabic become through this medium, so large has been its influence in the composition of indigenious Oriental dialects, that any one tolerably acquainted with Arabic could scarcely fail to find people in every Muslim country with whom he could more or less freely communicate. When in Syria and Egypt, I frequently remarked how pleased the natives were when addressed by a *Franjy* or European in

their own language; and it stands to reason, that a British Official, so qualified, would have a far better chance of eliciting information from the people of those countries and of making a favourable impression upon them than one incapable, owing to his ignorance of their vernacular, of exchanging any ideas with them. I do not mean to say that these remarks hold good of the East universally; but I unhesitatingly affirm that a knowledge of Arabic on the part of an European exercises a much greater influence among Orientals of all classes than a corresponding knowledge, say of French or Italian, exercises among Frenchmen or Italians.

Permit me now to illustrate the utility of the knowledge of Arabic in a particular case, such as that of an Eastern campaign. I readily grant that primary success must be mainly due to the operations of the expedition, directed by the skill of its commander, and to the individual efforts of the soldiers engaged in it. But military triumph alone seldom succeeds in securing what is an important element in *perfect* success; I mean friendliness, on the part of the population, towards an army of occupation. But what more effectual means to secure this—what more potent means to conciliate national prejudices, and, in addition thereto, to remove misconceptions, and obtain security against treachery—than a free communication with the subdued inhabitants by intelligent officers, able to converse with them in their own language? Local native interpreters, however trustworthy and efficient, are at the best a sorry alternative in such cases, to say nothing of the natural antipathy they generally evoke on the part of their co-religionists or fellow-countrymen.

It is true, and I sincerely hope it will always be true, that armed British intervention in the East has uniformly been successful, with or without the linguistic advantages on the importance of which I am insisting. On the other hand, it will hardly be disputed that possession of such advantages would have tended to lubricate, so to speak, much of that friction which hostilities necessarily engender between the conquerors and the conquered—a friction, which has given rise before now to misunderstandings and complications not

to be overcome by the most splendid achievements of a victorious army.

Considerations such as these—bearing in mind the vast and complex interests of Great Britain in the East—have always excited my astonishment, that this country, instead of being the first to provide instruction in Arabic for the pupils in its principal Civil, Military, and Naval Colleges, is, unquestionably, the last and least provident in this respect. Other nations are not so careless and supine. It is well known that the Propaganda at Rome maintains a constant succession of pupils in the Eastern languages, notably Arabic, whose services are at the disposal of the College at all times. Moreover, unless I am altogether mis-informed, Russia is equally foreseeing in this respect. At the Imperial College of Kazan a constant succession of pupils intended for the three services is maintained, who receive regular instruction, under competent masters, in the Oriental languages. Thence, after keeping so many terms in College, these *élèves* are sent out in pairs to explore the several countries in which they are destined to be employed, and to study the vernacular dialects of each district; thus the Russian Government has always at hand a number of young men, Civil as well as Military, adequately prepared to undertake any duties in the East which may be allotted to them. In like manner, Austria supports an Oriental College at Vienna; while France has its “*Ecole pour les langues Orientales vivantes.*” Germany, also, and even Denmark, are far ahead of England in promoting the general study of Oriental languages.

Now, a fact may be generally known, without meeting with the consideration it deserves. So I do not doubt for a moment that the facts which I have adduced regarding the importance of the study of Arabic to the multiform interests of Great Britain in the East, as also to the English antiquary, merchant, and traveller, would be accepted, generally, in all parts of this country. Hence, I do not pretend to furnish any special information on that score, my sole object being, as far as in me lies, to urge such a recognition of admitted facts as may lead to practical results.

When it is said of French that it is the language of Europe, the phrase has an undeniable significance, extending as it does to every branch of international intercommunication.

In an equally significant sense, that Arabic is the French of the East will hardly be disputed by those who have a competent knowledge of its widespread prevalence and influence.

I am greatly tempted here to dilate on the vast field for literary research which a study of Arabic opens out to the Western student; but my object on this occasion being *mainly practical*, I shall content myself with quoting the following passage on the subject from the pen of Mr. Bosworth-Smith, of Harrow:—"During the darkest period of European history the Arabs for five hundred years held up the torch of learning to humanity. It was the Arabs who then 'called the Muses from their ancient seats'; who collected and translated the writings of the great Greek masters; who understood the geometry of Apollonius, and wielded the weapons found in the logical armoury of Aristotle. It was the Arabs who developed the sciences of agriculture and astronomy, and created those of algebra and chemistry; who adorned their cities with colleges and libraries, as well as with mosques and palaces; who supplied Europe with a school of philosophers from Cordova, and with a school of physicians from Salerno." In the same strain, albeit with more especial reference to the widespread influence which this language has exerted throughout the East, my learned friend, Dr. Badger, remarks in the preface to his English-Arabic Lexicon, "Arabic is, furthermore, the sacred language of the Muslims throughout the world, and since the early conquests of Islâm has formed an integral part of several of the living languages of the East. The modern Persian, Turkish, and Hindustâni, are so permeated with it, that a thorough mastery of those tongues can hardly be attained without a competent acquaintance with the Arabic." To the above, I may add the following quotation from a notice in the *Times* on "Recent Oriental Languages." Speaking of Arabic, the writer remarks that "it is in construction one

of the most perfect Oriental languages, and as a means of training and developing the mental faculties, its study will compare favourably with that of Latin and Greek. Indeed, so freely do Arabic words enter into all the Mahomedan languages of the East, that Arabic bears even a closer relation to them than the classical languages bear to the vernaculars of Europe." One other advantage attending the study of Arabic I venture to allude to very briefly, namely, the aid which it affords to Biblical research. The Semitic origin of Arabic and Hebrew is universally admitted; and, further, most of the words met with in the latter are found in the former. But whereas Hebrew can hardly now be termed a living tongue, its sister-language, the Arabic, still lives in its pristine vigour to throw light on many points, which, without its aid, would be dark and enigmatical in the Biblical Hebrew.

I am aware of a prevalent idea that the Arabic is a language very difficult of acquirement. A would-be student looks at the strange characters, with their numerous diacritical points, vowel symbols, and other syllabic signs, and is bewildered at the complex array. Hearing, on further enquiry, that the triliteral verb alone has no less than twelve conjugations, he is fairly appalled at the task before him, and forthwith abandons it in despair: yet, strange as the Arabic characters may seem at first sight, they are formed on a system so intelligible as to be easily mastered in a very short time. A little instruction, moreover, under competent tuition, would suffice to convince a novice that the twelve conjugations, instead of constituting an additional difficulty, contribute greatly, not only to the richness, but to the facility of acquiring the language. While on this subject, I beg permission to quote the following remarks by Dr. Badger on the study of Arabic:—"Had I a son, whom I did not intend for one of the professions requiring an adequate knowledge of the exact sciences, instead of having him taught mathematics, I would make him learn Arabic; for, in my judgment, no better discipline for the mental faculties exists than that afforded by the grammatical structure of that language.

Take for example the triliteral etymon. Springing therefrom in regular order are twelve boughs, representing the twelve conjugations. From each of these issue a succession of branches and branchlets, representing our infinitive nouns, participles, adjectives, nouns of time, place, species, instrument, etc., all formed on explicit rules which seldom or never vary. What better training for the mind than to grasp those rules, and to be enabled thereby to trace at a glance, the derivative in any of the branches, together with its signification, down to the root. The study of mathematics, except in the case above reserved, is not a whit more generally subservient to mental cultivation than this,—and there it stops; whereas the study of Arabic gives one, in addition thereto, the knowledge of a living language of immense practical utility.”

Hitherto, a much more plausible drawback to the acquirement of Arabic has been the paucity of elementary and other works for the use of English students. The drawback, as regards elementary books, still exists, though by no means to the extent which was the case a few years ago. Professor W. Wright has provided an admirable Arabic Grammar, far surpassing in value any previously extant, and the late lamented Professor Palmer has left behind him a useful Arabic Manual. On the score of Dictionaries, the great want which has hitherto prevailed is being adequately supplied by the progressive publication of the late Mr. Lane's magnificent Arabic-English Lexicon, a perfect thesaurus which leaves nothing to be desired; and more recently still, by Dr. Badger's equally valuable English-Arabic Lexicon, pronounced by the best authorities to be the most perfect work of the kind ever published; add to these, also, the late Professor Dozy's "Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes." With these efficient aids at hand, no English student can henceforth justly complain of the want of sufficient educational books to enable him to acquire Arabic.

In conclusion, I ought to state that some of my friends have advised me to abandon my endeavour to advocate the study of Arabic in this country, predicting that they would

meet with nothing but indifference and apathy ; in fact, that they will supply another example of the truth of the Arabic adage, by being كَالطَّرْقِ عَلَى حَدِيدٍ بَارِدٍ as vain “ as the blows struck on cold iron,” emitting sound, indeed, but otherwise absolutely ineffectual. I am happy to say, however, that many eminent men have already recognized my exertions in behalf of a wider cultivation of Arabic in the Civil and Military Colleges of England ; and that I have received many encouraging letters from others who have not been able to be present to-day to express their own views on this subject.

ART. V.—*Grammatical Note on the Gwamba Language in South Africa.* By PAUL BERTHOUD, Missionary of the Canton de Vaud, Switzerland, Stationed at Valdézia, Spelonken, Transvaal. [Prepared at the request of Mr. R. N. CUST, Hon. Secretary.]

I. GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

A. *The Name.*

THE *Gwamba* language belongs to the South-Eastern Branch of the Bantu family of languages, according to Dr. Bleek's system of classification. But this language was never known under its true name, until the Swiss missionaries settled among the Ma-Gwamba people and studied their language. In his *Comparative Grammar* Dr. Bleek calls it by the name of *Tekeza*; and, complaining of the scanty materials which he could get, he says (§ 32): "Tekeza dialects are known to us only through short vocabularies."

Considering the scarcity of information which Dr. Bleek could gather about that language, it is really remarkable that he has been able to understand so well its particular features. Still, it is doubtful whether this name of "Tekeza" could to-day be heard anywhere in South Africa; whilst, on the other hand, we find that the Ma-Gwamba people are actually making use of the same words which are given in Bleek's Vocabularies of Lourenzo-Marquès.

Till now the people who speak Gwamba have been known under various names, of which the most largely applied was that of *Ama-Tonga*. This is the word *Tonga* with a Zulu Prefix. But it also appears on geographical maps with the Gwamba Prefix, and then takes the form of *Ba-Tonga*. But again this latter word sounds too nasal and too soft for a Suto-speaking organ, and consequently a Suto man turns it into *Ba-Toka*, as some Geographers write it. But whatever may be its orthography and its pronunciation, that name is

somewhat improper, because it has been given not only to Gwamba people, but also to different tribes which are not of the same blood. Nevertheless, it is used very often, so much so that the Ma-Gwamba have accepted it to a certain extent, and that they sometimes call their native land by the name of "Tonga."

Knobnoses (in Dutch *Knopneuzen*) is another name which has been largely applied to the Ma-Gwamba. Its Boer origin is easily detected by the form of the word. It was given to those people on account of their special fashion of tattooing, by which they cause warts of the size and shape of a pea to develop along the top line of the nose to the very point, and also around the eyes. Of course this tattooing gives to their face a horrid appearance. Fortunately that absurd fashion is gradually diminishing and being abandoned, so that before long the name of Knobnoses will no more be appropriate nor applicable.

A third name which has been applied to Ma-Gwamba is that of *Ba-Hloekwa*, which is the same as *Ba-Hlengwe*, but pronounced thus by different people. This name is right enough, but it must be restrained to only a fraction of the large Gwamba tribe; for the Ba-Hlengwe are but the Ma-Gwamba of the north, that is, north of the river Limpopo, and the name cannot be extended farther, neither applied to the whole tribe.

A fourth name, that of *Ma-Koapa*, also spelt *Ma-Koaba*, is to be found on maps. It is only a corruption of the word "Ma-Gwamba," which is the right name of that tribe. This corruption must have arisen from the accidental fact that some explorers, who came into contact with those people, did not know their language, could not speak with them and had to depend upon Ba-Suto guides and interpreters. I may mention that the same thing happened once to myself. Then, Ba-Suto people cannot pronounce the word "Ma-Gwamba," they find it too soft and too nasal, and therefore they change it into "Ma-Koapa." Again, a German traveller would make this "Ma-Koaba." That explanation is not a mere fancy, for it is based upon real facts and experience.

As a rule, a large tribe has not, as such, any proper and general name. But the tribe being divided in a certain number of clans, each one of these smaller communities goes by its proper name; wherefore it is incumbent on the foreigner, either black or white, to apply a generic name to all the people and clans which belong to the same tribe. The propriety then, of such a generic name, lies in its being related to the special character of the tribe, and in its being taken from the tribe's own language.

This is the case with the name "Ma-Gwamba." The people of that tribe have a belief that there is an evil spirit which is always trying to do harm, and which they call "Gwambe." Very often, when a man has a trouble of some kind, he wishes it back to the evil spirit, and says: "Let it go back to Gwambe!" It is from that circumstance that the people of this tribe received from their neighbours the appellation of "Ma-Gwamba," which means "people of Gwambe." This name was adopted by the people because it suited them perfectly. However, according to the grammatical rules of the language, the prefix should really be *Ba*, instead of *Ma*. But a word like Ba-Gwamba would sound very inharmoniously to their ear; and consequently, for euphony's sake, they have taken the only other suitable prefix which could replace Ba, and they call themselves Ma-Gwamba, whilst a singular person will be called a Mo-Gwamba.

From that word they have also named their language, which, according to grammatical rule, is called the *Si-Gwamba*.

B. *The Tribe and the Land.*

Si-Gwamba is spoken by a large tribe; but it would scarcely be possible to estimate precisely its number. There may possibly be several hundred thousand Ma-Gwamba. Their native land is on the eastern coast of Africa, and extends from Zululand in the south up to Sofala, and perhaps to the Zambesi river, in the north. Inland, the Ma-Gwamba extend as far as three hundred miles from the Indian Ocean,

so that the country which is occupied by the tribe is of a large area.

All the Ma-Gwamba who live north of the Limpopo river, that is to say, the greater part of the tribe, are under the domination of Umzila, that Zulu Chief who, some thirty years ago, left Zululand with a Zulu army, conquered the countries through which he passed, and settled at some distance west of Sofala.

The farthest inland region where Ma-Gwamba settlements are to be found is situated in a south-western direction from Umzila's kraal. Indeed, if we examine a recent map, for instance, that of Petermann's *Mittheilungen* (1872, table 21), or that of Jeppe, which for that matter is a copy of Petermann's, we find on the north of the Limpopo river, along the 31° long., up to the 21° lat. S., a country which has been explored only by the traveller Mauch. The names which we read there, along the routes followed by Mauch, are but those of Gwamba Chiefs. About five years ago I had a good opportunity of collecting some fresh information concerning those Gwamba settlements, when one of my Christian servants, a middle-aged Gwamba man, made a journey back and forth through that same country.

Thus, coming from the north, we first find *Dumbo's* kraal. The river Lunde passes close by, and the people of the kraal drink of its waters. This is close to the frontier, between Ma-Gwamba and Ba-Nyai, or between Umzila's and Lo-Bengula's kingdom. But the maps must be corrected and the frontier removed some twenty miles more to the west; for the first Ba-Nyai settlement, the kraal of Makadyile, is situated on the left bank of the river Lunde, about ten miles north-west of Dumbo.

The father of Dumbo was Ngwenya; they are Ma-Gwamba, under the rule of Umzila. But Dumbo, becoming dissatisfied with his suzerain, left the place and went to live with Lo-Bengula. He was not followed by many of his people; and the kraal is now governed by Dumbo's young brother, named *Rangane*, who is a loyal vassal of Umzila.

If we go southward, we find on the river Bubyé several

Gwamba names, from *Vurmele* downwards. But in this name the letter *V* has the German pronunciation, and therefore it ought to be altered and changed for an *F*. The exact orthography of the name is *Furumele*. However, this Gwamba Chief is no more, and future travellers will find another name at his place, because he was succeeded by his son *Mokaha*.

Tshukumeta is a Gwamba Chief.

Makabele is also a Mo-Gwamba; but he has emigrated with his people, and gone to settle in a place south of the junction of the Bubyé and Limpopo rivers, near the Gwamba settlement of Makuleka.

Zamokazi has also left, to go and settle south of the Limpopo, among the Zoutpansberg lower hills.

Halata, *Umkoko*, *Umkokinyane* are all Gwamba people.

Malingotse is only the name of the land.

If now we go S.E., and cross both the Limpopo and its affluent the Limvubu (called Lebvubye by the Ma-Gwamba), we meet some hills, to which the maps give the name of *Sierra de Chicundo*. This somewhat strange name is quite right; but it needs to be explained. I dare say it was first written so by Rita Montanha, in whose language *sierra* is a range of hills; and geographers put down the full name after him. Then came the ordinary readers, who found the whole appellation of *Sierra de Chicundo* sounded very much like a Portuguese or a Spanish name; and accordingly they assumed that it really was a Portuguese name, given to the place by the Portuguese of the coast. But such is not the case. *Chicundo* is a proper Gwamba name, and it was, in this instance, that of a Chief of no mean importance. In the neighbourhood of Chicundo's Hills there are many other Gwamba settlements; but Chicundo himself died a few years ago. I do not know the name of his successor. But at present the most important chief of that country is *Shikwarakwara*, who lives on the left bank of the Limvubu river, at a little distance from the Motswetla chief, Makwarele.

The above details are no doubt sufficient to prove that the various portions of the Gwamba tribe are scattered over a

very extensive country. This country is limited on the south, east, and west, by frontiers which have been well ascertained. But the northern frontier remains to be exactly defined, as the country which extends from Sofala to the Zambesi has, till now, scarcely been explored at all.

Strange to say, a small community of Ma-Gwamba is to be found under the 12° Lat. S., to the west of and not far from Lake Nyassa. The missionaries of Livingstonia and Bandawe are in relation with those Ma-Gwamba, who live there mixed with Xosa and Zulu from the South.

II. CLASSIFICATION.

Several dialects are to be found in the Gwamba language, and their variations are sometimes very remarkable. But they are still mostly unknown. The books which we have begun printing are written in the dialect of Lorenzo-Marquès, and of the country south of the Limpopo.

The language to which Gwamba most closely relates is certainly Xosa, although the "*ukuhlonipa*" custom is not practised among the Ma-Gwamba. The Suto language differs much more from both Xosa and Gwamba, than those two from each other; and Dr. Bleek judged with accuracy when he stated (§ 22) that "The South-Eastern Branch consists of three distinct species: Kafir, Si-Chuana, and Tekeza." Only, he might have named Xosa between the two others, and put Tekeza the first, as being the natural link between the Middle Branch and Xosa; or again, if Zulu must be distinguished from Xosa, the list of the South-Eastern Branch should be: Gwamba, Zulu, Xosa, and Chuana.

Among Middle Branch languages, the idioms which approach nearest to Gwamba are those of Sena and Tete. But they are as yet too little known to allow of establishing the degree of their relationship with Gwamba. However, if it is not too bold to make a supposition, I should foretell, after what is known of those languages, that a closer study will bring them in very close relationship to Gwamba, closer

than Kua is to Sena, and perhaps than Xosa is to Gwamba. In that manner the Bántu languages will appear to form a regular chain of which it may be felt necessary to know all the links, before a full theory of their origin can be arrived at.

The theory of a "mother-tongue" seems to be actually deprecated, because of the numerous questions that it cannot answer. Thus Mr. Maples, writing on Kua, says: "Ma-Kua possesses a large number of words entirely non-existent in any other of the known languages in Bántu. *No known law of verbal change or transliteration* can account for these words by showing them to be phonologically connected with others in other dialects of the same group. This fact refuses to yield to the theory of a mother-tongue." This is quite right; but when we consider that the Bántu dialects are still so imperfectly studied, we are obliged to defer drawing conclusions; for it is not impossible that a more complete acquaintance with the Bántu system may bring forth *new and still unknown laws of verbal changes*, which will rehabilitate "the mother-tongue theory." We can already see that any other theory will have to overcome much greater difficulties than that one. Indeed, the mutual relationship of the Bántu languages is an undeniable fact, and of supreme importance; such a deep and intimate connexion between various languages demands an explanation, and the question must be asked imperiously: "How have they come to be so much like each other?" Therefore I fear that if any new theory is brought forward in opposition with the old hypothesis of a mother-tongue, the said theory will find insuperable the difficulty of answering that question.

But we are still far from any solution, because our knowledge of the Bántu dialects is far too incomplete to give occasion to make I shall not say a *synthesis*, which will only come at the end, but even a full and comprehensive *analysis* of the general system of the Bántu languages. Let us then, for the present, set aside all attempts at constructing a theory of that system, and let us direct our efforts to the analytical study of every particular idiom, in order to prepare the necessary materials for the future edifice.

III. PHONOLOGY.

The alphabet of the Gwamba language contains a very remarkable peculiarity, which well deserves to draw the attention of linguists. This peculiarity consists in a special consonant which has never been heard of before, and which must be classed as a *labial sibilant*. The sound of this letter is obtained by putting the tongue in the position required for the letter *s*, and then by closing the lips, so that they cover the teeth, and so that the breath produces the friction against the lips only. It is as pure a labial as *p*, *b*, *m*, and is as strong a sibilant as *s* or *sh* (English). At first, a stranger's ear will mistake it for a compound consonant, which it is not, for it may also combine with the letter *t* the same way as *s* does in the words *tsar*, *tsarina*.

When Dr. Peters collected his vocabularies of Lorenzo-Marquès and of Inhambane, he missed the true sound and misunderstood the real value of this letter. Dr. Bleek did of course the same, because he had no other source but Dr. Peters' vocabularies. This traveller took this sound for a combination of *p* and *s*, and consequently he represented it by *ps*.

I may here make a general remark upon vocabularies collected by travellers and explorers. Dr. Peters was, I presume, perfectly prepared for the work he undertook, and his collections of words were made with great care and ability. In spite of that, his vocabulary of Lorenzo-Marquès is very defective, and it contains some gross errors. Thus he gives for the Gwamba word *tillo* the meaning of 'God,' which is a mistake: *tillo* means the *sky*, and the Gwamba word for 'God' is *Shikwembo* (or *Tshikwembo*). Again, for a 'blind man,' he gives this translation:—*loa-koa-ngabo-ne*: it is evident that here Dr. Peters thought this expression was perhaps made of *four* different words, which he attempted to separate with hyphens. But he was somewhat mistaken, and having not learned the Gwamba grammar, he mutilated the language in an awful manner; he divided words and made others with the separated syllables; or he joined in

one word different ones, which ought to have remained separate. In fact, the translation he gave for 'blind man' contains a whole sentence, which, if constructed according to grammatical rule, will read as follows : *lo a ko a nga bone* ; and it means in English, 'the one who says he does not see.' Of course, the idea conveyed by that expression is not wrong ; but nobody would think of giving to this English sentence the form and place of one word ; and the said Gwamba phrase is not the Gwamba expression for 'blind man,' it is but an explanatory description.

Many similar examples of errors could be produced out of Dr. Peters' vocabularies, and when we remember that this eminent traveller deserved more than usual credit, we must forcibly come to this conclusion : when explorers give vocabularies of unknown languages, such vocabularies must be received with caution and reserve, because a person who has not mastered the language, who cannot explain its grammatical forms, and who has not lived long enough among the natives to become fully acquainted with their manner of thinking, that person will often be misled and give a wrong translation.

That is the very reason why Dr. Peters used the combination *ps* to represent the *labial sibilant* which constitutes the most remarkable characteristic of the Gwamba alphabet.

But then, what letter, what sign shall we take to express graphically this newly-discovered consonant ? When seeking for a system of writing to be applied to Gwamba, we found the *Standard Alphabet* of Professor Lepsius the best system, and adopted it. But though very rich, it contained of course no representation of our new sound, which has not been heard of before. However, as this sound's basis is a sibilant *fricativa fortis*, the principle of the *Standard Alphabet* led us to take the basis *s* and try to invent for it a practical diacritical sign ; then noticing that the English *sh* was represented by *š*, it was decided to invert the diacritical mark of this and write *ś* for our labial sibilant.

Now the question may be asked : this letter, has it a great importance in the language ? or also, as the honourable Pro-

fessor Dr. Lepsius wrote to me: this sound, is it not produced by an anomalous pronunciation of the *s*? It is an easy matter to answer those questions, and to prove that this is a real characteristic sound and of essential importance. We have but to quote from Dr. Bleek's *Comparative Grammar* a sentence of paragraph 471, which says: "The following table showing the correspondence of the derivative prefixes of nouns in the Northern Tekeza dialect spoken at Lorenzo-Marquès, Delagoa Bay, is of course incomplete. It is supposed that the form of the eighth prefix here is *psi*, as in the dialect of Tette, but the vocabularies (as yet our only materials for the knowledge of these dialects) contain no positive evidence of this."

Remembering then that the *psi* of Bleek and Peters finds its true representation in our *ši* and *tši*, I can assert that it is really the form of the eighth prefix in the Gwamba language. Before I could myself procure and read a copy of Bleek's *Comparative Grammar* (which I was recently able to do through Mr. R. N. Cust's obliging kindness), I had pointed out that special form of prefix, both when corresponding with Professor Lepsius and when teaching Gwamba grammar to our missionary students. Therefore this letter (*š*) is the only means of distinguishing a whole class of nouns, and it has for itself a whole and independent set of concord. It is also a mark of the plural, as will be seen by looking at Bleek's tables of prefixes; and in Gwamba this is a rule without any exception: wherever that prefix is heard or seen, the word which owns it is plural.

Moreover, this letter is largely used in the language, not only because it occurs in the middle of words, as well as in the prefix, but because the pronoun, which corresponds to the nouns of that class, is commonly used *by itself* in a general and neutral sense. This pronoun can then be exactly translated by the French word 'cela,' which the English word 'that' renders but insufficiently.

Therefore it is evident that this new letter is of the greatest importance; and the readers of Bleek's *Comparative Grammar* will notice that the alphabets of Sena and of

Tette also possess the same letter, which permits us to think that those dialects are closely related to Gwamba (see Bleek, § 471).

A very strange feature of the Gwamba language is that, unlike its sister-tongues, it has two nasalized vowels (see Lepsius' *Standard Alphabet*, pp. 58, 59). In Indian languages it appears that this nasalization is occasionally applied to all vowels; whilst I think that among European languages French alone possesses nasalized vowels. But Gwamba has only two, the sounds of which we find in the French words *ban* and *pain*, and which Lepsius writes \tilde{a} and \tilde{e} . However, those nasalized vowels are not found in a great many words.

Among the *twenty-eight* letters of the alphabet, the most frequently met with in the speech is certainly the vowel *a*: it appears in an average of 20 per cent. If we add to this that the proportion of the letter *e*, with its various shades, comes to 12 per cent., and of *o* to 8 per cent., the remaining vowels making together about 10 per cent., it will undoubtedly appear that the consonants take but one-half of the room in the speech, and that the language must sound soft and harmonious. This opinion will be strengthened by the consideration that there is no harsh guttural in Gwamba, the letters *k*, *g*, and *h* having not a hard pronunciation.

Euphony is indeed a very important element in the formation and derivation of Gwamba words. The same remark is of course applicable to the other Bántu idioms; but they do not follow the same phonetic principles. On the contrary, each particular language has special phonetic principles, which are its private property, and which can well serve as a distinguishing characteristic. This fact is so important that Bleek ought to have had a chapter on euphony in Part I. of his book, where he treats the subject of *Phonology*. Certainly it is very strange that Bleek, in his *Comparative Grammar* of Bántu Languages, did not write a word on euphonic principles and rules. Was it, perhaps, because he could not ascertain surely enough what these principles were in each language, on account of the scantiness of his sources of information? True

it is, at any rate, that one must be thoroughly well acquainted with a language to understand perfectly the principle of its euphony; and it has such a great importance that the grammarian must always be on the watch not to miss it. However, there can be no difficulty in finding examples where the application of euphonic rule is to be detected. Thus, it is the case with foreign words, when they are introduced into a language: two sister-tongues will not always give the same form to the same word, and generally Gwamba does not alter a foreign word as much as Suto does.

But let us take a few examples to show the way those idioms adapt to themselves a European word. The word 'book' has passed into several of the South African languages. Both Gwamba and Suto have retained the English sound, and have only added a termination, made of a vowel; but Gwamba has chosen the vowel *u* to make it harmonize with the first syllable, whilst Suto chose *a* in order to lighten the word, for in Suto the vowel *u* would in that word have too much weight. We have therefore *buku* in Gwamba, and *buka* in Suto.

Again, the Dutch word for *to work* is *werk*, from which Ma-Gwamba have made *berenga* and Ba-Suto *bereka*. This is in accordance with a remark made by Bleek, that in Gwamba (Tekeza) and in Xosa the tendency to nasalization is stronger than in Chuana. However, we cannot make of it a permanent rule, for even that nasalization of words is oftentimes affected by euphony; and after a careful examination one might possibly be led to say that the Chuana system of nasalization is the contrary of the Gwamba system. If we take, for instance, the English word 'paper,' we find that Ma-Gwamba have made of it *papelo*, without any nasal sound, whilst Ba-Suto have made it *pampiri*, and thus introduced a nasal consonant into it.

Still there are many foreign words which have taken the same shape in both languages, an example of which is found in the word *veke*, which in Gwamba and Suto means 'a week.'

Mr. Maples will have to prove the accuracy of his statement,

when he said in his "Notes on Ma-Kua," "The English *o* (as in 'go') is unknown in Ma-Kua and in South African languages generally, the *o* of the vocabularies usually standing for the English *oa* in such a word as 'soar,' or the *a* in 'water,' 'call,' etc." I beg leave to say that the sound of *o* as in 'go' is not unknown, but it is less common than the other shades of *o*. We find it in the Gwamba word *lo*, which is of frequent usage, in the word *ngopfo*, etc. It also occurs in the Suto word *bobe* 'evil,' *lona* 'you,' etc.

Many ways of combining consonants are to be found in Gwamba. But we must notice two remarkable peculiarities which occur in the union of certain consonants with certain vowels, or rather double-vowels. Let us take first the case of *m*, as illustrated by the first class prefix of nouns. This prefix is *mo*, and if it is applied to a radical which begins with the vowel *a*, it should seemingly give *mo-a . . .*, etc. But the "génie de la langue" does not allow of such a form, on account of euphony; and consequently the vowel *o* changes into the semivowel *w*, and the initial consonant *m* becomes a guttural *n*, which Lepsius represents by *ñ*, and which also belongs to English, as in the word 'singing.'

Therefore instead of *mo-a* the Gwamba says *ñwa*; for instance, 'a child' is in Gwamba *ñwana*, which stands for *mo-ana*.

But it is not only with the prefix *mo*, neither only with the vowel *a*, that this rule finds an application. The meeting of the vowel *e* will produce the same effect, of which an example can be taken from the locative case of certain nouns.

The locative is formed by adding *n* or *en* at the end of the noun; the word *mathamo* might in the locative have become *mathamo-en*, instead of which it becomes *mathañwen*. In the same manner the locative of *nsimo* will be *nsiñwen*, and so on with all substantives which terminate in *mo*.

The second consonant to be mentioned is *b*, which has an analogous peculiarity. This letter cannot in Gwamba precede two vowels of which the first had the sound of *o* or of *u*; it cannot precede sounds represented by the joined vowels *oa*,

ua, oe, ue, etc. We can take an illustration of this from a class of nouns whose prefix is *bo* or *bu*. Thus the Gwamba word for a 'boat' comes from the radical *at* and takes the prefix *bo*; consequently it might have had the form of *bo-at-o*. But the 'génie de la langue' and its euphonic principle cannot accept such a sound as *bo-a*; and will not even allow the vowel *o* to be replaced by its corresponding semivowel *w*, as was the case with the prefix *mo*. Here, instead of the *o*, the Gwamba will have the semivowel *y*, and the *b* undergoes no change, so that the *bo-a* becomes *bya*; and the word for a 'boat' will be *byato*. In the same manner, the word for 'beer' is *byalwa* instead of *bu-alwa*.

Again, the same rule applies to the locative case of the nouns which terminate with *bo* or *bu*, whatever may be their respective prefixes. Thus the word *hubo* will not make its locative in *hubwen*, but in *hubyen*. *Nkhubu* will give *nkhubyen*; *mekhubu*, *mekhubyen*, and so on.

IV. MORPHOLOGY.

Before giving here the table of the Gwamba classes of prefixes, it will be necessary to speak briefly of a word or letter whose character Dr. Bleek could not define. Quoting from his *Comparative Grammar*, we read in the paragraph 471 about "Tekeza" the following: "An initial vowel (frequently *a*), which is evidently unconnected with the prefix, occasionally precedes the noun in these vocabularies. The nature of this vowel is not clear. When an *a*, it may be merely the genitive particle."

We gather from this: 1. That Bleek has noticed that in Gwamba a vowel may precede the noun; 2. That this vowel may be either *a* or another vowel; 3. That this initial vowel is but occasional; 4. That it is unconnected with the prefix.

I am glad to be able to confirm Bleek's observations on this point, and I think I can explain the nature of this vowel.

As to the last sentence of the quotation, Dr. Bleek's vocabularies are not at present at my disposal, so that I cannot point out the words in which the said initial vowel may be merely "the genitive particle." But it is no matter of importance.

Now to the four observations which Bleek made upon the initial vowel, we must add a few more, which will lead us to understand its *nature*.

1. This vowel always precedes a word beginning with a consonant.

2. It may precede, not only nouns, though this case is the most frequent, but also other words, as, for instance, the preposition *ka*, the adverb *hāsi*, etc.

3. When a noun depends on a preposition, and a preposition always precedes its regimen, the initial vowel will *not* find room between the preposition and the noun.

4. This last rule is capable of a general extension, for the initial vowel will *not* precede a word which is so closely connected with a preceding word as to make with it a grammatical member of a sentence.

5. The vowel varies according to the phonetic character of the word it precedes.

6. It is usually found to precede the most important member of a sentence, or any important member, especially so when this member opens the sentence.

From these various observations it will appear that this initial vowel is an *epenthetic letter*, to the occurrence of which a double cause must be ascribed, namely: *euphony* and *emphasis*. Wherefore it has a double function: 1. When Ma-Gwamba pronounce a word of importance in their speech, they like to open the mouth with a vowel, especially after a pause; and they want this vowel the most when the first syllable of the word bears the accent. Euphony is then the ruling principle in such a case. 2. If in his speech a Mo-Gwamba wants to emphatically mark a noun or another word, he will as a manner of announcement put this initial vowel before it; but he must use the initial vowel which euphony would require. This second function is not

therefore opposite to the first; but very often they are united.

It strikes me that this Gwamba vowel is perhaps identical with the vowel which often precedes nouns in Xosa and Zulu, and which has also attracted the attention of Dr. Bleek. But I dare not insist upon comparing them, because Dr. Bleek assigns quite another rôle to the Kafir initial vowel. In paragraphs 461 and sequent he calls it "article" and he says (464): "Although it is clear that the initial vowel was originally a pronoun (derived from, and at first identical with, the derivative prefix which it precedes), and used with the force of an article, it can hardly be said now to have this power. Its employment appears mainly to depend upon usage, and scarcely upon any intention of thereby defining the noun. The position of this ancient article at the beginning of the noun accords with the general position of the demonstrative pronouns in Kafir, which in this language, as well as in Isubu, precede the noun, instead of being placed after it, as in Setshuâna and most of the Bântu languages. Vestiges of this old article are also found in some other Bântu languages (as in Mpongwe)."

After this quotation I feel justified in considering this initial vowel in Xosa as similar and parallel to the Gwamba one. But I regret to say I cannot endorse Dr. Bleek's opinions upon it. First, it was in vain that I sought in his *Comparative Grammar* for the ground upon which he states "that it is clear the initial vowel was originally a pronoun, and used with the force of an article." He gives no proof of this, and therefore the words "it is clear" must be taken only as the expression of a subjective opinion. Now, the end of the sentence, and the sentence following it, contain other statements which contradict his opinion; for he says that the initial vowel has *not now* the power of an article, that its employment depends upon *usage*, and that its function is *not to define* the nouns. Here, I quite concur in these three remarks: and I can only wish that linguists may study more closely the question of this initial vowel.

In fact the Bântu languages have no article, and their

peculiar genius admits of none. Often and often have I examined this subject, and I cannot conceive where room could be found to introduce a word which should be called an "article," whether definite or indefinite. Indeed, what is an "article"? In all languages, European or otherwise, which possess articles, we find that these are little words of a special kind which entertain intimate and peculiar relations with substantive nouns. But these relations are very precise and constant, and they may be said to take three forms or to follow three manners: 1. The substantive may be *without* any article, and is then taken in general, with its full extension. 2. The substantive may be preceded by the *indefinite* article, which then particularizes the notion of the noun; but it does not precise it. 3. The substantive may be preceded by the *definite* article, which particularizes and also precisifies the notion expressed, and draws the attention upon a definite individual or object.

There are thus three notions which, by means of the articles, we can apply to the substantive. But these functions of the articles are only *formal*, and they do not affect in any way the essential idea of the noun.

Now, the Bántu languages possess no special word to exercise this power; and if they want to precise and to define a notion, in order to refer to a single individual and to distinguish it from similar ones, those languages must have recourse to demonstratives, to adjectives, or to some other way of qualifying the noun.

But certainly this is not done by using the initial vowel which we speak of. The initial vowel is used for euphony and for emphasis, be they either joined together or separate. Had Dr. Bleek written a chapter on the phonetic euphony of the Bántu languages, he would probably have detected the nature of this vowel in "Gwamba" (Tekeza).

It will now be necessary to complete Bleek's table of the Gwamba *prefixes*, which are given on page 62.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

| SINGULAR. | PLURAL. |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>mo-, mu- n- (mo-l) nw- (mo-a-)</i> | 2. <i>ba-</i> |
| 3. <i>mo-, mu- n- (mo-l) n- m-</i> | 4. <i>me- me-l- me-</i> |
| 5. <i>ri-, re- (—)</i> | 6. <i>ma-</i> |
| 7. <i>t̂si-, ŝi- t̂še-, ŝe-</i> | 8. <i>t̂si-, ŝi- t̂še-, ŝe-</i> |
| 9. <i>in-, en- im-, em (—)</i> | 10. <i>tin- tim- ti-</i> |
| 5 (11). <i>ri-, re- rim- ren-</i> | 10. <i>ti- tim- tin-</i> |
| 14 (Abstract). <i>bo-, bu- by-a- (bo-a-)</i> | 6. <i>ma-</i> |
| 15. (Infinitive). <i>ko- ku-</i> | |

About these prefixes, Dr. Bleek says (§ 471): "The contraction of the form *mu-l-* to *n-* in the 1st and 3rd classes is the chief characteristic of the Tekeza species." This remark is true enough, but Dr. Bleek only possessed a very incomplete table of the Gwamba prefixes, as he himself tells us in the same paragraph. If he had seen a true list of them as they stand in our present table, surely he would have found in it a rich ground for investigation. He would, for instance, have considered as very peculiar and interesting the form of the 8th class, where a newly-discovered consonant forms a prominent feature. Again, his attention would have rested on the 3rd class, where the prefix *n-* is not only a contraction of *mu-l-*, but also a contraction of *mo* before the consonants *t*, *k*, etc., when the accent does not fall upon the prefix; and also on the 1st class, where *mo-a* contracts into *nw-a*; again, on the 14th class, where *bo-a* contracts into *by-a*, etc.

It is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Bleek was not able to complete his work and to write on the Bantu *system of verbs*. I have not yet seen this system fully explained in any book, in any grammar. True it is that it is so peculiar, so very different from what we are accustomed to find in European languages, that I am afraid it will be necessary to overthrow half of our traditional notions on grammatical exposition if we are determined to do justice to the conjugation of Bantu verbs. And first of all, a *conjugation*, what is it? What does that name mean? In a general sense, it means a complete and systematic collection of the forms a verb is capable of taking. Then in Gwamba there is but one such collection, because all the verbs follow the same kind of development. Therefore, in opposition to what we find in Greek, Latin, etc., we can say that in Gwamba, and generally in the Bantu languages, there is only *one* conjugation.

But this name of "conjugation" is often used in a more restricted sense by grammarians, so that in many grammars we are taught that the same verb is capable of following several conjugations, be they affirmative, negative, or otherwise.

Some authors even call by that name every set of moods and tenses which a verb may go through. But, if we were to do the same in Gwamba, it would be an easy matter to show that this language possesses some eighty or hundred conjugations. To take such a course would be somewhat improper, and it will be better to seek for more proper appellations.

We are accustomed to divide a conjugation in several "voices." But here again it is noticeable that grammarians do not agree on the meaning of this word, and that they follow no logical rule in applying it. Their disaccord leads to confusion, and comes from the fact that they have not properly stated what must be meant by a "voice." If we want to avoid that confusion, and to get a clear idea of the Gwamba, and indeed of the Bántu, system of verbs, we must give a precise definition of the word.

As a rule, two or three sets of moods and tenses are ranged under that heading of "voices"; they are the *active*, *passive* and *reflective*. This classification may be good for Indo-European languages; but authors have introduced it into the grammar of other families of idioms, without first examining whether it was really applicable. Were they justified in doing so? Have they not too easily yielded to habit and prejudice?

If the characteristic of a "voice" is only to mark the distinction of the *meaning* of the active and of the passive, then they are right; and consequently we should acknowledge that there are in Gwamba some twenty or thirty 'voices,' namely, the active, passive, reflective, causative, relative, reciprocal, frequentative, qualificative, etc. All of them are grammatically of the same formation; all of them are parallel modifications of the active primitive. To take an example, the word *Ko laba* means 'to seek': the passive is obtained by adding to the radical a syllable (suffix) composed of *i* and *w*, which gives *labiwa* 'be sought.' Similarly, the causative is obtained by adding *i* and *s* to the radical, which gives *labisa* 'cause to seek.' Again, the reciprocal is formed by adding *a n* to the radical, which gives *labana* 'seek each

other.' And so on, all the senses which differ from the primitive active are obtained in a similar way, and the new radicals formed in this manner follow exactly the same conjugation, or conjugations, as the active simple does. The formative process is the same either for the passive, the causative, or any other; and therefore they must be classed under the same heading. If then the passive is to be called a "voice," the causative must be also, as well as the reciprocal, the reflective, and also the combinations of them, for these forms often combine. But to have twenty, or more, voices, either simple or combined, would be rather puzzling.

Some authors have used another name and have called *derivative verbs* the causative, reciprocal, and a few more; but they retained the name of "voices" to apply it to the passive and active only. But in so doing they have created an arbitrary division between the latter class and the former, a division which does not exist in the Bantu grammar, and which has no ground to stand upon. In Latin and Greek the passive does not conjugate the same way as the active, so that there is an active and a passive manner of conjugation. Not so, however, in Gwamba, where active and passive conjugate exactly the same way, as well as the reciprocal, causative, etc. All these forms of the verb only differ by a small alteration of the radical; this alteration is different in each case, but its power and its value are always equivalent, consisting in the addition of a syllable of two letters only.

But then what shall we do? How shall we class those various forms of the Gwamba verb? If we are determined to acknowledge the grammar as it is, and not to mutilate it, it seems we must say that in Gwamba *any passive is but a derivative verb*, and that, beside it, there are several kinds of derivative verbs, such as the reflective, the causative, etc., which are formed by adding affixes to the radical. These affixes are ten in number. As they may be used either singly or in combination, some of the derivative verbs must be called *simple*, because they are formed by the addition of only one

affix; and some must be called *combined*, because they combine in them two or more formative affixes. If, for instance, we take the examples quoted above, we shall note that from the primitive *laba* 'seek,' the simple derivative *labiwa* 'be sought,' is obtained, as also *labisa* 'cause to seek,' and *labana* 'seek each other.' If then we combine them by two, we get *labisiwa*, of which it will be hard to give a right English translation, the meaning coming to this, 'they cause me to be sought'; and another combined derivative will be *labisana*, which means 'they cause each other to be sought.' An example of the combination of three suffixes in one derivative is found in the word *lahlekeriwa*, which means that the subject has 'lost some thing per accident.' This verb is a passive; but the formative suffix of the passive has been applied the last, that is, after the two other, because the sense to be obtained wanted it so.

Many other combinations may take place, and according to the sense of the root give new derivative verbs, in which the respective position of each affix may vary greatly; for it would be erroneous to think that the formative suffix of the passive is always found to occupy the same place. There is but one affix, which, when used, always occupies the same position, it is the formative *prefix* of the reflective; and this is due to the fact that it is the only "prefix" among all those formative affixes.

In opposition to all the derivatives, the verb, when taken as it appears in its simplest form, should be called the *primitive*. Still, one must bear in mind that both primitive and derivative conjugate exactly the same way.

Their conjugation consists of four different and full sets of moods and tenses. These four sets might be called either "voices" or "conjugations," the latter word being of course taken in a restricted sense. As our European languages possess no other expressions, we must choose between those two.

It seems desirable *a priori* to apply the more special term to the simpler division, and to reserve the more general name for the whole. Therefore we shall call "voices" the said

four sets of moods and tenses. We can do it the more rightly, since it has been shown that the passive is a *derivative* and not a voice, so that no confusion will ensue. Accordingly we can say that the Gwamba conjugation divides into *four voices*, as follows:

1. The first one expresses a simple affirmation of the action, and consequently it may be called the *simple affirmative voice*.

2. The second is used to express the action, but only in the relative sentences, and never in the principal proposition; wherefore it must be named the *affirmative relative voice*.

3. The third is always constructed with a negative adverb, and gives a simple negative statement of a fact, so that it may be called the *simple negative voice*.

4. The fourth one has also a negative construction and a negative sense; but its form can only be used in subordinate propositions which begin with a relative pronoun. We therefore shall call it the *negative relative voice*.

Those four voices are not equally rich in forms, because their respective nature cannot allow them always to follow the same development. Thus, the first and third have all the moods and tenses; whilst the second and fourth can evidently have no imperative mood, for an order cannot be given in a subordinate sentence. But apart from such natural deficiencies, all four voices are well provided with the necessary forms; not only that, but very often they have two, even three forms, where European languages have but one, and where indeed one would suffice. A speaker, when choosing among those various forms, will often be guided by mere euphony.

It happens, however, that the fourth voice, the *negative relative*, offers more complicated forms than the three others; and, as the genius of the Bántu languages is prone to simplify the speech as much as possible, the result is that this fourth voice is often avoided, and that the sentence takes another turn.

Many authors have written on the grammar of Bántu

languages ; but, till now, we have not been able to find in their books even the mention of these four voices of the Bántu verb. Shall we conclude from this that Gwamba is among all the Bántu idioms the only one to possess them ? Such a conclusion would not only be very hasty, but also quite wrong ; for, indeed, the four voices are actually existing in the other Bántu idioms, as a closer study of them will surely show. It seems as if the authors, when wishing to unveil to European scholars the structure of those peculiar idioms, had thought it necessary to cast the Bántu grammar in the mould of European languages, but that, in forcing it in, they nipped off those strange features which European languages had nothing to correspond to. It appears to me that the position of the Bántu languages is still far from being fully understood, and that several of their most interesting and most important features have been overlooked and missed. Let scholars make a thorough investigation of the whole matter, with an unprejudiced spirit, and they can be certain they will be richly repaid for their labour.

But to come back to our four voices. I can certify that Suto, which I have been using for the last ten years, has them also ; and it would be easy to lay down their conjugations. Moreover, when perusing the books relating to other Bántu languages, I easily detected in them the forms of the four voices, as they stand respectively in every language described by the authors.

Thus, in his *Kafir Grammar*, Davis gives a complete paradigm of the verb ; he gives the affirmative and negative forms of the tenses. But he never speaks of the relative forms, though they accidentally appear, or a few of them at least, here and there, in the sentences he quotes as examples for special rules.

Grout, in his *Zulu Grammar*, also gives the affirmative and negative verbs, but no relative voices. However, he could not help noticing the most evident forms of the latter, as they repeatedly appear in the paragraphs where he speaks of the "relative pronouns." Let us especially mention

§ 163, *e*, and § 173, 1 and 2. In the examples given there, it will be seen that the verbs at the relative affirmative voice terminate in *yo* and *ko* (according to tenses). But the author tries an explanation of this termination, and says it is "a pronominal euphonic suffix." This explanation is, however, insufficient.

If now, leaving the south, we want an example of how the matter stands in the most northern idiom, we can take Steere's *Handbook of Swahili*, and his *Swahili Exercises*. The author gives much explanation upon the conjugation, but he does not speak of the relative voices. We, however, find some bits of them scattered here and there, for instance, pages 127 and 135 of the *Handbook*, and pages 35 to 37 of the *Exercises*. The author did not miss the change which the verb underwent; but instead of searching the whole conjugation, he only gave the name of "relative sign" to the new syllable introduced.

This discussion would take us too far, if we were to go into more details, and therefore we must leave it now. However, it will be proper, I dare say, to give a sort of justification of our opinion, and to prove that it is rightly grounded. The best way to do that is to take an example of the simple affirmative and affirmative relative voices, and also of the corresponding English conjugation, and then institute a comparison, which, if laid out in a table, will at a glance tell the value of the relative forms of the Gwamba verbs.

Let us take the verb *ndi laba* 'I want,' and write the first person of every tense in the *affirmative simple* and in the *affirmative relative* voices, with the English meaning. In the table we shall suppose that the full sentences are 'I want the knife' *ndi laba mokwana*, and 'the knife which I want' *mokwana lowo ndi labaka*; but for the sake of clearness we will only write the subject and the verb.

This table shows that, in spite of the deficiencies inherent to a conjugation, which can only be used in relative sentences, still this *affirmative relative voice* owns a sufficient set of moods and tenses to allow of our calling it a "voice"; or if the term "voice" is thought objectionable, then there

remains only the other one, that of "conjugation," the use of which is in no way more exempt from inconveniences.

| SIMPLE AFFIRMATIVE VOICE. | ENGLISH. | AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE VOICE. |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>nda laba</i> | I am wanting | <i>ndi labaka</i> |
| <i>ndi laba</i> | I want | |
| <i>a ndi laba</i> | I was wanting | <i>ngi ndi laba</i> |
| <i>ndi labe</i> | } I wanted | <i>ndi labeke</i> |
| | | } I have wanted |
| <i>ndi labile</i> | } I had wanted | |
| <i>a ndi labe</i> | | } I had wanted |
| | } I had wanted | |
| <i>a ndi labile</i> | | } I had wanted |
| <i>ndi ta laba</i> | I shall want | |
| <i>a ndi ta laba</i> | I shall have wanted | <i>ndi nga ba ndi laba</i> |
| <i>ndi nga ba ndi laba</i> | I should want | <i>ndi ngataba ndi laba</i> |
| <i>ndi nga laba</i> | I can (or may) want | <i>ndi nga labaka</i> |

In the above table we have given only the first person of the singular of each tense; and it is sufficient, for a similar occurrence is observable in the Bántu conjugation as in the English one, namely, that in any tense the form of the verb remains unchanged for all the persons. Thus the English says:

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <i>I had wanted</i> | <i>we had wanted</i> |
| <i>he had wanted</i> | <i>you had wanted</i> |
| <i>she had wanted</i> | <i>they had wanted</i> |
| <i>it had wanted</i> | |

The pronouns make all the difference. Exactly the same thing happens in Gwamba and all Bántu languages.

Another similarity between English and Gwamba is noticeable in the examples given above. The sentences 'I want the knife,' and 'the knife which I want,' have indeed an identical construction in both languages. But the English has an article, whilst Gwamba has none, as formerly explained.

We find that in Gwamba there is but one conjugation, which every verb must follow. But that conjugation

tion exhibits two sorts of development : 1. The primitive verb gives rise, by means of radical affixes, to a vast series of derivatives, among which the passive must be classed. 2. Both primitive and derivative conjugate in four voices, of which European languages have no example.

It may be the right place here to make a summary remark upon the now generally adopted way of writing Bántu verbs and sentences. Most English authors incorporate in *one* word the verb, its auxiliary, its pronoun subject, and, if there is one, its objective pronoun. Grout, however, did not do so ; and, as a rule, French and German authors do not do it either. We think the latter are right, and we could prove it ; but a discussion on the matter would be here out of place. We can only say that if this system of orthography were adopted in English, we would, instead of a sentence like ‘ he had not told it you,’ have the big word *hehadnottoldityou*. There is no more reason to apply it to Bántu than to European languages.

A remarkable feature of the Gwamba verb is that the active is often used instead of the passive, if there is no possibility of amphibology.

V. SEMATOLOGY.

All the Bántu people have been led by nature to use the decimal system in arithmetic, for when they are counting, they always reckon the numbers with their fingers. But, whilst some tribes have special nouns for the first ten numbers, in others the numerals only reach as far as five, and then there is a distinct word for ten. The latter is the case with Gwamba. After five they count ‘ five and one,’ ‘ five and two,’ etc. ; and, again, after ten, they begin with ‘ ten and one.’ For sixteen they accordingly say ‘ ten and five and one.’ However, there is in Gwamba also a distinct word for ‘ hundred,’ so that, in all, the nouns for numerals are seven in number, whilst in English we find about thirty of them.

The ordinal numbers are nearly the same as the common

ones, but *the first* is quite different. In order to say 'the first,' a verb is employed which means 'to be in front of,' and it is used as a substantive ruled by the genitive preposition 'of.' The same thing occurs probably in all the Bantu languages.

Three different words are used for the verb 'to be,' namely, *ba*, *re* (or *le*), and *nga* (or *nge*, *ngi*). None of them has a complete conjugation; but they supply the deficiencies of each other. However, in simple sentences, when 'to be' is only the copula, it is allowed to drop, as in Latin.

The verb 'to have' is expressed by the copula followed by the preposition *na* 'with.' But as we have just said that the copula is commonly suppressed, there remains only the preposition *na*.

The negative adverbs are three in number. One is used absolutely to say 'no,' and the other two always accompany the verb. None of them can be joined with a substantive, and in order to say, for instance, 'no horse,' 'not a penny,' a short and impersonal phrase is generally used. This phrase means 'there is no . . .' or 'there was no . . .,' and on account of its frequent occurrence, it is sometimes taken with the power of an adjective.

It is scarcely possible to obtain from Gwamba people the names of the months, for they do not mind them. When any date is to be determined, they take their various agricultural labours as time marks, and they reckon the beginning of the year to be marked by the first gardening work of the season, which usually takes place in August or September.

Curiously enough, they are somewhat more particular about the division of the day. They have distinct words or phrases to express 'daybreak,' 'sunrise,' 'morning,' 'middle morning,' 'midday,' etc., to 'night' and 'midnight.'

Gwamba possesses a good number of abstract nouns, and when such a noun is wanting, it can be supplied by means of a verb, the infinitive of which is then used as a substantive. But, as might be expected, the actual abstract words express more often sentiments, passions, and moral dispositions, than intellectual abstractions.

Mimical gesture and intonation often accompany the speech. Thus, when an object is pointed to at some distance, the pitch of the voice is raised in proportion with the distance, and if the objects stand very far, the voice will attain the highest pitch. But, it must be borne in mind, that this is not characteristic of South African languages, for the same thing is done in Europe, either in a familiar and playful way, or by uneducated persons.

The Hottentot clicks which have crept into Suto, Xosa, and Zulu, are not known to the Gwamba language. However, the young men who learn Zulu affect sometimes to use clicks, by mere pride, to show that they know some words of foreign origin.

ART. VI.—*Dialects of Tribes of the Hindu Khush, from Colonel Biddulph's Work on the subject (corrected).*¹

EXPLANATORY NOTE.—As the following languages are not found in a written form, transliteration is not possible: they are, therefore, written according to simple English pronunciation, eked out with signs:—

| | |
|---|--|
| a unaccented to be pronounced as in 'have.' | u unaccented as in 'gun.' |
| á or ah as the short a in 'America.' | ù as in 'full.' |
| â as in 'dark.' | ü as in the French 'mieux.' |
| e unaccented as in 'shell.' | ai as the y in 'my.' |
| é or eh as in the French 'était.' | th and ph as in 'Trentham,' and 'uphold,' not as the Greek θ and ϕ . |
| è as the first e in 'where.' | gh and kh are pronounced much less gutturally than in Persian. |
| ê or ey as the a in 'way.' | ŋ and ɣ with a dot underneath, cerebrally as in the French 'non,' 'long.' |
| i unaccented as in 'kill.' | j with a dot underneath, soft as in the French 'jamais.' |
| î as the ee in 'feet.' | ñ as in the Spanish 'señor.' |
| o unaccented as in the French 'votre.' | |
| ô as in 'knot.' | |
| ō as in 'for.' | |
| ô as in 'hole.' | |
| ö as in the German 'schön.' | |

BOORISHKI (NAGER DIALECT), SPOKEN IN HUNZA, NAGER, AND YASSIN.

[This is the language called Khajuna by Dr. Leitner.]

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

Substantives are either masculine or feminine, as are also the first three numerals, which have masculine and feminine forms.

The genders of nouns expressing human beings are according to sex; all other living creatures, irrespective of sex, are masculine. All things made of wood are masculine, and all metals or things made of metal are feminine, except *jamé* 'a bow,' which is feminine; and *toomák* 'a gun,' *didoo* 'a bullet,' *chùr* 'a knife,' and 'coined money,' which are masculine. Things made of cloth of any kind are feminine, with

¹ [It is proposed to publish these corrections, from time to time, as there is space in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.—ED. J.R.A.S.]

some exceptions. All trees, plants, and grains are feminine, with one or two exceptions; and fruits are masculine, except *gaining* 'a grape,' which is feminine. All liquids are feminine.

The relations of substantives are expressed by the application of postpositions, which are alike both in the singular and plural.

| | <i>Singular.</i> | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>Nom.</i> | a man | siss. | men | siss. |
| <i>Gen.</i> | of a man | siss-é. | of men | siss-é. |
| <i>Dat.</i> | to a man | siss-er. | to men | siss-er. |
| <i>Acc.</i> | a man | siss. | men | siss. |
| <i>Abl.</i> | on a man | siss-etté. | on men | siss-etté. |
| | in a man | siss-é-ùloo. | in men | siss-é-ùloo. |
| | with a man | siss-é-kât. | with men | siss-é-kât. |
| | for a man | siss-é-gunné. | for men | siss-é-gunné. |
| | by or from a man | siss-tsùm. | by or from men | siss-tsùm. |
| <i>Voc.</i> | oh man | leh siss. | oh men | leh siss. |

The *é* interposed between the noun and postposition in the ablative is only for the sake of euphony, and is often omitted. All nouns, both masculine and feminine, are declined like *SISS*, except feminine nouns relating to human beings, as :

| | <i>Singular.</i> | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Nom.</i> | (thy) wife | gùs. | (thy) wives | gùs-hiunts. |
| <i>Gen.</i> | of (thy) wife | gùs-moh. | of (thy) wives | gùs-hiunts-é. |
| <i>Dat.</i> | to (thy) wife | gùs-mor. | to (thy) wives | gùs-hiunts-er. |
| <i>Acc.</i> | (thy) wife | gùs. | (thy) wives | gùs-hiunts. |
| <i>Abl.</i> | on (thy) wife | gùs-moy-etté. | on (thy) wives | gùs-hiunts-etté. |
| | in (thy) wife | gùs-mo-loo. | in (thy) wives | gùs-hiunts-moloo. |
| | with (thy) wife | gùs-mo-kât. | with (thy) wives | gùs-hiunts-kât. |
| | for (thy) wife | gùs-mo-gunné. | for (thy) wives | gùs-hiunts-gunné. |
| | by or from (thy) | | by or from (thy) | |
| | wife | gùs-mo-tsùm. | wives | gùs-hiunts-tsùm. |
| <i>Voc.</i> | oh wife | wah gùs. | oh wives | wah gùs-hiunts. |

The vocative exclamation differs according to the relationship between the persons. Men say *leh* to one another, and *wáh* to all women except their own wives. To their wives they use the exclamation *seh*, which is also used by women to one another.

The noun in the genitive is placed before the governing noun, as: *Sissé hághoor* 'The man's horse,' *Sissé tomáké dídoó* 'The man's gun's bullet.'

Every substantive and adjective has a suffixed termination both in the singular and plural, which is used somewhat as an indefinite or definite article, and is interposed between the substantive and the postposition. This termination is

always *un* or *wun* in the singular, but varies considerably in the plural, the commonest forms being *ing*, *isho*, *ùts*, *ik*, and *unts*. It is not necessarily discarded when used with a numeral, as: *Oomé bérùmán siss-ik yotsùmá* 'How many men did you see?' *Jáh hin siss-un yetsum* 'I saw one man.' *Jeh siss-un-kát niyum* 'I went with the man.' But it would be more correct to say: *Oomé bérùmán siss yotsùmá?* *Jáh hin siss yetsum.* *Jeh siss-kát niyum.*

The termination is never used in the singular with both adjective and substantive, but is suffixed to whichever comes last in the sentence, as:

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| A strong man | Shatillo siss- <i>un</i> . |
| That man is very strong | Iné siss bùt shatillo- <i>wun</i> bai. |

This rule, however, does not always hold good in the plural, where the termination can be used at pleasure, either with both substantive and adjective, or only with one; but it is more correct to use it only as in the singular, for instance:

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Strong men | Shatillo siss- <i>ik</i> . |
| Those men are very strong | Ooé siss- <i>ik</i> bùt shatill- <i>joko</i> bán. |
| Ten swift horses | Tôromo hùmalkùm- <i>isho</i> hághoor. |

The suffix when used is placed between the noun and its postposition, as:

| | <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Nom.</i> a horse | hághoor- <i>un</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints</i> . |
| <i>Gen.</i> of a horse | hághoor- <i>un-é</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints-é</i> . |
| <i>Dat.</i> to a horse | hághoor- <i>un-er</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints-er</i> . |
| <i>Acc.</i> a horse | hághoor- <i>un</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints</i> . |
| <i>Abl.</i> on a horse | hághoor- <i>un-etté</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints-etté</i> . |
| in a horse | hághoor- <i>un-ùloo</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints-ùloo</i> . |
| with a horse | hághoor- <i>un-ékát</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints-ékát</i> . |
| for a horse | hághoor- <i>un-égunné</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints-égunné</i> . |
| by or from a horse | hághoor- <i>un-tsùm</i> . | hághoor- <i>ints-tsùm</i> . |
| <i>Voc.</i> oh horse | leh hághoor. | leh hághoor. |

An adjectival noun is sometimes formed by adding the termination *kish* to a common noun, as: *imos* 'anger,' *imos-kish* 'an angry person,' but it is not employed as a simple adjective. 'He became angry' would be *imos manimi*.

THE ADJECTIVES.

The adjective precedes the substantive, as shown above. It is not declined. Adjectives that terminate in *o* change

the termination to *i* when in conjunction with a feminine substantive in the singular. No difference is made in the plural, or in adjectives that terminate in *ùm*.

PRONOMINAL SUBSTANTIVES AND ADJECTIVES.

A number of substantives and adjectives have pronominal prefixes, without which they are never used, and which are employed according to the relation of the noun to which they are prefixed. Each has seven forms; thus, to express 'head' it is necessary to say 'my head,' 'your head,' etc.; but there is no word for 'head' in the abstract. For instance:

| | | | |
|----------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| my head | <i>ai-yetis.</i> | her head | <i>moo-yetis.</i> |
| thy head | <i>go-yetis.</i> | our head | <i>mi-yetis.</i> |
| his head | <i>i-yetis.</i> | your head | <i>mai-yetis.</i> |
| | their head | <i>oo-yetis.</i> | |

When applied to animals or objects, the forms of the third persons singular and plural are used. The prefix is nearly the same in all pronominal words, both substantive and adjective.

The use of the regular pronouns is not obviated by these prefixes, but they are employed in addition; nor are the plural terminations discarded, as:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| My head aches | Jâ <i>aiyetis</i> <i>âkholjibi.</i> |
| What is thy name? | Oomé <i>goo-ik</i> <i>bessun dila?</i> |
| She had (<i>lit.</i> saw) a dream | Kiné <i>mooljî-un</i> <i>yétsoobo.</i> |
| Your tongues speak | Mâ <i>mow-nùsho</i> <i>gharichibiùn.</i> |
| Their brothers have gone | Ooé <i>ochookón</i> <i>nihân.</i> |

These substantives all denote objects or attributes which belong to a single individual, possession of which cannot be shared, such as 'head,' 'dream,' 'temper,' 'father,' 'wife,' etc.

The pronominal adjectives are compounds formed from the above substantives, as, *es-shokùm* 'generous,' from *es* (pronom. subs.) 'heart,' and *shokùm* 'wide,' the prefix being changed either according to the person of the verb it governs or is governed by, and denoting qualities which cannot be shared, as:

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| I became independent | Jeh <i>ás-goorùmun</i> <i>manâm.</i> |
| His father is brave | Iné yoo <i>es-dághânùsun</i> <i>bai.</i> |
| My wife is timid | Jâ ows <i>moos-goosâsun</i> <i>bo.</i> |
| We are clever | Miñ <i>mil-chikoyo</i> <i>bañ.</i> |

The following list comprises nearly all the pronominal substantives:—

| | SINGULAR. | | | PLURAL. | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | 1st Pers. | 2nd Pers. | 3rd Pers. Masc. | 3rd Pers. Fem. | 1st Pers. | 2nd Pers. | 3rd Pers. |
| Anger | ámós | gomós | imos | moomós | mimos | mámos | oomós. |
| Arm | áshuck | goonshuck | ishuck | mooshuck | mishuck | máshuck | ooshuck. |
| Aunt | ántsoo | goontsoo | inf-soo | moontsoo | mintssoo | mántsoo | oontsoo. |
| Back | ávulduš | goovulduš | ivulduš | moovulduš | mvulduš | mávulduš | oovulduš. |
| Beard | angyi | goongyi | ingyi | moongyi | mingyi | maingyi | oongyi. |
| Belly | owl | gool | yool | mool | myool | mow | ool. |
| Body | ádím | goodím | ídím | moodím | mídím | mádim | oodím. |
| Bone | áltín | gooltín | iltín | mooltín | mltín | máltín | ooltín. |
| Brother | áchoo | gochoo | choo | mochoo | mechoo | máchoo | ochoo. |
| Cheek | ámookúšh | gomookúšh | imookúšh | moomookúšh | mimookúšh | mámookúšh | oomookúšh. |
| Chin | ásun | goosun | isun | moosun | misun | másun | oosun. |
| Daughter | ay | goy | éy | moy | méy | may | oy. |
| Daughter-in-law | ákhákin | gookhákin | ikhákin | mookhákin | mikhákin | mákhákin | ookhákin. |
| Dream | owlji | goolji | yoolji | moolji | mljji | májjí | olji. |
| Ear | áltumál | gooltúmál | iltúmál | mooltúmál | mltúmál | máltúmál | ooltúmál. |
| Elbow | ásusún | goosúsún | isúsún | moosúsún | misúsún | másúsún | oosúsún. |
| Eye | áchin | goolchin | ilchin | moolchin | mlchin | máchin | oolchin. |
| Eyebrow | áltáns | gooltáns | iltáns | mooltáns | mltáns | máltáns | ooltáns. |
| Eyesh | árpúr | goorpúr | irpúr | moorpúr | mirpúr | márpúr | oorpúr. |
| Face | áshkil | gooshkil | ishkil | mooshkil | mishkil | máshkil | ooshkil. |
| Father | ow | goow | yooow | moow | myooow | mow | ooow. |
| Finger | ámish | gomish | emish | momish | memish | námish | oomish. |
| Foot | owtis | gootis | yootis | mootis | myootis | mowtis | ootis. |
| Grandfather | ápi | gopi | epi | mopi | mepi | mápi | opi. |
| Grandmother | ágoyiung | gogoyiung | igoyiung | mogoyiung | migoyiung | mágoyiung | ogoyiung. |
| Hair | áring | goring | iring | mooring | miring | máring | ooring. |
| Head | áyetis | goyetis | iyetis | mooyetis | myeyetis | mayetis | ooyetis. |
| Heart | ás | gús | es | mooos | mecs | más | oos. |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| Heel | ághán | googhán | ighán | mooghán | meghán | mághán | ooghán. |
| Husband | owyer | gooyer | idoomùs | mooyer | myoyer | moyer | ooyer. |
| Knee | ádoomùs | goodoomùs | íyl | moodoomùs | midoomùs | mádoomùs | oodoomùs. |
| Lip | aikín | goyl | ekin | moyl | míyl | mayl | ooyl. |
| Liver | áshítng | gookín | eshíng | mookín | mekin | maikín | okín. |
| Mother | áni | goomi | imi | moshíng | meshíng | máshítng | oshítng. |
| Month | ákhát | gookhát | ikhát | mooní | míni | máni | oomí. |
| Nail | owí | goorí | yoorí | mookhát | míkhát | mákhát | ookhát. |
| Name | aik | gook | ík | moorí | myoorí | mowrí | oorí. |
| Neck | ush | gosh | esh | mook | mík | maik | oook. |
| Nose | ámooopùsh | goomooopùsh | imooopùsh | mesh | mesh | másh | osh. |
| Palm of the hand | átuttus | gootuttus | ítuttus | mooopùsh | mímoopùsh | mámoopùsh. | oomooopùsh. |
| Shoulder | ápoíng | goopíng | ípoíng | mootuttus | mituttus | mátuttus | ootuttus. |
| Sister | áyus | gooyus | íyus | mopoíng | mípoíng | mápoíng | oopoíng. |
| Son | áyí | gooyí | íyí | mooyus | miyus | mayus | ooyus. |
| Son-in-law | árer | gorer | erer | mooyí | míyí | mayí | ooyí. |
| Temper | átsír | gootsír | ítsír | merer | merer | márer | orer. |
| Toe | ámísh | gomísh | emísh | mootsír | mítsír | mátsír | ootsír. |
| Tongue | ownúus | goomnúus | yoomnúus | memísh | mémísh | mámísh | omísh. |
| Tooth | ámé | goomé | ímé | myoomnúus | myoomnúus | mownúus | oomnúus. |
| Unele | ángoo | goongoo | íngoo | mómé | mímé | mámé | oomé. |
| Wife | ows | goos | yooos | moongoo | míngoo | mángoo | oongoo. |
| | | | | moos | mímoos | mámoos | oomoos. |

The pronominal adjectives are very few:—

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Brave | ás-dághánùs | gùs-dághánùs | es-dághánùs | moos-dághánùs | mes-dághánùs | más-dághánùs | oos-dághánùs. |
| Clever | álehhikooín | goolehhikooín | ílehhikooín | moolehhikooín | mílehhikooín | málehhikooín | oolehhikooín. |
| Generous | ás-shokùm | goos-shokùm | es-shokùm | moos-shokùm | mes-shokùm | más-shokùm | oos-shokùm. |
| Independent | ás-goorùm | goos-goorùm | es-goorùm | moos-goorùm | mes-goorùm | más-goorùm | oos-goorùm. |
| Miserly | ás-chedùm | goos-chedùm | es-chedùm | moos-chedùm | mes-chedùm | más-chedùm | oos-chedùm. |
| Quick-tempered | ás-goosás | goos-goosás | es-goosás | moos-goosás | mes-goosás | más-goosás | oos-goosás. |
| Timid | | | | | | | |

PRONOUNS.

The personal and demonstrative pronouns are declined as follows:—

| | <i>Nom.</i> | <i>Gen.</i> | <i>Dat.</i> | <i>Acc.</i> | <i>ja-ette</i> | <i>ja-úloo</i> | <i>ja-kát</i> | <i>ja-gunué</i> | <i>ja-tsùm</i> |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| I (<i>trans.</i>) | jáh | } já | jár | jeh | ja-ette | ja-úloo | ja-kát | ja-gunué | ja-tsùm |
| I (<i>intrans.</i>) | jeh | | | | | | | | |
| Thou | oom | oomé | oomer | oom | oomé- | oomé- | oomé- | oomé- | oom- |
| He (<i>this one</i>) | kin | kiné | kiner | kin | kiné- | kiné- | kiné- | kiné- | kin- |
| He (<i>that one</i>) | in | iné | iner | in | iné- | iné- | iné- | iné- | in- |
| She (<i>this one</i>) | kin | kinmoh | kinmor | kin | kinmoh- | kinmoh- | kinmoh- | kinmoh- | kinmoh- |
| She (<i>that one</i>) | in | inmoh | inmor | in | inmoh- | inmoh- | inmoh- | inmoh- | inmoh- |
| We | mîñ | mîñ | mîñmer | mîñ | mîñ- | mîñ- | mîñ- | mîñ- | mîñmé- |
| You | máh | má | mámer | máh | máh- | máh- | máh- | máh- | mámá- |
| They (<i>these</i>) | koo | kooé | kooer | koo | koo- | koo- | koo- | koo- | koo- |
| They (<i>those</i>) | oo | ooé | ooer | oo | oo- | oo- | oo- | oo- | oo- |

In the nominative singular a difference is made between a transitive and intransitive verb, by adding *é* when the former is employed, except in the first person, when a slightly different form is used, as shown above. No difference is made in the first and second persons plural: *é* is added to the third person sometimes, but is not obligatory:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| I went | <i>Jeh niyum.</i> |
| I saw the man | <i>Jáh siss-un yétsum.</i> |
| Thou sawest the man | <i>Oomé siss-un yétsooma.</i> |
| She went | <i>Kin nimo.</i> |
| He saw the man | <i>Iné siss-un yétsimi.</i> |
| They will come | <i>Koo joochen.</i> |
| They saw me | <i>Oóé jeh aiyétsoomum.</i> |

When reference is made to objects or animals, the following forms, which are not applicable to human beings, are used:

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------------------|--|
| this | { <i>khos</i> , masc. { <i>khot</i> , fem. | this | { <i>ess</i> , masc. { <i>et</i> , fem. |
| of this | { <i>khosé</i> , masc. { <i>khoté</i> , fem. | of that | { <i>essé</i> , masc. { <i>eté</i> , fem. |
| these | <i>khots.</i> | those | <i>ets.</i> |
| of these | <i>khotsé.</i> | of those | <i>etsé.</i> |
| This is the horse | | <i>Khos hághoor bi</i> | |
| This water is good | | <i>Khot tsil tultus dila</i> | |
| This is better than that | | <i>Khos-essé-tsùm tultus bi.</i> | |

REFLECTIVE PRONOUNS.

The reflective pronoun is formed by a reduplication of the personal pronoun:

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| I myself | <i>Jeh jé.</i> | we ourselves | <i>min min.</i> |
| thou thyself | <i>oom gooi</i> or <i>goo gooi.</i> | you yourselves | <i>máh maiyi.</i> |
| he himself | <i>in í.</i> | they themselves | <i>oo ooi.</i> |
| she herself | <i>in mooí.</i> | they themselves (<i>objects</i>) | <i>ets í.</i> |
| it itself (<i>masc.</i>) | <i>ess í.</i> | | |
| it itself (<i>fem.</i>) | <i>et í.</i> | | |

The genitive is formed by using the personal and possessive pronouns together — *jáh jehimoh*, *oomé gooimoh*, *iné iyimoh*, etc.:

DATIVE.
ákherer.
gookherer.
íkherer.
mookherer.
míkherer.
mákherer.
ookherer.

ACCUSATIVE.
Same as nominative.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

The possessive is also indicated by the following form :

| | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------------|
| mine | <i>jehimoh.</i> | her | <i>mooyimoh.</i> |
| thine | <i>gooimoh.</i> | ours | <i>miyimoh.</i> |
| his | <i>iyimoh.</i> | yours | <i>maiylimoh.</i> |
| | theirs | | <i>ooyimoh.</i> |

Examples.

| | |
|--|---|
| My house | <i>jehimoh háh.</i> |
| Her horse | <i>mooyimoh hághoor.</i> |
| His mother's head | <i>iné imimoh mooyimoh mooyetis.</i> |
| I wish you to teach me your language; in return I will teach you mine. | <i>jáh ruck echabá gooimoh bâsh aikin; etté budul jehimoh bâsh oomer goykyum.</i> |
| The cows which you saw were ours | <i>boouns be yotsoomá etsé miyimoh biün.</i> |

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

The interrogative pronoun is expressed by *ámin* or *menun* when relating to human beings, and *ámis* (masc.) and *ámit* (fem.) when relating to animals or objects, as :

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Which horse is this? | <i>Khos ámis hághoor bi.</i> |
| Which milk is best? | <i>Ámit mámoó tultus díla.</i> |
| Whose horse is this? | <i>Khos hághoor áminé bi.</i> |
| Whose house did you enter? | <i>Oom méné háhlé nibum.</i> |
| Whose is this? | <i>Khos áminé bi.</i> |

RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The relative is expressed by using *be* with the personal pronoun, as :

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| I who went | <i>Jéh be niyum.</i> |
| I who saw the man | <i>Jáh be sissun yétsum.</i> |
| This is the man who went | <i>Be nimi iné siss bai.</i> |
| The horse which I saw | <i>Hághoor be yétsum.</i> |
| This is the man I saw | <i>Jáh be yétsum iné siss bai.</i> |

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

Kúts and *men* are used in the sense that *wallah* is employed in Hindoostani, but are not used to make into verbal substantives as in that language, as :

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| A person of Hunza | Hunzoo <i>kútsun</i> |
| Nager people | Náger <i>kútsik.</i> |
| Somebody must go | <i>Menun niyuss áwâji.</i> |

PREPOSITIONS.

Besides *kát* 'with' and *yer* 'before,' which are suffixed to the noun they govern, certain prepositions have pronominal forms—

| | ME. | THEE. | HIM. | HER. | US. | YOU. | THEM. |
|--------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| near | ápuch | goopuch | epuch | moopuch | mipuch | mápuch | oopuch |
| behind | álji | goolji | ilji | moolji | milji | málji | oolji |
| accompanying | ákát | gokát | ékát | mookát | míkát | mákát | ookát |
| before | aiyer | gooyer | iyer | mooyer | maiyer | maiyer | ooyer |
| preceding | ángi | gùngi | ingi | moongi | mingi | mángi | ùngi |
| like | ásháski | gúshaski | isháski | múshaski | mishaski | máshaski | oosháski |

Example.

"He was standing in front of me; when I began to go, he went behind my brother." In já *aiyer* tsut diebum; jeh niyumúloo, já áchoo *ilji* nimi.

THE NEGATIVE.

The simple negative 'no' is expressed by *bé*. 'Not' is expressed by *ápi*, which is apparently a compound of the word *bi* 'is,' with the negative *á* affixed. For human beings *ápai* is used in the masculine and *ápo* in the feminine, as :

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|--------------------|---------------|
| Have you see him ? | No | Oomé in yétsoomâ ? | <i>Bé</i> . |
| This is not your gun | | Kos oomé toomák | <i>ápi</i> . |
| He is not here | | In koleh | <i>ápai</i> . |
| The Queen is not in the house | | Gánish háhlé | <i>ápo</i> . |

A negative form is given to the verb by affixing *ai*, *á*, *ow*. In compound verbs the negative is interposed, as :

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| I will not do (it) | <i>Jáh aiyechem.</i> |
| I do not know | <i>Jáh ákeyum.</i> |
| I am unable | <i>Jáh owléyum.</i> |
| I will not forget | <i>Jeh till-ai-âljum.</i> |
| I have not forgotten | <i>Jeh till-ai-âlum.</i> |

If the verb already begins with *ai*, *á* is interposed, as : *aikenuss* 'to teach me,' *ai-á-kenuss* 'not to teach me.'

If the verb already begins with *á*, *ai* is prefixed, as : *áruss* 'to send me,' *Ai-áruss* 'not to send me.'

THE VERB.

The verb is generally very regular with terminations expressing tense and person. The indefinite always ends in *áss*, *ess*, or *uss*.

A number of verbs conjugate the past participle as a tense. Among them are :

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|---------|-----------------|
| to do or to make | <i>etuss.</i> | to see | <i>yétsuss.</i> |
| to bring | <i>ditthuss</i> | to come | <i>jooyess.</i> |
| to ask | <i>doghârússuss.</i> | to go | <i>niyuss.</i> |
| to sleep | <i>gùchêyuss.</i> | | |

All tenses, except in the imperative mood, have different terminations of the 3rd person singular to express different genders of nouns or of persons.

The imperfect tense in the 1st person singular and plural, and the pluperfect in the 1st person singular, have two forms, which are used at pleasure without changing the meaning.

By the use of *úloo* and *etté* with the perfect tense a gerund in the form of a tense is produced.

The conditional or potential mood is formed by the suffix *ábé* 'or not' to all tenses of the indicative mood.

THE VERB.

Conjugation of the verb 'To Go.'

INFINITIVE MOOD.

| <i>Present.</i> | | <i>Future.</i> | |
|-----------------|---------|-------------------|----------------|
| to go | niyuss. | to be about to go | niyuss niyuss. |
| <i>Past.</i> | | | |
| to have gone | | niyus dilùm. | |

PARTICIPLES.

| <i>Present.</i> | | <i>Future.</i> | |
|---------------------------|-----------|-------------------|----------|
| going | nichoomé. | being about to go | niyussé. |
| <i>Past.</i> | | | |
| <i>Singular.</i> | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
| I having gone | ná. | we having gone | nimen. |
| thou having gone | nokô. | you having gone | námâ. |
| he or it having gone | nî. | they having gone | noo. |
| she or it having gone | nomo. | they having gone | nî |
| (objects) (<i>fem.</i>) | | | |

GERUNDS.

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------|
| in my having gone | jeh niyum úloo. | in our having gone | miñ num-úloo. |
| in thy having gone | oom nim-úloo | in your having gone | máh nim-úloo. |
| in his, her, its having gone | in nim úloo. | in their having gone | oo nim-úloo. |

SUPINES.

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| possibly to go | niyuss-ábé | must go | niyuss-awájé. |
| meet to go | niyuss-maiymi | ought to go | niyuss-díla. |

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present.

| <i>Singular.</i> | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| I am going | nichabá. | we are going | nichabân. |
| thou art going | nichoobá. | you are going | nichoobân. |
| he is going | nichoobai. | they (<i>human beings</i>) | nichoobân. |
| she is going | nichooboo. | are going. | |
| it is going (<i>mas.</i>) | nichibi. | they (<i>objects</i>) are going | nichoobiùn. |
| it is going (<i>fem.</i>) | nichimdila. | ing (<i>mas.</i>) | |
| | | they (<i>objects</i>) are going | nichhoobitsun. |
| | | ing (<i>fem.</i>) | |

Imperfect.

| <i>Singular.</i> | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| I was going | nichabum or nichabaiyum. | we were going | nichahum or ni- chahaiyum. |
| thou wast going | nichoobum. | you were going | nichoobum. |
| he was going. | nichoobum. | they (<i>human beings</i>) | nichoobum. |
| she was going | nichoobum. | were going. | |
| it was going (<i>mas.</i>) | nichibim. | they (<i>objects</i>) were | nichoohiùm. |
| it was going (<i>fem.</i>) | nichim dilùm. | going (<i>mas.</i>) | |
| | | they (<i>objects</i>) were | nichoobisùm. |
| | | going (<i>fem.</i>) | |

Pluperfect.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|
| I had gone | niyahum or ni- yabaiyum. | we had gone | nihum. |
| thou hadst gone | nibum. | you had gone | nibum. |
| he had gone | nibum. | they (<i>human beings</i>) | nihum. |
| she had gone | nibom. | had gone. | |
| it had gone (<i>mas.</i>) | nibim. | they (<i>objects</i>) had gone | nihium. |
| it had gone (<i>fem.</i>) | nimdilùm. | (<i>mas.</i>) | |
| | | they (<i>objects</i>) had gone | nihitsùm. |

Perfect.

| | | | |
|---------------|--------|--|---------|
| I went | niyum. | we went | nimen. |
| thou wentest | nimá. | you went | nimen. |
| he or it went | nimi. | they (<i>human beings</i>) | nimen. |
| she went | nimo. | went | |
| | | they went (<i>objects</i>) (<i>mas.</i>) | nimiun. |
| | | they went (<i>objects</i>) (<i>fem.</i>) | nimi. |

The perfect also acts as a future præterite, as 'I shall have gone,' etc., niyum.

Præterite.

| <i>Singular.</i> | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| I have gone | niyabá. | we have gone | nihân. |
| thou hast gone | nihá. | you have gone | nihân. |
| he has gone | nihai. | they (<i>human beings</i>) | nihân. |
| she has gone | nibo. | have gone. | |
| it has gone (<i>mas.</i>) | nihí. | they (<i>objects</i>) have gone | nihíun. |
| it has gone (<i>fem.</i>) | nimdila. | (<i>mas.</i>) | |
| | | they (<i>objects</i>) have gone | nibitsun. |
| | | (<i>fem.</i>) | |

Future.

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| I will go | nichum. | we will go | nichun. |
| thou wilt go | nichoomá. | you will go | nichoomun. |
| he or it will go | nichí. | they (<i>human beings</i>) | nichen. |
| she will go | nicho. | will go. | |
| | | they (<i>objects</i>) will go | nichoomiùn. |
| | | (<i>mas.</i>) | |
| | | they (<i>objects</i>) will go | nichimi. |
| | | (<i>fem.</i>) | |

IMPERATIVE.

| | | | |
|------------------------|--------|-------------|----------|
| let me go | nishá. | let us go | nischen. |
| go thou | ni. | go you | nîn |
| let him, her, or it go | nish. | let them go | nishen. |

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Present.</i> | | <i>Perfect.</i> |
| I may be going, etc. | nichabá-ábé. | I might have gone, etc. |
| | | niyum-ábé. |
| <i>Imperfect.</i> | | <i>Præterite.</i> |
| I may have been go- | nichabum-ábé. | I should have gone, |
| ing, etc. | | niyabá-ábé. |
| | | etc. |
| <i>Pluperfect.</i> | | <i>Future.</i> |
| I may or would have | niyabum-ábé. | I may go |
| gone, etc. | | nichum-ábé. |

A future form is given to the verb in all its tenses, either by reduplication, as :

I am about to go niyuss nichabá I was about to go niyus nichabum.

or by using the verb *manáss* 'to become,' as :

I am about to go niyuss maiyabá.

A verbal substantive is formed by adding the terminations *un* in the singular and *ik*, *oyki*, etc., in the plural to the infinitive, as :

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------------|-----------------|
| one who goes | niyuss-un. | one who strikes | delluss-un |
| those who go | niyuss-ik. | those who strike | delluss-shoyki. |

also in an alternative sense, as :

| | | | |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|
| something to eat | shiyuss-un. | something to do | ctuss-un. |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|

A few verbs form some of their tenses irregularly, as :

| | | | |
|----------|------------|------------|--------------------|
| Jooy ess | To come. | Pluperfect | daiy abum. |
| | | Perf. | daiy um. |
| | | Præt. | daiy abá. |
| | | Past Part. | dâ, dokô, dí, etc. |
| Delluss | To strike. | Pres. | dejabá. |
| | | Imperf. | dejabum. |
| | | Future | dejum. |
| | | Past Part. | nideli. |

A number of verbs form the past participle irregularly, as :

| | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| manáss | to become | past part. | nûmun. |
| osuss | to have | " | nós. |
| shiyuss | to eat | " | nishi. |
| etuss | to do | " | neti. |
| mináss | to drink | " | nimin. |
| hrootuss | to sit | " | nooroot. |
| yetsuss | to see | " | naiyets, nokoyets, niyets, etc. |
| gúcheyuss | to sleep | " | nookûcha. |
| aiyruss | to die | " | nooyr, nokoyr, nîyr, etc. |
| eshanuss | to kill | " | neskun. |
| ghasâss | to laugh | " | nookus. |
| yenuss | to take up | " | niyun, nokoyun, naiyun, etc. |
| gunuss | " | " | nookun. |
| tsooyess | to take away | " | nootsoo. |
| itsenuss | to count | " | nótsun, nokotsun, nitsun, etc. |
| ooyess | to give | " | noo. |
| soormunuss | to begin | " | noosoormun. |
| âwukuss | to fall | " | nâwuk, nokowuk, niwuk, etc. |
| ifoosuss | to shut up | " | nâfoos, nokofoos, mifoos, etc. |
| gharâss | to say | " | nookâr. |
| senuss | to tell | " | noosun. |

cum multis aliis.

PRONOMINAL VERBS.

A number of verbs have pronominal affixes, without which they cannot be employed, and may be divided into two classes:

CLASS I.

Verbs which change the pronominal affix according to the agent.

| | 1st pers. sing. | 2nd pers. sing. | 3rd pers. sing. masc. | 3rd pers. sing. fem. | 1st pers. plur. | 2nd pers. plur. | 3rd pers. plur. |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | I. | THOU. | HE. | SHE. | WE. | YOU. | THEY. |
| to arrive | dushkultuss | dokushkultuss | deshkultuss | doomúshkultuss | dimishkultuss | dámáshkultuss | dúshkultuss. |
| " be angry | ámós-manááss | goomós-manááss | imos-manááss | moomos-manááss | mimos-munááss | mámos-munááss | oomos-manááss |
| " be born | dumunuss | dokomunuss | dímunuss | doomoomunuss | dimémunuss | dámomunuss | doomunuss. |
| " burn (<i>tran.</i>) | áskolááss | gooskolááss | eskolááss | mooskolááss | meskolááss | máskolááss | ooskolááss. |
| " die | áiyruuss | gooyruuss | iyruuss | mooyruuss | miyruuss | mayruuss | ooyruuss. |
| " fall | áwulluss | goowulluss | iwulluss | moowulluss | miwulluss | máwulluss | oowulluss. |
| " be fatigued | áwáruuss | goowáruuss | iwáruuss | moowáruuss | miwáruuss | máwáruuss | oowáruuss. |
| " fear | ás-goosááss | goos-goosááss | es-goosááss | moos-goosááss | mes-goosááss | más-goosááss | oos-goosááss. |
| " forget | till-óluss | till-góluss | till-éluss | till-móluss | till-méluss | till-máluss | till-óluss. |
| " be happy | ás-goorááss | goos-goorááss | es-goorááss | moos-goorááss | mes-goorááss | más-goorááss | oos-goorááss. |
| " near | dáiyáaluss | dokoyáaluss | déyáaluss | domoyáaluss | dimiyáaluss | dámalyáaluss | doyáaluss. |
| " be hurt | ákoluss | gookoluss | ikoluss | mookoluss | mikoluss | mákoluss | ookoluss. |
| " receive | áyéyess | gooyéyess | iyéyess | mooyéyess | miyéyess | moyéyess | ooyéyess. |
| " recognize | áiyénuss | gooyénuss | iyénuss | mooyénuss | miyénuss | mayénuss | ooyénuss. |
| " remember | ásét-gunuss | goosét-gunuss | esét-gunuss | moosét-gunuss | mesét-gunuss | másét-gunuss | oosét-gunuss. |
| " try or to see | ásaluss | gosaluss | esaluss | mosaluss | mesaluss | másaluss | osaluss. |

cum multis aliis.

A tense of one of these verbs is conjugated as follows:

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| I am dying | (jeh) aiyriehabá. | (min) miyriehobán. |
| thou art dying | (oom) gooyriehobá. | (máh) mayriehobán. |
| he is dying | (in) iyriehobai. | (oo) ooyriehobán. |
| she is dying | (un) mooyriehoboo. | |

we are dying
you are dying
they are dying

CLASS II.

Verbs which change the pronominal form according to the object. These verbs supply the place of the passive voice, which is not directly expressed.

| | ME. | THEE. | HIM. | HER. | 1st pers. sing. masc. | 2nd pers. sing. fem. | 3rd pers. sing. | US. | YOU. | THEM. |
|------------------|------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| to ask | dághárùss | dokghárùss | deghárùss | domoghárùss | dímighárùss | dámíaghárùss | dómoghárùss | dímighárùss | dámíaghárùss | dómoghárùss. |
| " beat | ádelùss | goodellùss | idellùss | moodellùss | mídelùss | mádelùss | moodellùss | mídelùss | mádelùss | moodellùss. |
| " buy or sell | gushátùss | gushgotùss | gushctùss | gushmootùss | gushmetùss | gushmátùss | gushmootùss | gushmetùss | gushmátùss | gushmootùss. |
| " cherish | owshiyess | gooshiyess | yooshiyess | moooshiyess | myooshiyess | mowshiyess | mooshiyess | myooshiyess | mowshiyess | mooshiyess. |
| " count | átseùss | gootseùss | iseùss | mootseùss | mitseùss | mátseùss | mootseùss | mitseùss | mátseùss | mootseùss. |
| " deceive | áfílenùss | goolíenùss | efílenùss | mooílenùss | mífílenùss | máílenùss | mooílenùss | mífílenùss | máílenùss | mooílenùss. |
| " finish or kill | phushátùss | phush-gotùss | phush-ctùss | phush-mootùss | phush-metùss | phush-mátùss | phush-mootùss | phush-metùss | phush-mátùss | phush-mootùss. |
| " give | íoyess | gooyess | yooyess | moooyess | myooyess | móoyess | moooyess | myooyess | móoyess | moooyess. |
| " kill | áskanùss | gookanùss | eskanùss | mookanùss | mískanùss | máskanùss | mookanùss | mískanùss | máskanùss | mookanùss. |
| " make | átùss | gótùss | ctùss | mootùss | míctùss | máctùss | mootùss | míctùss | máctùss | mootùss. |
| " penetrate | áùss | gólùss | ólùss | mólùss | myólùss | móólùss | mólùss | myólùss | móólùss | mólùss. |
| " pull | jáshátùss | íashgótùss | íashctùss | íashmootùss | íashmetùss | íashmátùss | íashmootùss | íashmetùss | íashmátùss | íashmootùss. |
| " search for | áyegooyess | gooye-gooyess | ivegooyess | mooyegooyess | myyegooyess | máyegooyess | mooyegooyess | myyegooyess | máyegooyess | mooyegooyess. |
| " see | áyéctùss | gooyéctùss | iyéctùss | moyéctùss | míyéctùss | máyéctùss | moyéctùss | míyéctùss | máyéctùss | moyéctùss. |
| " send | áúss | górùss | órùss | mórùss | míwérùss | máwérùss | mórùss | míwérùss | máwérùss | mórùss. |
| " shut up | áfoosùss | goofooosùss | ifooosùss | moofoosùss | mífoosùss | máfoosùss | moofoosùss | mífoosùss | máfoosùss | moofoosùss. |
| " cause to sit | owrootùss | gorootùss | erootùss | morootùss | mírootùss | márootùss | morootùss | mírootùss | márootùss | morootùss. |
| " summon | dàrùss | dokorùss | dàrùss | doomoorùss | dímíurùss | dámáurùss | dàrùss | dímíurùss | dámáurùss | dàrùss. |
| " take away | átsooyess | gootsooyess | ítsooyess | mootsooyess | mitsooyess | mátsooyess | mootsooyess | mitsooyess | mátsooyess | mootsooyess. |
| " take out | dáooosùss | dookooosùss | díyoosùss | doomooosùss | dímíyoosùss | dámá-ooosùss | dooosùss | dímíyoosùss | dámá-ooosùss | dooosùss. |
| " take up | áyenùss | gooyenùss | iyenùss | mooyenùss | míyenùss | máyenùss | mooyenùss | míyenùss | máyenùss | mooyenùss. |
| " teach | áiktuùss | goykíuùss | ékiuùss | moykíuùss | míékíuùss | máyékíuùss | moykíuùss | míékíuùss | máyékíuùss | moykíuùss. |

A tense of one of these verbs is conjugated as follows :

Singular.

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| I am teaching thee | (jáh oom) gokyum. |
| I am teaching him | (jáh in) êkyum. |
| I am teaching her | (jáh in) moykyum. |
| I am teaching you | (jáh mâ) maikyum. |
| I am teaching them | (jáh oo) okyum. |
| thou art teaching me | (oomé jeh) aikîmá. |
| thou art teaching him | (oomé in) êkîmá. |
| thou art teaching her | (oomé in) moykîmá. |
| thou art teaching us | (oomé min) m êkîmá. |
| thou art teaching them | (oomé oo) oykîmá. |
| he is teaching me | (iné jeh) aikîmi. |
| he is teaching thee | (iné oom) goykîmi. |
| he is teaching her | (iné moy) moykîmi. |
| he is teaching us | (iné min) m êkîmi. |
| he is teaching you | (iné mâ) maikîmi. |
| he is teaching them | (iné oo) oykîmi. |
| she is teaching me | (iné jeh) aikîmo. |
| she is teaching thee | (iné oom) goykîmo. |
| she is teaching him | (iné in) êkîmo. |
| she is teaching us | (iné min) m êkîmo. |
| she is teaching you | (iné mâ) maikîmo. |
| she is teaching them | (iné oo) oykîmo. |

Plural.

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| we are teaching thee | (min oom) goykéyun. |
| we are teaching him | (min in) êkéyun. |
| we are teaching her | (min in) moykéyun. |
| we are teaching you | (min mâ) maikéyun. |
| we are teaching them | (min oo) oykéyun. |
| you are teaching me | (máh jeh) aikéymun. |
| you are teaching him | (máh in) êkéymun. |
| you are teaching her | (máh in) moykéymun. |
| you are teaching us | (máh min) m êkéymun. |
| you are teaching them | (máh oo) oykéymun. |
| they are teaching me | (oo jeh) aikéymun. |
| they are teaching thee | (oo oom) goykéymun. |
| they are teaching him | (oo in) êkéymun. |
| they are teaching her | (oo in) moykéymun. |
| they are teaching us | (oo min) m êkéymun. |
| they are teaching you | (oo mâ) maikéymun. |

The reflective form 'I am teaching myself,' etc., is never used.

A few verbs, such as *delluss* 'to strike,' are also used in an abstract sense or as compounds, without the pronominal prefix.

A few, such as *yegooyess* 'to search for,' only employ the prefix when referring to human beings.

NUMERAL VERBS.

A number of verbs have two forms according to the number of the object, as :

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------|
| to bring (one) | dit-thuss. | to produce (one) | desmenuss. |
| to bring (many) | doot-thuss. | to produce (many) | doosmenuss. |
| to count (one) | itsenuss. | to pull (one) | jashetuss. |
| to count (many) | ootsenuss. | to pull (many) | jashotuss. |
| to eat (one) | shiyuss. | to summon (one) | yegooyess. |
| to eat (many) | shooyuss. | to summon (many) | ooyegooyess. |
| to finish (one) | phush-etuss. | to see (one) | yétsuss. |
| to finish (many) | phush-otuss. | to see (many) | yotsuss. |
| to join (one) | desmâss. | to cause (one) to sit | erootuss. |
| to join (many) | dùsmâss. | to cause (many) to sit | orootuss. |
| to make (one) | etuss. | to strike (one) | delluss. |
| to make (many) | otuss. | to strike (many) | dóluss. |
| to open (one) | dinseruss. | to take up (one) | yenuss. |
| to open (many) | doonseruss. | to take up (many) | ooyenuss. |
| to play upon (one) | egaruss. | to teach (one) | ékinuss. |
| instrument. | | to teach (many) | oykinuss. |
| to play upon (many) | ogaruss. | to throw (one) | phull-etuss. |
| instruments. | | to throw (many) | phull-otuss. |

and all compounds of *etuss* 'to make.'

Examples.

I have eaten one apple
I have eaten five apples

Jáh hun báltun *shiyum*.
Jáh tsùndo báltun *shooyum*.

A comparison of the above lists will show that several verbs, such as 'to count,' 'to teach,' are both numeral and pronominal.

GENERIC VERBS.

A few verbs have different forms according to the gender of the object, as :

| <i>Masculine form.</i> | | <i>Feminine form.</i> |
|------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| to bring | dit-thuss. | doosooyuss. |
| to eat | shiyuss. | sheyuss. |
| to take up | yenuss. | gunuss. |

Examples.

I took up the gun
I took up the sword
I brought bread
I brought water

Jáh toomákun *yenum*.
Jáh guttunchun *gunum*.
Jáh shùro *dítsum*.
Jáh tsil *doosooyum*.

THE VERB 'TO BE.'

The verb To Be is defective, the only parts being :

INDICATIVE MOOD.

| | | <i>Present.</i> | | |
|----|---|----------------------------|--|-----------------|
| | | <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> | |
| 1. | bâ | | bân. | |
| 2. | bâ | | bân. | |
| 3. | { bai <i>mas.</i> } | } <i>for human beings.</i> | bân (<i>for human beings</i>). | |
| | { bo <i>fem.</i> } | | } <i>for animals and ob-</i> | |
| | { bi <i>mas.</i> } | | | } <i>jects.</i> |
| | { dila <i>fem.</i> } | | | |
| | | <i>Past.</i> | | |
| | | <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> | |
| 1. | baiyum. | 1. | bum. | |
| 2. | bum. | 2. | bum. | |
| 3. | { bum <i>mas.</i> } | } <i>for human beings.</i> | { bum (<i>for human beings</i>). | |
| | { bim (<i>for animals and objects</i> .) | | { biùn <i>mas.</i> (<i>for animals and objects</i>). | |
| | | | { dilùm <i>fem.</i> | |

The conditional is formed by the suffix of *ábé*, as in the verb 'To Go.'

GERUNDS.

| | | |
|---------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| baiyum-ùloo } | } <i>speaking of oneself</i> | { in my or our being. |
| baiyum-etté } | | { on my or our being. |
| bumùloo } | } <i>speaking of others</i> | { in his, her, or their being. |
| bum-etté } | | { on his, her or their being. |

The verb 'Manâss' 'to become,' is used to supply the deficiencies of the above verb.

Both are employed to express possession, as in Latin, there being no verb 'to have.'

I have a good horse
My father had a good sword

Jâ âpuch tultus hághoorun bi.
Jâ ow epuché tultus guttunchun maiym-
dilùm.

THE VERB 'TO BECOME.'

INFINITIVE MOOD.

| | | <i>Present.</i> | | | <i>Past.</i> |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------|----------------|---------|---------------|
| to become | | manâss | to have become | | manâss dilùm. |
| <i>Future.</i> | | | | | |
| to be about to become | | | manâss | manâss. | |

PARTICIPLES.

| | | <i>Present.</i> | | | <i>Past.</i> |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------|---------------|--------|-------------------|
| becoming | | maiyimé | having become | | { nùmun. uuma. |
| <i>Future.</i> | | | | | |
| being about to become | | | manâss | nùmun. | |

SUPINES.

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| possibly to become | manâss ábé. | must become | manâss-awájé. |
| meet to become | manâss-maiymi. | ought to become | manâss-dila. |

INDICATIVE MOOD.

*Present.**Singular.*

| | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| I am becoming | | maiýâba. |
| thou art becoming | | maiba. |
| he, she, it is be- coming | { for human beings | { m. maibai. |
| | | { f. maibo. |
| | { for animals and objects | { m. maibi. |
| | | { f. maiym dila |

Plural.

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| we are becoming | | maiýâbân. |
| you are becoming | | maibân. |
| they are becoming | { for human beings | maibân. |
| | | { m. maibiùn. |
| | { for animals and objects | { f. maibitsun. |

IMPERFECT.

Singular.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| I was becoming | | maiýâbum. |
| thou wast becoming | | maibum. |
| he, she, it was be- coming | { for human beings | { m. maibum. |
| | | { f. maibom. |
| | { for animals and objects. | { m. maibim. |
| | | { f. maiymdilùm. |

Plural.

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| we were becoming | | maiýâbum. |
| you were becoming | | maibum. |
| they were becoming | { for human beings | maibum. |
| | | { m. maibùm. |
| | { for animals and objects. | { f. maiymbitsùm. |

PLUPERFECT.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| I had become | | manâbum. |
| thou hadst become | | manoobum. |
| he, she, it had be- come | { for human beings | { m. manoobun. |
| | | { f. manoobôm. |
| | { for animals and objects | { m. manibim. |
| | | { f. manùmдилùm. |
| we had become | | manoobum. |
| you had become | | manoobum. |
| they had become | { for human beings | manoobum. |
| | | { m. manibùm. |
| | { for animals and objects | { f. manoobitsùm. |

PERFECT.

| | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| I became | | manâm. |
| thou becamest | | manooma. |
| he, she, it, it be- came. | { for human beings | { m. manimi. |
| | | { f. manoomo. |
| | { for animals and objects | { m. manibi. |
| | | { f. manimdila. |
| we became | | manoomun. |
| you became | | manoomun. |
| they became | { for human beings | manoomun. |
| | | { m. mnibiùn. |
| | { for animals and objects | { f. manibitsun. |

There is also a pronominal form of the perfect :

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|----------------|
| | | <i>Singular.</i> | |
| I became | | | amanum. |
| thou becamest | | | goomanooma. |
| he, she, it, be- came | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{for human beings} \\ \textit{for animals and} \\ \textit{objects.} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \\ f. \\ m. \\ f. \end{array} \right.$ | imanimi. |
| | | | moomanoomo. |
| | | | imanibi. |
| | | | manim dilum. |
| | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
| we became | | | mimanoomun. |
| you became | | | mamanoomum. |
| they became | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{for human beings} \\ \textit{for animals and} \\ \textit{objects} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \\ f. \end{array} \right.$ | oomanoomun. |
| | | | oomanibiun. |
| | | | oomanoobitsun. |
| | | PRÆTERITE. | |
| I have become | | | manâba. |
| thou hast become | | | manooba. |
| he, she, it has be- come | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{for human beings} \\ \textit{for animals and} \\ \textit{objects} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \\ f. \\ m. \\ f. \end{array} \right.$ | manoobai. |
| | | | manoobo. |
| | | | manibi. |
| | | | manimdila. |
| we have become | | | manoobân. |
| you have become | | | manoobân. |
| they have become | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{for human beings} \\ \textit{for animals and} \\ \textit{objects} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \\ f. \end{array} \right.$ | manoobân. |
| | | | manibiun. |
| | | | manibitsun. |
| | | FUTURE. | |
| I will become | | | maiÿâm. |
| thou wilt become | | | maiÿma. |
| he, she, it will be- come. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{for human beings} \\ \textit{for animals and} \\ \textit{objects.} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \\ f. \end{array} \right.$ | maiÿimi. |
| | | | maiÿimo. |
| | | | maiÿimi. |
| we will become | | | maiÿân. |
| you will become | | | maimen. |
| they will become | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{for human beings} \\ \textit{for animals and} \\ \textit{objects} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \\ f. \end{array} \right.$ | maimen. |
| | | | maiÿ miun. |
| | | | maiÿ imi. |
| | | IMPERATIVE MOOD. | |
| become thou | | | mané. |
| let him, her, it become | | | manish. |
| become ye | | | manin. |
| let them become | | | manishen. |

There is also a pronominal form :

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--|---|--------------|
| | | <i>Singular.</i> | |
| let me become | | | amanish. |
| let thyself become | | | goomanish. |
| let hem, her, it become | | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \\ f. \end{array} \right.$ | imanish. |
| | | | moomanish. |
| | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
| let us become | | | mimanishen. |
| let yourselves become | | | mamanooshen. |
| let them become | | | oomanishen. |

The conditional mood is formed as in the verb Niyuss 'to go' by adding *ábé* to all forms of the indicative.

A verbal substantive is formed by adding postpositions to the infinitive, as :

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| in the going | niyuss-úloo. | for the going | niyuss-gunné. |
| on the going | niyuss-etté. | from the going | niyuss-tsúm. |
| with the going | niyuss-kát. | | |

THE INTERROGATIVE.

The interrogative is formed by adding *ú* to the verb, or by laying a stronger accent on it, if it already terminates in *ú*, as :

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|----------|
| <i>Singular.</i> | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
| is he bringing? | dishoobaiya. | are they drinking? | mibána. |
| hast thou brought? | dithoomá. | were we drinking? | miabuma. |

ADVERBS.

There are a few regular adverbs, such as *áshingai* 'carelessly,' *talán* 'slowly,' etc., but the more usual form is to employ the adjective without adding the termination *un*, or to use *né* or *númun* the past participles of the verbs ETUSS 'to do' or MANÁSS 'to become,' with the termination, as :

He came quickly, and proudly (and) bravely drew his sword.

In hùmalkùm ðimi, dâ muchârun
númun es-dághânûsun *né* guttunch
dyoosimi.

Lit. "He quick came, and proud having become, brave having done, sword drew."

EXAMPLES.

1.

Iron is hard.

Chîmer dungun dila.

Lead is heavy.

Nâng tsoomun dila.

Gold is heavier than silver.

Genish boorî tsùm tsoomun dila.

My horse is swifter than my brother's.

Jâ hághoor já áchooé hághoor
tsùm hùmalkùmun bi.

Who is that man?

Iné ámin bai?

Your horse is lame.

Oomé hághoor gowoo bi.

I forgot to get it shod.

Sârpomûts efoosuss tillâlum.

Remember to do it to-morrow.

Gosúloo-gun chimden iner etuss.

How far is it from here to Nager?

Bérumân muttun dila kolémo

Nagerer.

- I went to Bassin to play polo, but when I arrived at the Shawaran I was ill, so I returned.
- I am hungry; give me something to eat.
- Here are ten water melons. They are too acid to eat.
- I saw some fine fruit in my brother's garden.
- Have you forgotten to ask him?
- I will beat you if you do not remember.
- You must go there.
- I have to go, because there is much business.
- I will send my foster brother in my place.
- Yesterday one man "a hawk on a walnut tree is perched" (*lit.* fallen) said, then I went and there two men caused to sit. Night to become till they sat, afterwards they came, and to sleep time on its becoming torches having taken I went with me six men I took. Gently making near it we went, much time we sat. Time from one man I sent, that man near having gone carelessly rose. On his rising that hawk alert made to so much (that) having flown he went. I to the boys "a torch should be, look if again some where on the trees (it) has perched," said. Those lads "torches are not" said, on that silent having become again I slept.
- Jeh Bassiner niyum bùlla delluss gunné, umma, shábárun dush-kultum atôloo gális amanum, etté gunné ilji talinum.
- Chumini bâ; jár shiyussun jowoo.
- Koleh toromo boerisho biùn.
- Shooyesser bùt shùkooùmisho biùn.
- Jâ áchoóé bussíloo tultus phámu-lishoik yotsum.
- Oomé iner doghârususs tillgo-loomâ?
- Akanâ oomé gùsetté owgunoo-mâké jáh oom goodejum.
- Oom elleh niyuss áwâjé.
- Niyuss dila, bessunké dùra bùt dila.
- Ooshum áchoowun já bâgo er-chum seyabá.
- Sáboor hiné "bâshân tillyetté wullibi" senimi, etôloo jeh niyum nâ elleh áltun siss orùtum. Shâm manâss kâsh-inger hrootoomun, itsyeté doomun, dà gùchèyuss ken manâssùloo gáreng nookun niyum ákhât mishindoowân siss ootsooyum. Khish ec-hoomé epuch nimen, tùshâr kenum hrootoomun. Kenum tsùm hinyeté érum, iné siss epuch ní áshingai dâl manimi. Iné dâl manâssetté essé bâsha lel etimi tairùmâner thur nidili nimi. Jáh jotoomùtser "hulching manâss dila, bârenin huzâr dâkùloo ámùloo tomunetté wulljia" senum. Ooé jotoomùtsé "hulching ápih" senoomun. Etté tsùm chùkné dà gùchèyum.

Translation.

Yesterday a certain man told me that a hawk had perched on a walnut tree, on which I went and caused two men to sit there. They sat till nightfall, after which they came, and as soon as it was sleeping time I took torches and went, taking six men with me. We approached gently and sat a long time. After a time I sent one man, who having approached stood up carelessly. The hawk was alarmed by his standing up so that it flew away. I told the boys to get a torch and see if the hawk had again perched somewhere on the trees. The boys said there was no torch, so being unable to say anything I went to sleep.

2.

Sáboor jeh ishkurer niyum, sùndo siss jákât doobum. Jákât áltáts bázishoyki toomákun bim. Etsé bázisho hun serunké, áltáts táłjo, dá mishindo gowoo donimiyun. Itsyeté iské sissé kât hághoorké bázisho háhler otsooyum, dá hikùm ooé kât jeh etté gáher niyum. Phâlis kenum tsùm donun girik yotsoomun. Kâñsh maiyimi opuch nimen, hun ooyùm iltùrengé giriyun dellum. Hín sissuné essé nìun hâh yekal nimi. Jáh elleh thùm dá matân dishuner niyum elleh desh kultumetté tupp manimi ooyùm bùnun-yâré gùchumun. Yettùm gùntsùloo phâlisun bêsko thànùm chishun-etté nimen, dá phâlis donun girik yotsoomun. Elleh bârenussùloo sirgâné sissik etté gâh-ùloo joochoobum jáh yotsum, umma ooé yonuss owlenoomun, miñ mes-goosoomun huzâr dùshmooyok maimen etté-gunné hâh yekal nimen.

Translation.

Yesterday I went out hunting, and five men came with me. I had two hawks and a gun with me. The hawks caught one hare, two pigeons and six partridges. After that I sent three men home with my horse and the hawks and went up the valley with the others. After a short time we saw a herd of wild goats. We crept close, and I shot one wild goat with large horns. One man having taken it up went towards home. I went on to a further place and having arrived there, night came on, we slept under a big rock. The next day we ascended a very steep (*lit.* little-sloping) and high mountain, and saw a small herd of wild goats. While looking down I saw some men coming along the valley, but was not able to recognize them, (and as) we feared lest they should be enemies, therefore we went towards home.

3.

Koolto taiy kut niyabum bârenáké hin sissun tòmunetté yetté doosoobum, tairùmâner taiy dullum hín sissun gharichoomé dimi epuch dî deghârùsimi “oom yetté bess doosoobâ?”

Iné senimi “bess bessun munna dila.” Senussùloo dâ iné senimi “áwá, jáh munna etaba já koleh oomé be bi.” Iné senimé “shooa, jeh yetté doosaba bareyum bessun echoomáké, joo.” Etté senuss-etté yârùm iné multsimi.

Multsâssùloo yettùm inéké multsimi tairùmâner yârùm iné yettùm iné yekal daiyok dellimi. Etsé daiyo-tsùm hun dunnun delluss-kât yettùm iné iyetusetté yemi.

Yeyessùloo yettùm inéké yâré dimi, dî, inéké dunnuné iné iyetu-sùloo dellimi. Essé delluss-kât phâlisun iyetus khárimí, mùltun dîmi, tairùmâner etté puchùm khoté puchùm siss doo phut ootoomun.

Etté bùshaié Chârboo elleh bum, oyon gutti nù má Tarangfah epuch nimen. Iné Tarangfáh ooé ustum etuss owlenimi.

Iné Tarangfah-ké nîa Wuzeeré epuch nimen. Niyussùloo Wuzeer háhle ápum. Wuzeeré supooyârer dogharùsoomun “Wuzeer um nibaiya?”

Supooyâr oeer senoomun “Wuzeer koleh ápai; Thum epuch nibai.” Ellémoo gharichoomé Thum epuch nimen.

Thumké Wuzeeré oltalik gutti nùma bum, bârenumké ghari-choomé bùt sissik doomun; opuch joochumké áltun sissiké mùltun dibùlum.

Thumké Wuzeer doghârùsoomun, “be manoomun?” Ellémoo Tarangfah áwul-tsùm mùshuter oyon cheghah etimi; tairùmâner Thumké Wuzeeré ustum né oltálik etté hùnnum oyenoomun.

Translation.

To-day I had gone down (the valley) in that direction and saw a man who had climbed (*lit.* had gone out) on a tree, so that a man came calling up (the valley) in that direction and having come close asked him, “Why, have you climbed up?”

He said, “Why, what is forbidden?” On his saying this he (the other one) also said, “Yes, I had forbidden it; what business have you here?” (*lit.* what is to you in this of mine?). He said, “Well, I have climbed up, I will see what you can do. Come.” On his saying this the one below abused him.

On his abusing, the one above also gave abuse, so that the one below threw stones towards the one above. From those stones the one above received one stone by striking on his head.

On being hit (*lit.* receiving) the one above came down ; having come, he also struck him (the other) on the head with a stone. That one with beating had his head a little wounded, and blood came, so that men, having come from this side and that side, separated them.

The Charboo of the village was there, and all having got together went to the Tarangfah. The Tarangfah was not able to settle the case (*lit.* to make judgment).

The Tarangfah also having taken them went to the Wuzeer. On going, the Wuzeer was not at home. They asked the Wuzeer's household, "Where has the Wuzeer gone?"

The household told them, "The Wuzeer is not here ; he has gone to the Thum." They telling it (to one another) went to the Thum.

The Thum and the Wuzeer were both together and saw many men come talking ; (when) they came near (they saw that) two men were bleeding. The Thum and Wuzeer asked them, "What has happened?" They enquired from first to last the whole account of the Tarangfah ; so that the Thum and Wuzeer having awarded judgment, fined (*lit.* took goods from) both.

VOCABULARY.

All pronominal verbs, nouns, etc., are given in the 3rd person, and marked (*pron.*).

Numeral verbs are given in the singular and marked (*num.*).

Some substantives are alike in both numbers, but the plural forms of a few are omitted.

The plural forms of all the adjectives are omitted.

| | |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| To be able | ùlenuss. |
| Above | mudull. muddâl. yettùm. |
| Abuse | ehùdo <i>f.</i> ehùdoing <i>pl.</i> |
| To abuse | multsàss. |
| Account | eheghah <i>f.</i> |
| Acid | skùkooorùm. |
| Across | bireeho. |
| Active | hùmalkùm. |
| To advise | kunow etuss. |
| After | ilji. |
| Afterwards | its-yeté. |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Again | dâ. dâkùloo. |
| Air | ghùl. |
| Alertness | lel <i>f.</i> |
| All | oyon. |
| Along | horsk. |
| Alongside of | king. |
| Also | ké (<i>suffixed</i>) |
| Although | âkhanâ. |
| Always | hamêsh. |
| And | dâ, nâ. |
| Anger | imos <i>f. (pron.)</i> |
| To be angry | imos manâss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Another | tùm. |
| Another time | yetùm dum. |
| Answer | joowâb. |
| To answer | joowâb etuss. |
| Ant | kòn <i>m.</i> , koyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Anxiety | sumba <i>f.</i> |
| Anxious | goonôsh. |
| Apart | itsé. |
| Apple | bâlt, bâlting <i>pl.</i> |
| Apricot | joo, jông <i>pl.</i> |
| Arm | ishuck <i>f. (pron.)</i> , ishuckichung <i>pl.</i> |
| Arms (weapons) | samân <i>f.</i> |
| Army | hol <i>m.</i> |
| To arrive | deshkultuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Arrow | hùnts <i>m.</i> , hùnzé <i>pl.</i> |
| To ask | deghârùsuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To ask for | doomârus. |
| Ass | jakùn <i>m.</i> , jakoyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Aunt (father's sister) | instoo <i>f. (pron.)</i> . intsootaro <i>pl.</i> |
| (mother's sister) | imi <i>f. (pron.)</i> |
| Autumn | duttoo <i>f.</i> |
| Avalanche | shel <i>m.</i> |
| Away | phut. |
| Back | iwuldus <i>m. (pron.)</i> |
| Bad | ghonaikish. |
| Barley | hurri <i>f.</i> |
| Bat | tatâpul <i>m.</i> , tatâpulsho <i>pl.</i> |
| Battle | birgah <i>f.</i> , birgaing <i>pl.</i> |

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| To be | manâss. |
| Bean | rabòng <i>m.</i> |
| Bear | yân <i>m.</i> , yâmùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Beard | ingyi <i>f.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To beat | idelluss (<i>pron.</i>), delluss. |
| Beautiful | tultus. |
| Because | besské, bessunké. |
| To become | manâss. |
| Before (<i>place</i>) | yèr. |
| Before (<i>time</i>) | tsor. |
| To begin | soormunuss. |
| Behind | ilji. |
| Belly | yool <i>m.</i> , yooling <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Beloved | shildâto. |
| Below | sirgân, yâr. |
| To betray | efilenuss. |
| Betrothal | hâr <i>f.</i> |
| Between | mákùch, harung. |
| To bind | ifoosuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Bird | buluts <i>f.</i> , bulutsisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Bitter | ghákowm. |
| Black | mâtùm. |
| Blind | shon. |
| Blood | mùltun <i>f.</i> |
| To blossom | tròk manâss, dookuruss. |
| To blow | phoo etuss. |
| Blue | aiyesh shikum. |
| Blunt | phut. |
| Body | idim <i>m.</i> , idimisho <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Bone | iltin <i>m.</i> , iltinjo <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To be born | dímunuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Both | oltalik. |
| Boundary | dir <i>f.</i> , dirming <i>pl.</i> |
| Bow | jamé <i>f.</i> , jameng <i>pl.</i> |
| Boy | hillus <i>m.</i> , hileshe <i>pl.</i> , jotis <i>m.</i> , jotù- mùts, <i>pl.</i> |
| Brain | mutto <i>f.</i> |
| Brass | shikurk rîl <i>f.</i> |
| Brave | es dághânùs (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Bread | shorô <i>m.</i> |
| To break | yelluss. |

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Breath | hish <i>f.</i> |
| Brick | dishtik <i>m.</i> , dishtikisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Bride | garôni <i>f.</i> |
| Bridegroom | garôno <i>m.</i> |
| Bridle | tabung <i>f.</i> |
| Bridge | bush <i>m.</i> , bushunts <i>pl.</i> |
| To bring | dit-thuss (<i>num.</i>). doosooyuss. |
| Broad | duldullùm, shokùm. |
| To be broken | kháruss, gulluss. |
| Brooch | chámah <i>m.</i> , chámámùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Brother | echoo <i>m.</i> , ehookon <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Brown | gooro. |
| Reddish-brown | soormai. |
| Bull | her <i>m.</i> , hero <i>pl.</i> |
| Bullet | didoo <i>m.</i> , didoomùts <i>pl.</i> |
| To burn (<i>trans.</i>) | eskolâss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To burn (<i>intrans.</i>) | gholâss. |
| Business | dùro <i>f.</i> |
| But | umma. |
| Butterfly | bitun <i>m.</i> , bitaiyo <i>pl.</i> |
| To buy | gushetuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| By | tsùm (<i>suffixed.</i>) |
| To call | kow etuss. |
| Calling | kow <i>f.</i> |
| Camel | oont <i>m.</i> |
| Care | shung <i>f.</i> |
| Carelessly | áshingai. |
| Cattle (<i>collectively</i>) | booánts. |
| Charm | tùmer <i>f.</i> , tùmering <i>pl.</i> |
| Cheek | imookùsh <i>f.</i> , imookeyung, <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To cherish | yooshiyess (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Chin | isun <i>m.</i> , isaiyo <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Circle | bidiro <i>m.</i> , bidirjoko <i>pl.</i> |
| Clarionet | sùrnai <i>m.</i> , tooták <i>m.</i> |
| Clean | praish. |
| Clever | ilchikooïn (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Clothes | guttoo <i>m.</i> , guttong <i>pl.</i> |
| Cloth | hùnnum <i>f.</i> |
| Cloud | hàrált <i>f.</i> , hàráltíng <i>pl.</i> |
| Cock | bìro kerkâmùts <i>m.</i> |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Cold | chagoorùm. |
| Colour | rung <i>f.</i> |
| To come | jooyess. |
| Confidence | buchik <i>f.</i> |
| To cook | deseruss. |
| Copper | bârdùm rîl <i>f.</i> |
| Corner | shùti <i>f.</i> , shùteng <i>pl.</i> |
| Four-cornered | wáto shùteng. |
| Corpse | gootus <i>m.</i> , gootesho <i>pl.</i> |
| Cough | kùs <i>f.</i> |
| To count | itsenuss (<i>pron num.</i>) |
| Courage | bâghdoori <i>f.</i> |
| Cousin | echoo <i>m.</i> , iyus <i>f.</i> |
| Cow | booh <i>f.</i> , booánts <i>pl.</i> |
| To creep | kâñsh manâss. |
| Crooked | gunder. |
| Crow | gân <i>m.</i> , gaiyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Cultivation | bùshai <i>f.</i> |
| Custom | chól <i>f.</i> , chólîng <i>pl.</i> |
| To cut | eskártsuss, chùrùk etuss. |
| To dance | gîretuss. |
| Dancing | nut <i>f.</i> |
| Dangerous | náro, es goosâss. |
| Darkness | tootung <i>f.</i> |
| Daughter | éy <i>f.</i> , éyùshunts <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Daughter-in-law | ikhâkin <i>f.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Day | gùnts <i>f.</i> , gùntsîng <i>pl.</i> |
| Mid-day | dogoyi <i>f.</i> |
| To-day | koolto. |
| Deaf | gùt. |
| Death | mârun <i>f.</i> |
| Deceit | gultung <i>f.</i> |
| Deceitful | gultung-kish. |
| To deceive | efilenuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To defend | shung etuss, rutch etuss. |
| Destitute | tárák. |
| Dew | puts <i>f.</i> |
| To die | îyruss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Different | fhâr. |
| Difficult | dôm |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Dirty | trek. |
| Disposition | itsir <i>f.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To divide | îtsé etuss. |
| Divorce | phut. |
| To do | etuss. |
| Dog | hùk <i>m.</i> , hùkaiy <i>pl.</i> |
| Door | hing <i>f.</i> , hingeng <i>pl.</i> |
| Down | kut, yâr. |
| Dreadful | bághèrk |
| Dream | yoolji <i>f.</i> , yooljing <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To drink | minâss. |
| Drum | dudung <i>m.</i> , dudungisho <i>pl.</i> |
| To be drunk | muchâr etuss. |
| Dry | bùm |
| Eagle | germùn <i>m.</i> , germoyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Ear | iltùmál <i>f.</i> , iltùmáling <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Earth | tik <i>f.</i> |
| The earth | bîrdi <i>f.</i> |
| Earthquake | boonyul <i>f.</i> |
| East (sunrise) | jill. |
| Easy | sucho. |
| To eat | shiyuss (<i>num.</i>), sheyuss. |
| Eclipse | grân <i>m.</i> |
| Edge | ing, ingisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Egg | ting <i>m.</i> , tingaiyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Elbow | isùsùn <i>m.</i> , isùsùnisho <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Elephant | husto <i>m.</i> , hustomùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Empty | pùsh. |
| Enemy | dùshmun <i>m.</i> |
| To enter | giess. |
| To envy | koos etuss. |
| Envy | koss <i>f.</i> |
| Equal | bubber. |
| To escape | diwásuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Evening (<i>lit.</i> sunset) | sáboor, <i>f.</i> |
| Ever | béshál. |
| Everybody | oyon. |
| Everything | oyon. |
| Ewe | bellis <i>m.</i> , bellisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Except | bághèr. |

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|--|--|
| Eye | ilehin <i>m.</i> , ilehimùts <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Eyebrow | iltâns <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Eyelash | irpùr <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Face | ishkil <i>f.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Family | hùmooyin <i>f.</i> |
| To fall | iwulluss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Far | muttun. |
| Fat (<i>subs.</i>) | biss <i>m.</i> |
| Fat (<i>adj.</i>) | dághânùs. |
| Father | yooow <i>m.</i> , yootsáro <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Father (<i>as a form of address</i>) | aiyah, (<i>as a mark of respect</i>) bábá. |
| To be fatigued | iwáruss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Fault | tis <i>f.</i> , tising <i>pl.</i> |
| Fear | bîjetai <i>f.</i> |
| To fear | esgoosâss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Feather | pergoo <i>f.</i> , pergoochung <i>pl.</i> , gulgi <i>f.</i> , gulgiehung <i>pl.</i> |
| To feed | êsiruss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Female | sôeh <i>m.</i> , sôehomùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Fig | fâg. |
| Fight | chul <i>f.</i> , chuling <i>pl.</i> |
| To find | iyêyess (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Finger | emish <i>m.</i> , emiunts <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To finish | phushetuss (<i>pron. num.</i>) |
| Fire | phoo <i>f.</i> , phoming <i>pl.</i> |
| First | yerkomâs. |
| Fish | choomoo <i>m.</i> , choomoomùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Flock (of birds) | brin <i>m.</i> , ehoo <i>m.</i> |
| Flour | dághôn <i>f.</i> |
| Flower | askoor <i>f.</i> , askooring <i>pl.</i> |
| Flute | gubbi <i>m.</i> , gubbunts <i>pl.</i> |
| To fly (as a bird) | thur delluss. |
| To fold | desáratuss. |
| Following | its-yeté. |
| Foolish | hung ápim. |
| Foot | yootis <i>m.</i> , yooting <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| For | gunné (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| To forget | tilléluss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Forgetfulness | till <i>f.</i> |
| Fort | kun <i>m.</i> , kununts <i>pl.</i> |

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| Foster kindred | ooshum. |
| Fowl | kerkâmùts, <i>m.</i> , kerkâmùsho <i>pl.</i> |
| Fox | loyñ <i>m.</i> , loyñmùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Friend | shùgoolo <i>m.</i> |
| Friendship | shùgoolâr <i>f.</i> |
| To frighten | ess-égoosuss. |
| From | tsùm (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| Frost | kutti <i>f.</i> |
| Fruit | phámùl <i>m.</i> , phámùlisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Full | shuck. |
| Fur | bishkeh <i>f.</i> |
| Garden | bussi <i>f.</i> , bussung <i>pl.</i> |
| Generous | es-shokùm (<i>pron.</i>), <i>lit.</i> wide-hearted. |
| Gentle | khish. |
| To get | dùkêsh manâss. |
| Girl | dussin <i>f.</i> , dussiwunts <i>pl.</i> |
| To give | yooyess (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To go | niyuss. |
| To go away | doosuss. |
| Goats (<i>collectively</i>) | hooyess <i>m.</i> |
| He-goat | jait <i>m.</i> , jaitáro <i>pl.</i> |
| She-goat | sigir <i>m.</i> |
| Wild goat | giri <i>m.</i> , girík <i>pl.</i> , huldun, huldaiyo <i>pl.</i> |
| God | dummun. |
| Gold | ghunish <i>f.</i> |
| Good | tultus. |
| Grape | gaing <i>f.</i> , gaing <i>pl.</i> |
| Grandfather | epi <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Grandmother | epi <i>f.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Grass | shikah <i>f.</i> , shikaing <i>pl.</i> , jùt <i>f.</i> , jùting <i>pl.</i> |
| Gratitude | minadâri <i>f.</i> |
| Great | ooyùm. |
| Green | jùt shikum. |
| Grieve | sùpùsh <i>f.</i> |
| To grieve | sùpùsh manâss. |
| Gun | toomák <i>m.</i> , toomákisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Gunpowder | milliung <i>f.</i> |
| Hail | aiñyer <i>m.</i> |
| Hair | igoyiung <i>f.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |

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| Half | tráng. |
| Hand | iríng <i>f.</i> , iríngchung <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Right hand | dôm <i>f.</i> |
| Left hand | ghôm <i>f.</i> |
| Handle | yun <i>m.</i> , yununts <i>pl.</i> |
| Happiness | shùriâr <i>f.</i> |
| Happy | shùriêsh. |
| To be happy | esgoorâss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Hard | dung. |
| Hare | ser <i>m.</i> , serunts <i>pl.</i> |
| Hatred | gut <i>f.</i> |
| Hawk | gutchunch <i>m.</i> , gutchunchiso <i>pl.</i> , bâshân. |
| Head | iyetis <i>m.</i> , iyetisho <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To hear | dêyaluss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Heart | es <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| The Heavens | aiyesh <i>f.</i> |
| Heavy | tsoom. |
| Heel | ighân <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Hen | sôch kerkâmùts <i>m.</i> |
| Herd | don <i>m.</i> |
| Here | koleh. |
| High | thânùm. |
| To hit (as with a gun or a stone) | yeyess. |
| Hole | gomùr <i>f.</i> , gomùring <i>pl.</i> |
| Hollow | phùsh |
| Hope | duck <i>f.</i> |
| Horn | tùr <i>f.</i> , tùryun <i>pl.</i> |
| Horned | iltùr (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Horse | hâghoor <i>m.</i> , hâghoorints <i>pl.</i> |
| Horseman | hâghoorkooin. |
| Horse-shoe | sârpo <i>f.</i> , sârpomùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Hot | guroom. |
| House | hâh <i>f.</i> , hâkichung <i>pl.</i> |
| Household | supooyâr <i>f.</i> |
| How | beltùm. |
| How many | bérùmân. |
| How much | bérùm. |
| Humble | es-ashâto. |
| Hunger | chum <i>f.</i> |
| Hungry | chumini. |

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| Hundred | tah <i>f.</i> |
| To hunt | ishkur etuss. |
| To be hurt | ikholuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Husband | mooyer <i>m.</i> , mooyerisho <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Ice | gumoo <i>m.</i> |
| Idle | butt. |
| If | ákhân, huzâr. |
| To be ignorant | ákenuss. |
| To be ill | gális manâss. |
| Illness | gális <i>m.</i> |
| Independent | es-goorùm (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Industrious | dùrùskùn, roochoo. |
| Infant | jotis <i>m.</i> , jotùmùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Instead of | dishùloo. |
| Iron | chîmer <i>f.</i> |
| Judge | ustumélo <i>m.</i> |
| Judgment | ustum <i>f.</i> |
| To join | desmâss (<i>num.</i>) |
| Kettledrum | dâmul <i>m.</i> , dâmulisho <i>pl.</i> |
| To kick | dapiski delluss. |
| To kill | eskanuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| King | thum <i>m.</i> , thummo <i>pl.</i> |
| King's son | gùshpoor <i>m.</i> , gùshpoordáro <i>pl.</i> |
| Knee | idoomùs <i>m.</i> , idoomùsisho <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Knife | chùr <i>m.</i> , chùrunts <i>pl.</i> |
| To know | henuss. |
| Knowledge | lel <i>f.</i> |
| Lame | ghowoo. |
| Language | bâsh <i>f.</i> , bâshing <i>pl.</i> |
| Last | mùshut. |
| To laugh | ghasâss. |
| Lazy | butt. |
| Lead | nâng <i>f.</i> |
| To learn | henuss. |
| To leave | phut etuss. |
| Leg | butsin <i>f.</i> , butsining <i>pl.</i> |
| Level | bubber |

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| Lie | gultung <i>f.</i> |
| Life | ji <i>f.</i> |
| Light (<i>subs.</i>) | sung <i>f.</i> |
| Light (<i>adj.</i>) | hùmalkùm. |
| Lightning | tumlum <i>f.</i> |
| Like | joowun. |
| Line | kishi <i>m.</i> (<i>a line of men</i>), jin <i>f.</i> |
| Lip | iyi <i>f.</i> , iyiling <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| A little | phook. |
| Liver | ekin <i>f.</i> , ekining <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Loins | eskting (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Long | goosunùm. |
| Long (<i>in sound</i>) | birángo. |
| To look at | bârenuss. |
| Love | shool <i>f.</i> |
| To love | shool etuss. |
| Low | chutt. |
| Maid | choomùtker <i>f.</i> , choomùtkerisho <i>pl.</i> |
| To make | etuss (<i>pron. num.</i>) |
| Male | biro <i>m.</i> , biromùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Man | siss <i>m.</i> , sissik <i>pl.</i> ; hir <i>m.</i> , hiri-kunts <i>pl.</i> |
| Young man | châkùr <i>m.</i> , châkùrisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Mare | bowom <i>m.</i> , bowomisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Marriage | ger <i>f.</i> |
| To measure | ighunuss. |
| Meat | chup <i>f.</i> |
| Medicine | mili <i>m.</i> and <i>f.</i> milents <i>pl.</i> |
| Melon | ghôn, booer <i>m.</i> |
| Merciful | jâk-kish. |
| Mercy | jak <i>f.</i> |
| Mid-day | dogoyi <i>f.</i> |
| Midnight | tráng thup <i>f.</i> |
| Milk | mámoo <i>f.</i> |
| Mill | yeng <i>m.</i> , yengisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Miserly | es chedùm (<i>pron.</i>), <i>lit.</i> narrow-hearted. |
| Mist | khorùn <i>f.</i> |
| Moon | hálunts <i>m.</i> |
| Half moon | goowah <i>m.</i> |
| New moon | tsai <i>m.</i> |

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| Month | hissah <i>f.</i> |
| Half month | tunts <i>f.</i> |
| Morning | sordi <i>f.</i> |
| Moth | pirun <i>m.</i> |
| Mother | imi <i>f.</i> , imitsáro <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Mother (<i>as a form of address</i>) | zùzi, mámán̄. |
| Mountain | chish <i>m.</i> , chishming <i>pl.</i> |
| Mouse | girkis <i>m.</i> , girkisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Mouth | ikhát <i>f.</i> , ikhâting <i>pl. pron.</i> |
| Much | bùt, tùshâr. |
| So much | tairum. |
| This much | ákoorùm. |
| Mud | tághâ <i>f.</i> |
| Mulberry | birunsh <i>m. and f.</i> , biráng <i>pl.</i> |
| Muscle | girkis <i>m.</i> (<i>literally a mouse</i>). |
| Music | haríp <i>f.</i> , haríping <i>pl.</i> |
| Must | awájè. |
| Nail (finger) | yoorì <i>m.</i> , yooriunts <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Name | ík <i>f.</i> , íking <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Narrow | tháronùm, chedùm. |
| Near | ásir (<i>for objects</i>) epuch (<i>for persons</i>) (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Neck | esh <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Nephew | ìyi <i>m.</i> , ìyoo <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Never | khus bé. |
| New | tosh |
| Niece | êy <i>f.</i> , êyùshunts <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Night | thup <i>f.</i> |
| No | bé. |
| Nobody | menké bé. |
| None | besská bé. |
| North | shimâl. |
| Nose | imoopùsh <i>m.</i> , imoopùsho <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Not | ápi, ápai, ápo. |
| Nothing | bessun ápi. |
| Now | mootoo. |
| Of | é (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| Oil | del <i>f.</i> |

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| Old | mên (<i>for objects</i>), jut (<i>for persons, animals, and vegetables</i>). |
| On | eté (<i>suffixed</i>), yetté. |
| One (person) | kùts. |
| Only | thih, khus. |
| Open | bâto. |
| To open | bâto etuss. |
| Oppression | zùlum <i>f</i> . |
| Or | yah. |
| To order | hùkum etuss. |
| Other | tùm. |
| Out | holeh (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| Over | yet, etté, ettùm (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| Owl | hoo <i>m.</i> , hooyoomùts <i>pl</i> . |
| To be pained | ikholuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Palace | tâng <i>f.</i> , tângichun <i>pl</i> . |
| Palm (of the hand) | ituttus (<i>pron.</i>), <i>f.</i> , ittuttesho <i>pl</i> . |
| Partridge | gowoo <i>m.</i> |
| Peach | chùgder, chùgdering <i>pl</i> . |
| Pear | pêshoo, pêshoomùts <i>pl</i> . |
| To penetrate | êluss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Perhaps | maiymi. |
| To permit | hùkum etuss. |
| Pigeon | tál <i>m.</i> , táljo <i>pl</i> . |
| Pity | jâk <i>f</i> . |
| Place | dish <i>f.</i> , dishming <i>pl</i> . |
| To place | osuss. |
| Play | giretuss <i>f.</i> , giretusho <i>pl</i> . |
| To play (a game) | girâtuss. |
| To play (on an instrument) | egharuss (<i>num.</i>) |
| Pleasant tasting | ooyum. |
| To please | shùriâr etuss. |
| To be pleased | esgoorâss (<i>pron.</i>), shùriâr manâss. |
| Plough | hersh <i>f.</i> , hershing <i>pl</i> . |
| Point | ithun <i>m.</i> ithaiyo <i>pl</i> . |
| To praise | défoogéruss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To prevent | munna etuss. |
| Pride | muchâr, digashâr. |
| To produce | desmenuss (<i>num.</i>) |
| To promise | kât etuss. |

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| Proud | digashârkish. |
| To pull | jâshetuss (<i>pron. num.</i>) |
| Quail | ghoon <i>m.</i> , ghooyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Quality | zêl <i>f.</i> , zêling <i>pl.</i> |
| To Quarrel | gharâss. |
| Queen | gânish <i>f.</i> , gánunts <i>pl.</i> |
| Quick | hùmalkùm. |
| Rain | háralt <i>f.</i> , háráltíng <i>pl.</i> |
| Rainbow | bijon. |
| Ram | kárêlo <i>m.</i> , kárêlomùts <i>pl.</i> |
| To read | senuss. |
| Ready | rull. |
| To receive | iyêyess (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To recognize | iyênuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To reconcile | desmâss (<i>num.</i>) |
| Red | bârdùm. |
| Relation | ùskoon <i>m.</i> , ùskoyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Relationship | ùskooni <i>f.</i> |
| The remainder | hikùm. |
| To remember | eset gunuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Remembrance | eset, esùloo <i>f.</i> (<i>lit. in heart.</i>) |
| To return | talenuss. |
| Reward | goorin <i>f.</i> , goorining <i>pl.</i> |
| Rice | bryùñ <i>m.</i> |
| Rich | gummus. |
| Ringlets | gîkyoo. |
| To rise | diéess, dâl manâss. |
| River | sindah <i>f.</i> , sindáming <i>pl.</i> |
| Road | gun <i>f.</i> , guning <i>pl.</i> |
| Rock | bùn <i>m.</i> , bùnisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Roof | tesh <i>f.</i> , teshing <i>pl.</i> |
| Rope | gushk <i>m.</i> , gushko <i>pl.</i> |
| Rotten | dîl. |
| To be rotten | dîluss. |
| Round | bidiro. |
| Rough | jecherum. |
| To run | gâtsuss, haiyetuss. |
| Sad | sùpùsh, nùmun. |

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| Saddle | tilyun <i>f.</i> |
| Sand | soh <i>f.</i> |
| Sarcasm | náchit <i>f.</i> , náchiting <i>pl.</i> |
| To save | despususs (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To say | gharâss, senuss. |
| To scatter <i>or</i> pour | demiuyuss. |
| To search | yegooyess. |
| To search for | iyegooyess (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To see | iyétsuss (<i>pron.</i>), yétsuss (<i>num.</i>) |
| Seed | boh <i>f.</i> |
| To sell | gushetuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To send (<i>for human beings</i>) | éruss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To send (<i>for objects</i>) | itsooyess (<i>pron. num.</i>) |
| To separate | ítsé etuss. |
| Servant | shudder <i>m.</i> , shuddershoo <i>pl.</i> |
| To sew | isapunuss. |
| Shadow | yel <i>f.</i> , yeling <i>pl.</i> |
| Shame | shiker <i>f.</i> , shikering <i>pl.</i> |
| Sharp | hirùm |
| Sheep (<i>collect.</i>) | belisho. |
| Wild sheep | yetul <i>m.</i> |
| Short | kùt. |
| Shoulder | ipoing <i>f.</i> , ipoiming <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To shout | ieher etuss. |
| Shut | tum. |
| To shut | tum etuss. |
| Side | king <i>m.</i> , kinging <i>pl.</i> |
| On this side | kitti. |
| On that side | itti. |
| Alongside | yekal |
| Sigh | hîsh <i>f.</i> , hîshing <i>pl.</i> |
| Silent | chùk. |
| Silk | chooshi, sikkim <i>f.</i> |
| Silver | boori <i>f.</i> |
| Sinew | jowah <i>m.</i> , jowámùts <i>pl.</i> |
| To sing | gháring etuss. |
| Sister | iyus <i>f.</i> , iyustáro <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To sit | hrootuss. |
| To cause to sit | erootus (<i>pron. num.</i>) |
| Skin | butt <i>f.</i> , buttoing <i>pl.</i> |
| Sky | aiyesh <i>f.</i> |

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| Slave | siss <i>m.</i> , sissik <i>pl.</i> |
| Sleep | dung <i>f.</i> |
| To sleep | gùchêyuss. |
| Sloping | bêsko. |
| Slow | talâ |
| Slowly | talân. |
| Small | jot, echagon. |
| Smoke | tuss <i>f.</i> tussming <i>pl.</i> |
| Smooth | shigishùm. |
| Snake | tol <i>m.</i> , toljo <i>pl.</i> |
| Sneeze | thiùn <i>f.</i> |
| Snow | geh <i>f.</i> |
| Soft | hililùm. |
| Some | phook, phâlis. |
| Somebody | men, menik, <i>pl.</i> |
| Something | bessun. |
| Son | îyi, <i>m.</i> , îyoo <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Son-in-law | erer <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>), ererisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Song | ghur <i>f.</i> , ghâring <i>pl.</i> |
| Sorrow | sùpùsh <i>f.</i> |
| Soul | jì <i>f.</i> , jìming <i>pl.</i> |
| Sound | icher <i>f.</i> , ichering <i>pl.</i> |
| South | janoob. |
| To sow | boh giess. |
| Spade | booi <i>f.</i> , booiming, <i>pl.</i> |
| To spill or shed | esheluss (<i>num.</i>) |
| To be spilled | shelâss. |
| Spoon | dôri, kuppùn <i>m.</i> , dôrimùts kuppoyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Spring | gároo <i>f.</i> |
| To stand | tsut diêess. |
| Star | ási <i>m.</i> , ásimùts <i>pl.</i> |
| Stern | dowom. |
| Stone | dun <i>m.</i> , daiyo <i>pl.</i> |
| Storm | tofân <i>f.</i> |
| Straight | tsun. |
| Straw | kùrk <i>f.</i> , mùtoosho <i>m.</i> |
| Strength | shut <i>f.</i> |
| Strong | shátillo. |
| Stupidity | owdoomunuss <i>m.</i> (<i>lit.</i> inability to produce). |
| Suitable | yeshki. |

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| Summer | shini <i>f.</i> |
| Summer solstice | shinimo-isha. |
| Sun | sah <i>m.</i> |
| Sweet | gusherum. |
| Swift | hirùm. |
| To swim | tum delluss. |
| Sword | guttunch <i>f.</i> , guttâng <i>pl.</i> |
| Tail | isùmál <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>), isùmálsho <i>pl.</i> |
| To take | tsooyess. |
| To take away | itsooyess (<i>pron. num.</i>), tsooyess. |
| To take hold | donuss. |
| To take out | diyooosuss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To take up | iyenuss (<i>pron.</i>), yenuss, gunuss (<i>num.</i>) |
| To teach | êkinuss (<i>pron num.</i>) |
| To tell | senuss. |
| Temper | itsir <i>f.</i> , itsiring <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| That one (<i>applied to animals or objects</i>) | ess <i>m.</i> , et <i>f.</i> |
| That one (<i>applied to human beings</i>) | in. |
| That (<i>relat.</i>) | be |
| In that direction | taiy |
| In this direction | ákî. |
| Then | etôloo. |
| There | elleh. |
| Therefore | khoté gun. |
| Thick | dághânùs. |
| Thin | dikootùm. |
| To think | sumba etuss, esúloo gunuss. |
| Thirst | ooyooṅyâr <i>f.</i> |
| Thirsty | ooṅyooṅyooṅ. |
| This one (<i>applied to animals or objects</i>) | khos <i>m.</i> , khot <i>f.</i> |
| This one (<i>applied to human beings</i>) | kin. |
| Thought | goonêsh <i>f.</i> , goonéshing <i>pl.</i> |
| Throat | bùk <i>m.</i> , bùkunts <i>pl.</i> |
| To throw | phull etuss (<i>num.</i>), wushiyuss. |
| To throw away | lip etuss. |
| To throw down | khut wushiyuss. |

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Thumb | láfùt emish <i>m.</i> , láfùt emiunts <i>pl.</i> |
| Thunder | tingtwung <i>f.</i> |
| Thus | ákil, taiyi. |
| Till | khâshinger, tung. |
| Time | ken <i>f.</i> |
| Timid | es-goosâs (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Tin | kalai <i>f.</i> |
| To | er (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| Toe | emish <i>m.</i> , emiunts <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Together | gutti, nálâ. |
| To-morrow | chimden, jimel. |
| The day after to-morrow | hipùlto. |
| Two days after to-morrow | mâlto. |
| Tongue | yoomùs (<i>pron.</i>). <i>m.</i> , yoomùsho <i>pl.</i> |
| Tooth | imé <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Torch | { hulch <i>f.</i> , hulching <i>pl.</i> { gárih <i>f.</i> , gáreng <i>pl.</i> |
| To touch | jook etuss. |
| Touch | jook <i>m.</i> and <i>f.</i> |
| Towards | yekál (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| Tree | tòm <i>f.</i> , tòmíng <i>pl.</i> |
| Truth | tsun <i>f.</i> , tsunmíng <i>pl.</i> |
| To try | esaluss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Ugly | ghonaikish. |
| To be unable | owlenuss. |
| Uncle (father's brother) | oyùm bábá (<i>older</i>), echegon bábá (<i>younger</i>) <i>m.</i> |
| Uncle (mother's brother) | íngoo <i>m.</i> (<i>pron.</i>), nunné (<i>form of</i> <i>address</i>). |
| Under | yár (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| To unfold | dinseruss (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Unless | bágèr. |
| Upright | tsut. |
| Up | dull. |
| Valley | gáh <i>f.</i> , bár <i>f.</i> |
| Vein | báris <i>m.</i> , báriشو <i>pl.</i> |
| Very | bùt. |
| Very well | tultus, shoowah. |
| To vex | pidik etuss. |

| | |
|--|---|
| To be vexed | pidik manâs. |
| Vexation | pidik |
| Village | gírum <i>f.</i> , giruming <i>pl.</i> , bùshai <i>f.</i> , bùshaiming <i>pl.</i> |
| Vine | goobi <i>f.</i> , goobing <i>pl.</i> |
| Voice | kow <i>f.</i> , kowunts <i>pl.</i> , icher <i>f.</i> , icher- ing <i>pl.</i> |
| Vulture | gussir <i>m.</i> , gussirisho <i>pl.</i> |
| Wall | bull <i>f.</i> , bulling <i>pl.</i> |
| Walnut | tilli <i>m.</i> , tillung, <i>pl.</i> |
| Walnut tree | tilli <i>f.</i> |
| Water | tsil <i>f.</i> , tsilming <i>pl.</i> |
| Watercourse | bártsil <i>f.</i> |
| Weak | áshâto. |
| Weakness | ásháteyâr <i>f.</i> |
| To weep | heruss. |
| West (sunset) | boor. |
| Wet | hághùm. |
| What | bessun, be. |
| Wheat | gùr <i>f.</i> |
| When (<i>interrog.</i>) | béshál. |
| When (<i>relat.</i>) | kenùloo. |
| Where (<i>interrog.</i>) | ámùloo, ám. |
| Which one (<i>applied to ani- mals or objects</i>) | ámis <i>m.</i> , ámit <i>f.</i> |
| Which one (<i>applied to human beings</i>) | ámin. |
| Whip | thùr <i>f.</i> , thùyung <i>pl.</i> |
| White | boorùm. |
| Who (<i>interrog.</i>) | ámin. |
| Why | bess. |
| Wide | shokùm. |
| Widow | gyoos <i>f.</i> , gyoosho <i>pl.</i> |
| Widower | gyoos <i>m.</i> , gyoosho <i>pl.</i> |
| Wife | yoos <i>f.</i> , yoosindáro <i>pl.</i> (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Wind | tish <i>f.</i> |
| Window | dári <i>f.</i> , dárímichung <i>pl.</i> |
| Wine | mell <i>f.</i> |
| Wing | gullgi <i>f.</i> , gullgichung <i>pl.</i> |
| Winter | baiy <i>f.</i> |

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Winter solstice | baiyimo-isha. |
| Wisdom | hung. |
| Wise | ilchinkoon (<i>pron.</i>) |
| Wish | ruck <i>f.</i> |
| To wish | ruck etuss. |
| With | kât (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| Within | ùloo, lé (<i>suffixed</i>). |
| Without | á (<i>prefixed</i>). |
| Woman | gùs <i>f.</i> , gùshiuents <i>pl.</i> |
| Wood | ghâshil <i>m.</i> , ghâshiling <i>pl.</i> |
| Wool | sheh <i>f.</i> , shehmichung <i>pl.</i> |
| Work | dùrô <i>f.</i> |
| To work | dùrô etuss. |
| World | dùnyât <i>f.</i> |
| Wound | gâl <i>f.</i> , gâling <i>pl.</i> |
| To wound | gâl ishiyess (<i>pron.</i>) |
| To write | girminuss. |
| Year | yôl <i>f.</i> |
| Yellow | shikerk. |
| Yes | áwá. |
| Yesterday | sáboor. |
| The day before yesterday | sâti. |
| Two days before yesterday | yerbùt. |

NUMERALS.

| <i>Masculine.</i> | <i>Feminine.</i> | <i>For human beings only.</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 hun | hik | hin |
| 2 áltáts | álto | áltun |
| 3 ùsko | iski | iské |
| 4 wálto | wálti | |
| 5 sùndo | sindi | |
| 6 mishindo | mishindi | |
| 7 tullo | tullé | |
| 8 áltámbo | áltámbi | |
| 9 hùncho | hùnti | |
| 10 tôromo | tôrimi | |
| 11 tûrmah-hun | | |
| 12 „ -áltáts | | |
| 13 „ -ùsko | | |
| 14 „ -wálto | | |
| 15 „ -sùndo | | |
| 16 „ -mishindo | | |
| 17 „ -tullo | | |
| 18 „ -áltámbo | | |
| 19 „ -hùneho | | |
| 20 álder | | |
| 21 álder-hun | | |
| 30 álder-tôrom | | |
| 40 álto-álder | | |
| 50 álto-álder-tôrom | | |
| 60 iski-álder | | |
| 70 iski-álder-tôrom | | |
| 80 wálti-álder | | |
| 90 wálti-álder-tôrom | | |
| 100 tah | | |
| 200 álto-tah | | |
| 1000 sâns | | |

ART. VII.—*Grammatical Note on the Simnúní Dialect of the Persian Language.* By the Rev. JAMES BASSETT, American Missionary, Tabriz. [Communicated by Mr. R. N. CUST, Hon. Secretary.]

THE city of Simnún is about one hundred and sixty-five miles eastward from Tehran on the road from the latter city to Mashad.

The people of Simnún are noted for their vernacular, which is commonly called Simnúní.

The anecdote is current in Persia that one of the kings of that country appointed a learned man to travel throughout his kingdom, and to investigate the Dialects spoken therein. The investigations having been completed, on a given day the king and court assembled to hear the learned doctor's report. The philologist discoursed of many Dialects, and then, referring to the vernacular of Simnún, took a dry and empty gourd, and putting a few pebbles therein, shook it aloft, saying, "You now hear all that I can report of the Simnúní."

This Dialect is spoken by all the people of Simnún, and also by the people of several villages a few farsang distant. It is said to be spoken also in the province of Mazanderan.

In the following pages I have given a brief outline of some of the grammatical forms, and a vocabulary, of this Dialect, which was prepared under my direction by a mullah of Simnún, himself a native of the place, and from infancy accustomed to its use. These forms and words, though few, will I hope serve a better purpose and be more intelligible than the rattle of the pebbles in the philologist's gourd.

A number of books are written in this Dialect, which, from the peculiar forms of the verb and the sounds, afford much merriment to Persians accustomed only to the modern Persian.

THE NOUNS.

The plural of nouns is formed by the suffix *ی*. The masculines with *ی* only when ending with a consonant; but if they have a final vowel the plural is formed in *های* e.g. *دوریهای*, *دوری*.

Nouns are inflected as follows, to wit :

| SINGULAR. | PLURAL. |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| مردگا man | مردی men. |
| مردگیره to man | مردمنه to men. |
| ته مردگه of man or thy man | ته مردمنه of men. |
| جنیگ woman | جنی women. |

There is no difference in the forms and inflection of nouns to denote gender.

CASE.

را is used for the objective and dative case as in Modern Persian, but the ablative is not expressed by particle. The possessive case is formed by the prefix *ته* answering to the suffix *ت* of Modern Persian. The possessive particle is *prefixed* thus :

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|----|-------|---------|
| <i>Pronouns</i> possessive : | mine | مُ | مردگ | my man. |
| | thine or thy | ته | مردگ | thy |
| | his | رُ | مردگا | his |

These are evidently from the simple personals :

| | | | |
|----------|----------|-------|-----------------------|
| أُو, اُو | I, or اُ | مَا | we. |
| ته | thou | شَمَا | you. |
| رُ | he | رَان | they, sometimes اُوی. |

The sign of the objective case may be added thus :

| | | |
|-------|------------------------|--------|
| مُورا | me | مپمارا |
| تهرا | thee | شمارا |
| رُرا | him, and so for plural | رَانه |

The Demonstrative Pronoun is nearly the same as in Modern Persian, *e.g.* آن this, اُن that; the plurals are اُنی these, اُنی those.

Interrogatives are as in Persian چه کی ta is used in place of که, *e.g.* modern Persian, رفتیم بازار که باو بگویم the same in Simnuni بشیان بزارتا ژره بایان. Indefinite, کین somebody, some one, هرکین every one.

VERBS.

1. There appear to be no different conjugations of Verbs.
2. There is no infinitive form.
3. The pronouns prefixed to verbs differ, the modern Persian form being used with some other verbs, and the old form used with other verbs.

The form of the Verb 'To Be.'

Present.

| SINGULAR. | | PLURAL. | |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| دَران <i>i.e.</i> = هستم | I am, etc. | دَرین هستم | we are, etc. |
| دَری هستی | | دَرین هستید | |
| دَره هست | | دَرَن هستند | |

Past Tense = بود.

| | | | | | | |
|--------|----|-----------|--------|-----|----|--------|
| دَبیان | ز | I was | دَبیان | هما | or | دَبیان |
| دَبی | تو | Thou wert | دَبیان | شما | | دَبیان |
| دَبا | او | He was | دَبیان | اوی | | دَبیان |

Imperfect.

| | | | | |
|--------|----|----------|--------|-----------|
| دَبیان | ز | = میبودم | دَبیان | = میبودیم |
| دَبی | تو | میبودی | دَبیان | میبودید |
| دَبا | او | میبود | دَبیان | میبودند |

Imperative of Verb 'To Be.'

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| دَبیان | = باشم | دَبیان | = باشیم |
| دَبی | باشی | دَبیان | باشید |
| دَبو | باشد | دَبیان | باشند |

Passive form of the Verb 'To Be.'

Past.

| | | | | | |
|------|---|------|----|-----|------|
| بیان | = | شودم | ا | هما | ببین |
| بیبی | | شودی | تو | شما | ببین |
| بیا | | شود | او | اوی | ببین |

Subjunct. = بشود

| | | | |
|------|----|-----|------|
| ببین | ا | هما | ببین |
| ببیا | تو | شما | ببین |
| ببیا | او | اوی | ببین |

Conditional.

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|------|-----|-----|------|
| ببین | اگر | ا | ببین | اگر | هما | ببین |
| ببیا | اگر | تو | ببیا | اگر | شما | ببین |
| ببیا | اگر | او | ببیا | اگر | اوی | ببین |

Future.

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-------|---------------|
| مگن = میخادم | (I will or wish) | مگمان | میخادیم, etc. |
| مگت | میخواهی | مگتان | |
| مگش | میخواهد | مگشان | |

1. The future of every verb is formed by using مگن as an auxiliary verb.

2. The passive of verbs is formed by the inflections of the verb to be (بیا) with the participle or root.

3. The negatives are formed by نه after م in the present tense. In other words it is placed before the permanent letters in regular verbs, e.g. present منشیان, past نشیان.

Example of Inflections.

Present.

| | | | | | |
|------|----|------|------|-----|----------|
| مشین | ا | I go | مشین | هما | we go. |
| مشه | تو | | مشین | شما | ye go. |
| مشو | او | | مشین | اوی | they go. |

Past.

| | | | | |
|-------|-----|--------|-----|-------|
| بشيان | ا | I went | هما | بشيين |
| تو | بشي | | شما | بشيين |
| او | بشا | | اوى | بشيين |

Imperative.

| | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|-----|--------------|
| بشون | ا | بشيين | هما | let us go. |
| تو | بشه | بشيين | شما | let them go. |
| او | بشو | بشيين | اوى | |

Pluperfect.

| | | |
|--------|-------|--------|
| بشايان | ا | بشايين |
| تو | بشايى | بشايين |
| او | بشابا | بشايين |

Subjunctive.

| | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-----|------------|
| بشيين | ا | بشيين | هما | we may go. |
| تو | بشه | بشيين | شما | |
| او | بشا | بشيين | اوى | |

Perfect.

| | | | |
|--------|--------------|--------|----------------|
| بشيچان | I went | بشيچين | with pronouns. |
| بشيچى | thou wentest | بشيچين | |
| بشيچى | | بشيچين | |

Imperfect.

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| بشيان | بشيان | بشيان |
| بشي | بشي | بشي |
| بشا | بشا | بشا |

Future.

| | |
|-------|-------|
| بشيان | بشيان |
| بشيان | بشيان |
| بشيان | بشيان |

لغة سمنانی که بقا عدّه صرف میر

بزبان نارسی و انگلیسی

ترجمه

شده

بصیغه حال

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| ایشان می آیند | اَوْتِ مَیْنِ | من می آیم | اَمِیَانُ |
| ما می آئیم | کَمَا مَیْنِ | تو می آئی | تُوویَا |
| شما می آئید | شَمَا مَیْنِ | او می آید | اَسِیْ |

بصیغه ما ضی کا وِل

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|---------|---------------|
| ایشان آمدند | اَوْتِ بَیْه مَیْنِ | من آمدم | اَیْه مِیَانُ |
| ما آمدیم | کَمَا بَیْه مَیْنِ | تو آمدی | تُوویْه مَیْ |
| شما آمدید | شَمَا بَیْه مَیْنِ | او آمد | اَیْه مَا |

بصیغه مُسْتَقْبَل

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| میخراهند بیا یند | مَکْشَان بَیْنِ | میخراهم بیا یم | مَکْن بَیَانُ |
| میخراهم بیا ئیم | مَکْمَان بَیْنِ | میخراهی بیا | مَکْت بَیَا |
| میخراهد بیا ئید | مَکْتَان بَیْنِ | میخراهد بیا ید | مَکْش بَیْ |

بصیغه ما ضی نا قِص

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|------------|-----------------|
| ایشان می آمدند | اَوْتِ مِیْه مَیْنِ | من می آمدم | اَمِیْه مِیَانُ |
| ما می آمدیم | کَمَا مِیْه مَیْنِ | تو می آمدی | تُوویْه مَیْ |
| شما می آمدید | شَمَا مِیْه مَیْنِ | او می آمد | اَمِیْه مَا |

بصیغه امر

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| ایشان بیا یند | اَوْتِ بَیْنِ | من بیا یم | اَبِیَانُ |
| ما بیا ئیم | کَمَا بَیْنِ | تو بیا | تُوویَا |
| شما بیا ئید | شَمَا بَیْنِ | او بیا ید | اَبِیْ |

بَصِيغَةُ فِعْلٍ كَامِلٍ

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| ايشان 'امده اند | أَوِيَّ بِيَّهٖ مِجَّجَن | من 'امده ام | أَيَّهٖ مِجَّجَان |
| ما 'امده ايم | كَمَا بِيَّهٖ مِجَّجَن | تو 'امده | تُو بِيَّهٖ مِجَّجِي |
| شما 'امده ايد | شَمَا بِيَّهٖ مِجَّجِيْن | او 'امده است | أَيَّهٖ مِجَّجِي |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَشْرُوطٍ

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| ايشان 'امده باشند | أَوِيَّ بِيَّهٖ مَا يَبِيْن | من 'امده باشم | أَيَّهٖ مَا يَبِيْن |
| شما 'امده باشيد | شَمَا بِيَّهٖ مَا يَبِيْن | تو 'امده باشي | تُو بِيَّهٖ مَا بَا |
| ما 'امده باشيم | كَمَا بِيَّهٖ مَا يَبِيْن | او 'امده باشد | أَيَّهٖ مَا بُو |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْزُؤْلِ

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| ايشان 'امده شده اند | أَوِيَّ بِيَّهٖ مَا بَبِيْن | من 'امده شدم | أَيَّهٖ مَا بَبِيَان |
| ما 'امده شده ايم | كَمَا بِيَّهٖ مَا بَبِيْن | تو 'امده شدی | تُو بِيَّهٖ مَا بَبِي |
| شما 'امده شده ايد | شَمَا بِيَّهٖ مَا بَبِيْن | او 'امده شد | أَيَّهٖ مَا بَبَا |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْزُؤْلِ

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| ايشان 'امده ميشوند | أَوِيَّ بِيَّهٖ مَا مَبِيْن | من 'امده ميشوم | أَيَّهٖ مَا مَبِيْن |
| ما 'امده ميشويم | كَمَا بِيَّهٖ مَا مَبِيْن | تو 'امده ميشوی | تُو بِيَّهٖ مَا مَبَا |
| شما 'امده ميشويد | شَمَا بِيَّهٖ مَا مَبِيْن | او 'امده ميشود | أَيَّهٖ مَا مَبُو |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------|
| ايشان ميگويند | أَوِيَّ مَا يَبِيْن | من ميگويم | أَمَا يَان |
| ما ميگوئيم | كَمَا مَا يَبِيْن | تو ميگوئي | تُو مَا |
| شما ميگوئيد | شَمَا مَا يَبِيْن | او ميگويد | أَمَا يَبِي |

بِصِيغَةُ مَا ضِي كَاوَلِ

| | | | |
|-------------|----------------|----------|-----------------|
| اگر ضمیر در | این سه صیغه | من گفتم | مُو بَا تَنْ |
| مقدم نباشد | با تَه بَا تَش | تو گفستی | تَه بَا تْ |
| با تَشان | میگویند | او گفتم | رُ بَا تْ |
| | ایشان گفتند | | رُان بَا تْ |
| | ما گفتیم | | کَمَا بَا تْمان |
| | شما گفتید | | شَمَا بَا تْتان |

و مستقبل این همان شش صیغه علامت
استقبال است در صورتیکه وصل شود
باین شش صیغه آخر

بِصِيغَةُ مَا ضِي نَائِضِ

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------------|
| درین سه | صورت اگر | من میگویم | مُو مَا تَنْ |
| ضمیر مقدم | نباشد میگویند | تو میگفتی | تَه مَا تْ |
| و ا تَه ما تَشان | ما تَش | او میگفتم | رُ مَا تْ |
| | ایشان میگویند | | رُان مَا تْ |
| | ما میگویم | | کَمَا مَا تْمان |
| | شما میگویند | | شَمَا مَا تْتان |

بِصِيغَةُ أَمْرٍ

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|-------------|
| ایشان بگویند | أَوْحَ بَا يَنْ | من بگویم | أَبَا يَانِ |
| ما بگوئیم | کَمَا مَا يَنْ | تو بگو | تُو بَا |
| شما بگوئید | شَمَا بَا يَنْ | او بگوید | أَبَا يَيْ |

بَصِيغَةُ فِعْلٍ كَا مِثْلٍ

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| مُو بَا چَن | من گفته ام | صورت نباشد | اگر ضمیر در سه |
| تَه بَا چِي | تو گفته | با چَش | میگویند با چه |
| رُ بَا چِي | او گفته است | | با چی شان |
| زَان بَا چِي | ایشان گفته اند | | |
| کَمَا بَا چِي | ما گفته ایم | | |
| شَمَا بَا چِي | شما گفته اید | | |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَشْرُوطٍ

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------|
| مُو بَا تَه بِيِن | من گفته با شم | دَس | دَه |
| تَه بَا تَه بَا | تو گفته باشی | چَارَدَه | چهارده |
| رُ بَا تَه بُو | او گفته باشد | وَيَسْت | بیست |
| زَان بَا تَه بُو | ایشان گفته باشند | وَيَسْتَه يَكْ | بیست و یک |
| کَمَا بَا تَه بِيْمَان | ما گفته با شیم | وَيَسْتَه کِهِيْرَه | بیست و سه |
| شَمَا بَا تَه بِيْتَان | شما گفته با شید | وَيَسْتَه چَار | بیست چهار |
| اِي | یک | وَيَسْتَه شِيْش | بیست و شیش |
| کِهِيْرَه | سه | وَيَسْتَه نَه | بیست و نه |
| چَار | چهار | نَوِي | نود |
| شَش | شیش | نَمِي | صد |
| نَه | نه | | |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْهُولٍ

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| أَبَا تَه بِيْمَان | من گفته شدم | أَوِي بَا تَه بِيْمِيْن | ایشان گفته شدند |
| تُو بَا تَه بِيِي | تو گفته شدی | کَمَا بَا تَه بِيْمِيْن | ما گفته شدیم |
| أَبَا تَه بِيَا | او گفته شد | شَمَا بَا تَه بِيْمِيْن | شما گفته شدید |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالِ مَجْبُولٍ

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| ایشان گفته میشوند | أُوَيْتَ بَا تَه مَبِينٍ | من گفته میشوم | أَبَا تَه مَبِينٍ |
| ما گفته میشویم | هَمَا بَا تَه مَبِينٍ | تو گفته میشوی | تُو بَا تَه مَبَا |
| شما گفته میشوید | شَمَا بَا تَه مَبِينٍ | او گفته میشود | أَبَا تَه مَبُو |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالِ

| | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| همین قسم | من میگذاردم | أَدَمَتْدَانِ |
| از حال جوری | تو میگذاری | تُو دَمَتْدَتِ |
| دیگر هم هست | او میگذارد | أَدَمَتْدَتِ |
| که بجای رال | ایشان میگذارند | أُوَيْتَ دَمَتْدَانِ |
| پنه گفته | ما میگذاریم | هَمَا دَمَتْدِينِ |
| میشود و ضمائر | شما میگذارید | شَمَا دَمَتْدِينِ |
| هما نظریق است | | |
| اگو ضمیر نبا شد دَمَتْدَیْتِ | | |
| میگویند دَمَتْدَیْتِش | | |
| میگویند اگر راسا ضمیر | | |
| نباشد دَمَتْدِیشان | | |
| میگویند | | |

بِصِيغَةُ ماضِي كَاوِلِ

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|
| اگر ضمیر نباشد | دندیت میگویند | من گذاردم | مُو دَنَدَیْنِ |
| دَنَدَیْتِش میگویند | اگر ضمیر راسا | تو گذاردی | تَه دَنَدَا |
| نباشد دندایشان | میگویند | او گذارد | تُدَدَا |
| | | ایشان گذارند | زَان دَنَدَا |
| | | ما گذاریم | هَمَا دَنَدَیْمَانِ |
| | | شما گذارید | شَمَا دَنَدَیْتَانِ |

مُستقبل حالش معلوم است که ان شش صیغه

علا مت استقبال وصل شود باین شش صیغه

أمر بدون تخلف

بِصِيغَةُ امْرُؤٍ

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| اَدُّنْدَانْ | مِن بگذارم | ضمیر مقدم | اگر در سه صورت |
| تو دَنْدَتْ | تو بگذاری | دند یش | نباشد دَنْدَتْ |
| اَدُّنْدَتْ | او بگذاریم | میگویند | دند یشان |
| اَوَّی دَنْدَنْ | ایشان بگذارند | | |
| کَمَا دَنْدَتَّیْنِ | ما بگذاریم | | |
| شَمَا دَنْدَتَّیْنِ | شما بگذارید | | |

بِصِيغَةُ مَاضِي نَاقِضٍ

| | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| مُوَيِّنَه مَنَّدَتَّیْنِ | مِن میگذارم | اگر ضمیر نباشد | در هر سه صورت |
| تَه یَنَه مَنَّدَا | تو میگذاری | پنه مندییش | یَنَه مَنَّدَتْ |
| رُیَنَه مَنَّدَا | او میگذارد | میگویند | یَنَه مَنَّد یشان |
| رُان یَنَه مَنَّدَا | ایشان میگذارند | | |
| کَمَا یَنَه مَنَّد یمان | ما میگذاریم | | |
| شَمَا یَنَه مَنَّد یتان | شما میگذارید | | |

بِصِيغَةُ فِعْلِ كَامِلٍ

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| مُو دَنْد یتَّچَنْ | مِن گذارده ام | در صورتیکه | این سه صیغه |
| | | | ضمیر نباشد |
| تَه دَنْد یتَّچِی | تو گذارده | دَنْد یتَّچَش | دَنْد یتَّچَه |
| رُ دَنْد یتَّچِی | او گذارده است | میگویند | دَنْد یتَّچَشان |
| رُان دَنْد یتَّچِی | ایشان گذارده اند | | |
| کَمَا دَنْد یتَّچِمان | ما گذارده ایم | | |
| شَمَا دَنْد یتَّچِتان | شما گذارده اید | | |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَشْرُوطٍ

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| مُو دَنْدَا یَتَّینِ | مِن گذارده باشم | رُان دَنْدَا بُو | ایشان گذارده اند |
| تَه دَنْدَا بَا | تو گذارده باشی | هَمَا دَنْدَا یَتَّیمان | ما گذارده باشیم |
| رُ دَنْدَا بُو | او گذارده باشد | شَمَا دَنْدَا یَتَّیتان | شما گذارده باشید |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْزُولٍ

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| ايشان گذارده شدند | أَوَيْ دَنْدَا بَيِّين | من گذارده شدم |
| ما گذارده شدیم | هَمَا دَنْدَا بَيِّين | تو گذارده شدی |
| شما گذارده شدید | شَمَا دَنْدَا بَيِّين | او گذارده شد |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْزُولٍ

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| من گذارده میشوم | أَدَنْدَا مَيِّين |
| تو گذارده میشوی | تُو دَنْدَا مَبَا |
| او گذارده میشود | أَدَنْدَا مَبُو |
| ایشان گذارده میشوند | أَوَيْ دَنْدَا مَيِّين |
| ما گذارده میشویم | هَمَا دَنْدَا مَيِّين |
| شما گذارده میشوید | شَمَا دَنْدَا مَيِّين |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| ایشان می ایستند | أَوَيْ مَشْتَن | من می ایستم |
| ما می ایستیم | هَمَا مَشْتَيْن | تو می ایستی |
| شما می ایستید | شَمَا مَشْتَيْن | او می ایستد |

بِصِيغَةُ مَانِعِي كَامِلٍ

| | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------|
| ایشان ایستادند | أَوَيْ بَشْتَيْن | من ایستادم |
| ما ایستادیم | هَمَا بَشْتَيْن | تو ایستادی |
| شما ایستادید | شَمَا بَشْتَيْن | او ایستاد |

بِصِيغَةُ مُسْتَقْبَلٍ

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| میخواهند با ایستند | مَكْشَان بَشْتَن | میخواهم با ایستم |
| میخواهیم با ایستیم | مَكْمَان بَشْتَيْن | میخواهی با ایستی |
| میخواهید با ایستید | مَكْتَان بَشْتَيْن | میخواهد با ایستد |

بِصِيغَةُ مَا ضِي نَاتِقِصْ

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|
| ايشان مى ايسند | أَوَيْ مَشْتَيْنِ | من مى ايستادم | أَمَشْتِيَانِ |
| ما مى ايستيم | هَمَا مَشْتَيْنِ | تو مى ايستی | تُو مَشْتِيَّ |
| شما مى ايستيد | شَمَا مَشْتَيْنِ | او مى ايستاد | أَمَشْتَا |

بِصِيغَةُ أَمَرٍ

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|
| ايشان با ايستند | أَوَيْ بَشْتَيْنِ | من با ايستم | أَبَشْتَانِ |
| ما با ايستيم | هَمَا بَشْتَيْنِ | تو با ايست | تُو بَشْتِيَّ |
| شما با ايستيد | شَمَا بَشْتَيْنِ | او با ايستد | أَبَشْتِيَّ |

بِصِيغَةُ فِعْلِ كَاوَلٍ

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| ايشان ايستاده اند | أَوَيْ بَشْتَيِّجِيْنَ | من ايستاده ام | أَبَشْتَيِّجَانِ |
| ما ايستاده ايم | هَمَا بَشْتَيِّجِيْنَ | تو ايستاده | تُو بَشْتَيِّجِيَّ |
| شما ايستاده ايد | شَمَا بَشْتَيِّجِيْنَ | او ايستاده است | أَبَشْتَيِّجِيَّ |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَشْرُوطٍ

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| من ايستاده باشم | أَبَشْتَا يِيْنِ |
| تو ايستاده باشى | تُو بَشْتَا بَا |
| او ايستاده باشى | أَبَشْتَا بُو |
| ايشان ايستاده باشند | أَوَيْ بَشْتَا يِيْنِ |
| ما ايستاده باشيم | هَمَا بَشْتَا يِيْمَانِ |
| شما ايستاده باشيد | شَمَا بَشْتَا يِيْتَانِ |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْهُولٍ

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| ايشان ايستاده شدند | أَوَيْ بَشْتَا بِيِيْنِ | من ايستاده شدم | أَبَشْتَا بِيِيَانِ |
| ما ايستاده شديم | هَمَا بَشْتَا بِيِيْنِ | تو ايستاده شدى | تُو بَشْتَا بِيِيَّ |
| شما ايستاده شديد | شَمَا بَشْتَا بِيِيْنِ | او ايستاده شد | أَبَشْتَا بِيَا |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْهُولٌ

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| مِنِ اَيْسْتَادَه مِيشوم | اَبَشْتَا مَبِينِ |
| تو اَيْسْتَادَه مِيشوى | تُو بَشْتَا مَبَا |
| او اَيْسْتَادَه مِيشود | اَبَشْتَا مَبُو |
| ايشان اَيْسْتَادَه مِيشوند | اَوِي بَشْتَا مَبِينِ |
| ما اَيْسْتَادَه مِيشويم | كَمَا بَشْتَا مَبِينِ |
| شما اَيْسْتَادَه مِيشويد | شَمَا بَشْتَا مَبِينِ |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| ايشان مِيرِيزند | اَوِي دُو مَرِيژِيئِنِ | مِنِ مِيرِيزم | اَدُو مَرِيژِيئَانِ |
| ما مِيرِيزيم | هَمَا دُو مَرِيژِيئِيئِنِ | تو مِيرِيزي | تُو دُو مَرِيژِيئِرِئِ |
| شما مِيرِيزيد | شَمَا دُو مَرِيژِيئِرِئِيئِنِ | او مِيرِيزد | اَدُو مَرِيژِيئِرِئِيئِ |

بِصِيغَةُ مَا فِي كَاوِلِ

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| اگر ته گفته نشود | بَد وَنِ ضَمِيرِ مِیْگُونِید | مِنِ رِیْخْتَمِ | مُو دُو رِیْئِنِ |
| دُو رِیْئَه دُو رِیْئِشَانِ | دُو رِیْئِشِ | تو رِیْخْتِی | تَه دُو رِیْئِئِ |
| | | او رِیْخْتِ | رُو دُو رِیْئِئِ |
| | | ايشان رِیْخْتَنْد | زَان دُو رِیْئِئِ |
| | | ما رِیْخْتِیمِ | هَمَا دُو رِیْئِمَانِ |
| | | شما رِیْخْتِید | شَمَا دُو رِیْئِئَانِ |

بِصِيغَةُ مُسْتَقْبَلِ

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| میخرا هند بریزند | مَگَشَانِ دُو رِیْژِنِ | میخرا هم بریزم | مَگَن دُو رِیْژَانِ |
| میخرا هیم بریزیم | مَگَمَانِ دُو رِیْژِئِنِ | میخرا هی بریزی | مَگَت دُو رِیْژِرِئِ |
| میخرا هید بریزید | مَگَتَانِ دُو رِیْژِئِنِ | میخرا هد بریزد | مَگَش دُو رِیْژِرِئِئِ |

بِصِيغَةُ مَاضِي نَاقِصٍ

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| مُونُ وَاوَرِيئْتَن | من میریختم | اگر ضمیر نباشد گفته | در اینجا هم سه وجه |
| | | | میشود دُو وَاوَرِيئْتَه |
| تَه دُو وَاوَرِيئْت | تو میریختی | دُو وَاوَرِيئْتَان | دُو وَاوَرِيئْتَش |
| رُونُ وَاوَرِيئْت | او میریخت | | |
| رَان دُو وَاوَرِيئْت | ایشان میریختند | | |
| کَمَا دُو وَاوَرِيئْتَان | ما میریختم | | |
| شَمَا دُو وَاوَرِيئْتَان | شما میریختید | | |

بِصِيغَةُ اَمْرٍ

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------|--------------------------|--------------|
| اَدُ وَاوَرِيئْرَان | من بریزم | اَرْت دُو وَاوَرِيئْرَان | ایشان بریزند |
| تُو دُو وَاوَرِيئْر | تو بریز | کَمَا دُو وَاوَرِيئْرَان | ما بریزیم |
| اُدُ وَاوَرِيئْرَان | او بریزد | شَمَا دُو وَاوَرِيئْرَان | شما بریزید |

بِصِيغَةُ فِعْلِ كَامِلٍ

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| مُونُ وَاوَرِيئَجَان | من ریخته ام | میشود اگر ضمیر نباشد | در اینجا هم سه وجه |
| تَه دُو وَاوَرِيئَجِي | تو ریخته | مَرِيئَجَش دُو | دُو وَاوَرِيئَجَه دُو |
| رُونُ وَاوَرِيئَجِي | او ریخته است | | مَرِيئَجِي شَان |
| رَان دُو وَاوَرِيئَجِي | ایشان ریخته اند | | |
| کَمَا دُو وَاوَرِيئَجِي | ما ریخته ایم | | |
| شَمَا دُو وَاوَرِيئَجِي | شما ریخته اید | | |

بِصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَشْرُوطٍ

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| مُونُ دُو وَاوَرِيئْت بِيئِن | من ریخته باشم | رَان دُو وَاوَرِيئْت بُو | ایشان ریخته باشند |
| تَه دُو وَاوَرِيئْت بَا | تو ریخته باشی | کَمَا دُو وَاوَرِيئْت بِيئِمَان | ما ریخته باشیم |
| رُونُ دُو وَاوَرِيئْت بُو | او ریخته باشد | شَمَا دُو وَاوَرِيئْت بِيئْتَان | شما ریخته باشید |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالِ مَجْهُولٍ

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| ایشان ریخته شدند | أَوِیْ دُوْرِیْتَهٗ بَیْمِیْنِ | من ریخته شدم | أَدُوْرِیْتَهٗ بَیْمِیْنِ |
| ما ریخته شدیم | هَمَّا دُوْرِیْتَهٗ بَیْمِیْنِ | تو ریخته شدی | تُوْدُوْرِیْتَهٗ بَیْمِیْنِ |
| شما ریخته شدید | شَمَّا دُوْرِیْتَهٗ بَیْمِیْنِ | او ریخته شد | أَدُوْرِیْتَهٗ بَیْمِیْنِ |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالِ مَجْهُولٍ

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| ایشان ریخته میشوند | أَوِیْ دُوْرِیْتَهٗ مَیْمِیْنِ | من ریخته میشوم | أَدُوْرِیْتَهٗ مَیْمِیْنِ |
| ما ریخته میشویم | هَمَّا دُوْرِیْتَهٗ مَیْمِیْنِ | تو ریخته میشوی | تُوْدُوْرِیْتَهٗ مَیْمِیْنِ |
| شما ریخته میشوید | شَمَّا دُوْرِیْتَهٗ مَیْمِیْنِ | او ریخته میشود | أَدُوْرِیْتَهٗ مَیْمِیْنِ |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالِ

| | |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| من کتگ میزنم | مِن كَتَّگِ مِکُوَانِ |
| تو کتگ میزنی | تُو كَتَّگِ مِکُوَا |
| او کتگ میزند | أَكْتَّگِ مِکُوَانِیْ |
| ایشان کتگ میزنند | أَوِیْ كَتَّگِ مِکُوَانِیْنِ |
| ما کتگ میزنیم | هَمَّا كَتَّگِ مِکُوَانِیْنِ |
| شما کتگ میزنید | شَمَّا كَتَّگِ مِکُوَانِیْنِ |

بَصِيغَةُ مَا نَحِي كَامِلٍ

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| اگر ته گفته نشود | میگویند بکواته | من کتگ زدم | مُو كَتَّگِی بَکُوَاتِنِ |
| بکواتش و | بکواتشان | تو کتگ زدی | بَه كَتَّگِی بَکُوَاتِ |
| | | او کتگ زد | رُكَّتَّگِی بَکُوَاتِ |
| | | ایشان کتگ زدند | رَان كَتَّگِی بَکُوَاتِ |
| | | ما کتگ زدیم | هَمَّا كَتَّگِی بَکُوَاتِنِ |
| | | شما کتگ زدید | شَمَّا كَتَّگِی بَکُوَاتِنِ |

بَصِيغَهٗ مُسْتَقْبَلْ

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| مِخَوَاهِم كَتگ بزنم | مَكْن كُنْگِي بُكْوَانْ |
| مِخَوَاهِي كَتگ بزنی | مَكْت كُنْگِي بُكْوَا |
| مِخَوَا هَد كَتگ بزند | مَكْش كُنْگِي بُكْوَيْ |
| مِخَوَاهِنْد كَتگ بزندن | مَكْشَان كُنْگِي بُكْوَانْ |
| مِخَوَاهِيم كَتگ بزنییم | مَكْمَان كُنْگِي بُكْوَيْمِ |
| مِخَوَاهِيد كَتگ بزندن | مَكْتَان كُنْگِي بُكْوَيْمِ |

بَصِيغَهٗ مَاضِي نَاقِصْ

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| ان سه صیغه هم | مثل ان سه صیغه | من کتگ میزدم | مُو كُنْگِي مُكْوَاتَنْ |
| مذ کو را ست | مکوا ته | تو کتگ میزدی | تَه كُنْگِي مُكْوَاتْ |
| مکوا نش | مکوا تشان | او کتگ میزد | رُكُنْگِي مُكْوَاتْ |
| | | ایشان کتگ میزدند | زَان كُنْگِي مُكْوَاتْ |
| | | ما کتگ میزدیم | هَمَا كُنْگِي مُكْوَاتْمَانْ |
| | | شما کتگ میزدید | شَمَا كُنْگِي مُكْوَاتْمَانْ |

بَصِيغَهٗ آمُرْ

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|---------|--------------|
| ایشان بزنند | اَوَكْ بُكْوَيْمِ | من بزنم | اَبُكْوَانْ |
| ما بزنییم | هَمَا بُكْوَيْمِ | تو بزنی | تُو بُكْوَا |
| شما بزنید | شَمَا بُكْوَيْمِ | او بزند | اَو بُكْوَيْ |

بَصِيغَهٗ فِعْلِ كَامِلْ

| | | |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| این سه صیغه | من کتگ زده ام | مُو كُنْگِي بُكْوَا جَنْ |
| هم مثل همان ما | است که مذ گور شد | تَه كُنْگِي بُكْوَا جِي |
| بکوا جه بکوا جش | تو کتگ زده | |
| بکوا جی شان | | |

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| اَو کتگ زده است | رُکْتِگِی بُکْوَا جِی |
| ایشان کتگ زده اند | رَان کُتْگِی بُکْوَا جِی |
| ما کتگ زده ایم | کَمَا کُتْگِی بُکْوَا جِیْمَان |
| شما کتگ زده اید | شَمَا کُتْگِی بُکْوَا جِیْتَان |

بَصِیغَهُ حَالِ مَشْرُوطِ

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| من کتگ زده با شم | مُو کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتِ بِنِ |
| تو کتگ زده با شی | تَه کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتِ بَا |
| او کتگ زده با شد | رُکْتِگِی بُکْوَاتِ بُو |
| ایشان کتگ زده با شنند | رَان کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتِ بُو |
| ما کتگ زده با شیم | کَمَا کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتِ بِنِْمَان |
| شما کتگ زده با شد | شَمَا کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتِ تِنِْمَان |

بَصِیغَهُ حَالِ مَجْزُؤْلِ

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| من کتگ زده شدم | اَکُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه بِنِْمَان |
| تو کتگ زده شدی | تُو کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه بِنِی |
| او کتگ زده شد | اَکُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه بِنَا |
| ایشان کتگ زده شدند | اَوِی کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه بِنِین |
| ما کتگ زده شدیم | کَمَا کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه بِنِین |
| شما کتگ زده شدید | شَمَا کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه بِنِین |

بَصِیغَهُ حَالِ مَجْزُؤْلِ

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| من کتگ زده میشوم | اَکُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه مَبِنِین |
| تو کتگ زده میشوی | تُو کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه مَبَا |
| او کتگ زده میشود | اَکُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه مَبُو |
| ایشان کتگ زده میشوند | اَوِی کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه مَبِنِین |
| ما کتگ زده میشویم | کَمَا کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه مَبِنِین |
| شما کتگ زده میشوید | شَمَا کُتْگِی بُکْوَاتَه مَبِنِین |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ

| | | | |
|---------------|----------|--------------------|--------------|
| أَمْكُونَانِ | من میزنم | هَمَّا مُكُونَيْنِ | ما میزنیم |
| تُوْ مُكُونَا | تو میزنی | أَوَى مُكُونَيْنِ | ایشما میزنند |
| أُوْ مُكُونِي | او میزند | شَمَّا مُكُونَيْنِ | شما میزنید |

بَصِيغَةُ ماضِي كَامِلٍ

| | | | |
|-------------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| مُوْ بُكُونَاتِنِ | من زدم | سَا بَقِ دَر | سه وجه |
| تَهْ بُكُونَاتِ | تو زدی | | اینجا هم هست |
| رُ بُكُونَاتِ | او زد | | |
| رَانِ بُكُونَاتِ | ایشان زدند | | |
| هَمَّا بُكُونَاتِ مَانِ | ما زدیم | | |
| شَمَّا بُكُونَاتِ تَانِ | شما زدید | | |

بَصِيغَةُ مُسْتَقْبَلٍ

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| مَكْنِ بُكُونَانِ | میخرا هم بزدم | مَكْشَانِ بُكُونَانِ | میخرا هند بزند |
| مَكْتِ بُكُونَا | میخرا هی بزنی | مَكْمَانِ بُكُونَيْنِ | میخرا هیم بزنی |
| مَكْشِ بُكُونِي | میخرا هد بزندی | مَكْتَانِ بُكُونَيْنِ | میخرا هید بزندی |

بَصِيغَةُ ماضِي نَائِضٍ

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| مُوْ مُكُونَاتِنِ | من میزدم | سَا بَقِ دَر | سه وجه |
| تَهْ مُكُونَاتِ | تو میزدی | | اینجا هم هست |
| رُ مُكُونَاتِ | او میزدی | | |
| رَانِ مُكُونَاتِ | ایشان میزدند | | |
| هَمَّا مُكُونَاتِ مَانِ | ما میزدیم | | |
| شَمَّا مُكُونَاتِ تَانِ | شما میزدید | | |

بَصِيغَةُ فِعْلٍ كَامِلٍ

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|---------|--------------|
| مُو بَكُوَا جِيْن | من زده ام | سابق در | سه وجهه |
| | | | اینجا هم هست |
| تَه بَكُوَا جِي | تو زده | | |
| رُ بَكُوَا جِي | او زده | انست | |
| رَان بَكُوَا جِي | ایشان زده | اند | |
| هَمَا بَكُوَا جِي مَان | ما زده | ایم | |
| شَمَا بَكُوَا جِي تَان | شما زده | اید | |

فِعْلٍ حَالٍ مَشْرُوطٍ

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| مُو بَكُوَات بِيْن | من زده با شم | رَان بَكُوَات بُو | ایشان زده با شند |
| تَه بَكُوَات بَا | تو زده با شی | هَمَا بَكُوَات بِيْمَان | ما زده با شیم |
| رُ بَكُوَات بُو | او زده با شد | شَمَا بَكُوَات بِيْتَان | شما زده با شید |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْبُورٍ

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| أَبَكُوَا تَه بِيْمَان | من زده شدم | أَوْت بَكُوَا تَه بِيْن | ایشان زده شدند |
| تُو بَكُوَا تَه بِي | تو زده شدی | هَمَا بَكُوَا تَه بِيْن | ما زده شدیم |
| أَبَكُوَا تَه بَا | او زده شد | شَمَا بَكُوَا تَه بِيْن | شما زده شدید |

بَصِيغَةُ حَالٍ مَجْبُورٍ

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| بَكُوَا تَه مَبُو | ردد میشود | بَكُوَا تَه مَبِيْن | زده میشوند |
| بَكُوَا تَه مَبِيْن | ردد میشودم | هَمَا بَكُوَا تَه مَبِيْن | ما زده میشویم |
| بَكُوَا تَه مَبَا | زده میشود | شَمَا بَكُوَا تَه مَبِيْن | شما زده میشوید |

بَصِيغَةُ أَمْرٍ

| | | | |
|---------------|---------|---------------------|-------------|
| أَبَكُوَان | من بزنم | أَوْت بَكُوِيْن | ایشان بزنند |
| تُو بَكُوَا | تو بزنی | هَمَا بَكُوِيْمِيْن | ما بزنیم |
| أَبَكُوِيْنِي | او بزند | شَمَا بَكُوِيْنِيْن | شما بزنید |

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ART. VIII.—*Etymology of the Turkish Numerals.* By S. W. KOELLE, Ph.D., Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Science in Berlin, and late Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Constantinople.

THE Etymology of Numerals, or the question what primary ideas originally furnished the names for the different numbers, is a matter of considerable obscurity and uncertainty in many languages. Professor Bopp, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Sanscritic Languages*, translated into English by Lieutenant Eastwick, says, in vol. i. p. 427: "I do not think that any language whatever has produced special original words for the particular designation of such compacted and peculiar ideas as three, four, five, etc.; and as the appellations of numbers resist all comparison with the verbal bases, the pronominal bases remain the only means by which to explain them." To whatever extent this may be true respecting the Sanscritic languages, it does not apply to many others spoken in Africa and America; and from these some light may possibly be derived for the elucidation of the former. Even in Asia there is the extensive stock of Tartar languages, to which also the Turkish or Osmanli belongs, where the roots of words occupy so dominant a position, and can, with their primary meaning, be still so easily traced, that in regard to them the very reverse holds good of what Professor Bopp affirmed about the absence of connexion with verbal bases in the Sanscritic Numerals. Only so much is true, that

also in the Tartar languages the Numerals were originally not designations for the abstract idea of numeric order, but expressions, still capable of being understood, to mark certain peculiarities of the fingers, with whose help people used to count. From being at first ordinary appellatives, they gradually passed into Numerals, or mere symbolic representations of numbers, when their primary signification faded away from the people's mind.

My attention was first drawn to the natural connexion between the numbers and the fingers, when, more than thirty years ago, I compiled the *Polyglotta Africana*, *i.e.* a comparative vocabulary of all the languages spoken in Sierra Leone by its motley population of liberated Africans. Many hundreds of natives from every part of the continent passed through my hands in preparing that work; and as the Numerals were amongst the words of my collection, I had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the African mode of numeration. One thing which I could not help noticing in their manner of counting was, that they generally made use of their fingers, and sometimes, from 11 to 20, even of their toes. In doing so, they also regularly with the fore-finger of their right hand first counted the fingers of their left hand, beginning from the little one and ending with the thumb; and then with the fore-finger of the left hand they, in the same order, counted the fingers of the right. Some of the men from whom I obtained the specimens of their language were so dependent on this dactylic aid, that they became bewildered when I requested them to count without using their fingers. A few of this class were so limited to the most rudimental attainments in mathematics, that they could only count up to five; and when I expressed my surprise as to how they could find this sufficient for the transactions of daily life, one of them replied, "We can manage very well: for having counted five, we put it aside on one heap and then begin another, and so on, as many as we may want."

The practice of calling in the help of fingers and toes for the purpose of counting, which I could still observe

amongst many African tribes, probably already existed in the remotest antiquity of the nations and languages of mankind, and was continued unchanged, with other primeval habits, by those children of nature in their secluded "dark continent" all these thousands of years. There can be little doubt that at that early period of the world's history, when the languages now spoken over the face of the earth were still in the process of primitive formation, that same practice universally prevailed amongst the tribes and nations not merely in Africa, but on every continent where man was found, and that the mathematical genius of our own ancestors was by no means elevated above it. For it is this antique and pristine habit of counting by the help of the fingers which constituted the natural foundation, and now forms the only satisfactory explanation of the fact that, in almost all the languages of mankind, the system of numeration reposes on either a *quinary*, or a *decimal*, or a *vigesimal* base, or one composed of two or all of these; that is to say, that people count either up to *five* (viz. the fingers of one hand), or to *ten* (viz. the fingers of both hands), or to *twenty* (viz. the fingers and toes), and then repeat or compound these highest with the preceding smaller numbers. Accordingly, all languages have distinct names for the Numerals up to five, and many up to ten. Those resting on a quinary base call six "five and one," seven "five and two," eight "five and three," nine "five and four"; but for ten they form again a distinct name. The numbers from 11 to 19 are compounds of ten with the units 1 to 9; and for twenty there is again a distinct word. Beyond twenty they compound in the same manner as beyond ten, and then assume either a decimal or a vigesimal character, according as they provide a new name for every decade or for every score. These three bases of numeration—five, ten, twenty—are so natural and do so readily, one might almost say, with a kind of physical necessity, suggest themselves to every man by the number of his fingers and toes, that it is really a matter of surprise they have not been unexceptionally and exclusively adopted. But though the Five and its multiples

almost universally prevail, there are also some few languages which build up their system of numeration on the basis of six, twelve, twenty-four. They are so few, compared with the others, as to appear only in the light of rare exceptions. Our word 'dozen,' as far as its use is concerned, seems to belong to a like category. What is the cause or natural foundation for this exceptional mode of numeration does not appear so plain: perhaps it proceeded from the still simpler principle of 'three' and may not be unconnected with a pronominal source, as suggested by Prof. Bopp. The occurrence of such a numeration being exceedingly rare and having even been questioned, it may not be superfluous to adduce an instance here. It belongs to the Bōla or Burāma language, spoken on the west coast of Africa between Senegambia and Sierra Leone, where they count thus: 1, *pulólo*; 2, *kétaw*; 3, *kóāyents*; 4, *kebákr*; 5, *kányen*; 6, *pádsi* or *pāi*; 7, *pádsi na pulo*; 8, *bákirēi*; 9, *kahyěngalo*; 10, *inyēn*; 11, *dúkena*; 12, *ņgepádsņgítm*. As here 'twelve' or *ņgepádsņgítm* means evidently 'twice six,' so also 'twenty-four' or *ņgepádsņkebákr*, 'four times six,' and 'seven,' or *pádsi na pulo*, 'six and one.' The base of numeration, therefore, is 'six,' instead of 'five.'

Having once, by ocular observation, my attention drawn to the intimate connexion of the quinary, decimal and vigesimal systems of numeration with the human fingers, or with the fingers and toes, it was natural to look to the same source also for light on the proper and original meaning of the several Numerals. Engaged with the study of the Vei language amongst the people who speak it about Cape Mount, my expectation on that point first began to be gratified. The Veiese count thus up to twenty: *dóndo*, *féra*, *ságba*, *náni*, *sóru*; *sündóndo*, *sūmféra*, *sūnságba*, *sūnnáni*, *tañ*; *tāndóndo*, *tāmféra*, *tānságba*, *tānnáni*, *tānsóru*; *tān sūndóndo*, *tān sūnságba*, *tān sūnnáni*, *mōbānde*. The etymology of at least three or four of these Numerals soon became clear to me. *Dóndo* is evidently a compound of *do* 'small:' 'small-small' or very small, smallest, as a designation of the little finger (of the left hand), the first in being counted.

The *n* of *dó-n-do* is an evolved consonant, which we have also in *férandeñ*, a twin, *lit.* a 'two-child,' from *fera* 'two' and *deñ* 'child.' The original meaning of *fera* must have been that of companionship, association, addition in general, and therefore it took its place in the language both as a Preposition 'with,' and as a Numeral 'two,' the latter being the first and therefore characteristic companion or addition of number one. *Tañ* 'ten' seems connected with *dáña* 'to stay, stop; be at an end, be finished;' for after having counted the fingers, a stop naturally took place before proceeding with the toes; and *dañ* means 'to count.' *Möbände* is a regular compound of *mō* 'man, person,' and *bände* 'finished,' the usual participle passive of the Verb *bañ* 'to finish:' because with 'twenty' one person was finished, that is, all his fingers and toes were counted. *Mō féra bande* or 'forty,' means 'two persons finished,' etc. I was surprised that the Veiese had entirely lost sight of the original and manifest import of the word *möbände*, and that in counting they used it merely as a symbol, like all the other Numerals; but as soon as I had called their attention to its proper etymology, they unhesitatingly fell in with it and affirmed its correctness. Strange to say, in the Greenlandish language the word for 'twenty' has the very same signification as in Vei, from which it may perhaps be inferred that the people who spoke it first lived in a milder climate, and had their naked toes more easily at their disposal for counting, than is now the case in Greenland. A striking confirmation of this finger-theory is also furnished by the Suto or Basuto language, where, as a friend lately informed me, the word for 'six' properly signifies 'jump over:' obviously because, in counting the number six, one 'jumps over' from the fingers of the left hand to those of the right.

When, with this knowledge of African numeration and Numerals, I afterwards came to Constantinople and my duties as a Missionary to the Turks rendered it incumbent on me thoroughly to acquaint myself with their language by exhausting etymological researches, I found the Turkish

Numerals no less transparent and no less easily reducible to their roots than Tartar words in general, and confirmatory, in a most remarkable manner, of my African theory about the primitive signification of numbers. The present treatise professing to set forth the etymology of all the Turkish Numerals, it will have to trace them to their source, and to point out the exact reasons from which the ancient Tartars, the ancestors of the present Turks, originally designated their numbers by the names which they still bear, and which at the first were not special words to express the abstract idea of numeric order, but general appellations relating to the fingers employed in counting, and only in the course of time turned into those purely symbolic terms which practically they now are.

The Turkish language has only twenty distinct and proper words to express numbers; and with their help all the other Numerals are represented. They are the names for the ten Units, the eight Tens, one for 'hundred' and one for 'thousand,' as given here:—1, بر (*bir*); 2, ایکی (*éki*); 3, اوچ (*üç*); 4, دؤرت (*dört*); 5, بش (*beş*); 6, التی (*áltı*); 7, یددی (*yédi*); 8, سکنز (*sékiz*); 9, طوقوز (*tóquz*); 10, اون (*ön*); 20, یکریمی (*yékirmi, yérmi*); 30, اوتوز (*ótuz*); 40, قیرق (*qırq*); 50, اللی (*éli*); 60, التمش (*áltmiş*); 70, یتمش (*yétmiş*); 80, سکسان (*séksān*); 90, طوقسان (*tóqsān*); 100, یوز (*yüz*); 1000, بیگ (*biñ*).

(1) بر or بیر (*bir*), *one*. This number, according to the primitive mode of counting with the aid of the fingers, answers to the little finger of the left hand. As the *Veï* derived its name from the size of this finger (*viz. dondo*, 'small-small'), so the Turkish fixed upon its position, as *hithermost* in regard to the person who counts, and *foremost* respecting the fingers and numbers that are to follow. The word *Bir* therefore designates the number One, as that which is before, hitherwards, antecedent, in regard to all the other numbers. The same root has also settled in the language as the Noun and Preposition برو or بری (*bér-i*), signifying 'the hither side, this side; hitherward, since;' and as a Verb, *viz. وبرمک* (*vér-mek*), which in Tshagatai has still the

form *بیروماک* (*bir-mek*) 'to give, to present;' properly, 'to bring forward, to advance something for some one else.' In a more distant relationship to it stands *وارمق* (*rār-maq*) 'to proceed, go forward to, reach,' in Tshagatai *بارماق* (*bār-maq*) *id.* This Tartar root, with essentially the same meaning, is also widely spread in the Indo-European languages, where, however, its first consonant is sometimes aspirated, sometimes sharpened, *e.g.* Engl. fir-st, fore, before; fare; German *ŕir-ŕt*, *ŕŕir-ŕt*; vor; *ŕchran*, *fŕhran*; Latin *præ*, *pro*, *per*; *primus*; Greek *πρω*, *προ*, *πρωτ*; *πρω-τος* *πέρα*; Sanser. *पुर* (*pur*) *præcedere*, *पुरम्* (*púr-am*) *ante*, *coram*, *पुरा* (*púr-ā*) *antea*, *पूर्व* (*púr-va*) *prior*, etc.

(2) *ایکی* (*ék-i*), *two*. This is a Noun with a passive signification, regularly formed from the Verb *اکمک* (*ék-mek*), 'to sow (seed), to sprinkle (salt, etc.);' in Tshagatai *ایکماک* (*ik-mek*) 'to sow, to insert.' The sowing is a throwing or casting of the seed, and therefore the Noun *ék-i* signifies any thing thrown down or added to something else: an addition. Two being the first and, on this account, the characteristic addition to one, the second Numeral could consistently be represented by a word signifying *addition*, just as in Vei by one signifying companion, fellow. The succeeding additions, being no longer new and characteristic, could not in like manner supply names of a similar import for the following numbers. In Tshagatai another Noun is formed from the same Verb to designate the peculiar addition of what is, "thrown into the bargain," and also of a "patch," viz. *ایکلیک* (*ik-lik*). Other instances of Nouns formed like *ék-i*, by the mere addition of *i* to the root, are:— *چکی* (*ŕék-i*) 'a horse-load,' from *چکمک* (*ŕék-mek*) 'to draw, drag, carry;' *صاجی* (*sáj-i*), 'small coins scattered at weddings,' from *صاجمق* (*sáj-maq*), 'to scatter;' *یازی* (*yáz-i*) 'a writing, inscription,' from *یازمق* (*yáz-maq*), 'to write;' *یاری* (*yári*) 'a half,' from *یارمق* (*yár-maq*), 'to split, to cleave.' The particular reason, which originally may have suggested the designation of the second Numeral as a mere addition or appendage to the first, was probably the characteristic peculiarity of the finger next to the little one of the

left hand, to which it corresponded in counting, and which is the weakest, most dependent of all our fingers, slavishly following its neighbour in all its movements, so that from this want of independence and character it has in several languages been called the "nameless" one.

(3) اۈچ (üç, Zenker in his Dictionary adds, vulg. yüç) *three*. The third Numeral corresponds to the third or middle finger of the left hand which *rises* or *tops* above all the rest; and from the surpassing *height* of this middle finger the third Numeral has derived its appellation. اۈچ (üç) 'three,' and اۈچ (uç) 'end, point, top, farthest limit, utmost or upmost end,' are one and the same root, and were originally identical. Under the influence of the soft vowels of the second and fourth Numerals the *u* of the third naturally soon softened into *ü*. The change of harsh into soft vowels is something very common in the Tartar languages, and they are sometimes interchanged by the people of the same country; e.g. Vambéry in his Tshagatai vocabulary writes اوچماق 'to fly up' with *u*, اوچماک 'to go out, extinguish,' with *ö*; but Shaw, in his Specimens from Eastern Turkestan, writes the former *öch-maq* and the latter *uch-mak*; again Vambéry writes اۈچ 'revenge' both with *u* and *ü*, Shaw with *u* only and Zenker with *ö* only. The latter has the vowel *ü* in اۈچ 'three,' but *u* in اوچاۋ 'the three,' and in اوچاۋلا 'all the three.' The ordinary Dictionaries give the vowel *u* to the Verb اوچمتق 'to fly up, to rise high;' but *ü* and rarely *u* to the Adjective اوچە or يۈچە 'high,' which comes from the same root. The third Numeral, instead of connecting itself with اۈچ might also have attached itself to اۈچ (iç) 'inside, middle;' for as the third finger is the highest, so it also occupies an interior or intermedial position amongst the other fingers, having two on either side, wherefore in many languages it is called "the middle finger." But in Turkish اۈچ (üç) 'three,' can hardly be derived from اۈچ (iç) 'inside,' because *i* does not easily pass into *ü*. Nevertheless there is an etymological relationship of a different kind between اۈچ (uç, üç) and اۈچ (iç); they respectively express the

opposite but correlative notions of *out* and *in*, *high* and *deep*, and are held together, as it were, by the band of the neutral اچ (*āğ'*), which, in the Verb اچمت (*āğ'-maq*) 'to open,' denotes an activity for affording both egress and ingress, according to circumstances. Professor Bopp, on p. 427 of the work already quoted, makes a remark containing both truth and error, which deserves to be noticed here. It is to this effect: "Only in *three* might one perhaps think of the Sanscrit base त्रि (*tri*) 'to pass over,' and consider three as the *more* than two. This verbal notion of passing over, adding, is, however, also the only possible one which could be blended with the names of numbers." Had Prof. Bopp paid attention to the correspondence between the Numerals and the fingers, he would have expressed himself differently. It is a remarkable confirmation of the theory I am illustrating that, in spite of his preconceived notions, he has to connect the Numeral *three* with the Sanscrit Verb त्रि (*tri*) 'to surpass.' But he is quite wrong in supposing that the reason is because three is "more" than two. The idea of addition could only furnish the name for two, where it is new and characteristic, but not for any of the numbers following, which all equally exceed their predecessors. The reason why three is called the "surpassing" number in the Sanscritic languages and the "end" or "top" number in Turkish, is not because it numerically exceeds two, but because the finger which symbolizes it surpasses all his fellows in height.

(4) دورت or درت (*dört*) *four*. The Verb from which this Numeral is derived is still in common use, namely, دورتmek (*dör-t-mek*), in eastern Turkish, according to Shaw, still تورتماک (*tür-t-mak*, with *u*) 'to poke, push, stir up, rouse, drive away.' The fourth finger, *i.e.* the finger next to the thumb of the left hand, was therefore regarded as the one with which we stir up, rouse, awaken, incite, chase away; or perhaps also—seeing that the Noun دورتی (*dör-t-i*) signifies 'prick, point'—the one with which we point, show the direction: the "index," in Germ. *Zeigefinger*, as his brother on the right hand is still generally called. As

regards its form, دورتمک (*dör-t-mek*) is an enlarged root by the addition of *t*, which imparts a causative and sometimes an intensive force, and it corresponds to the eastern طورغوزماق (*tür-γuz-maq*) 'to rouse, raise, stir up,' from طورمق (*dür-maq*) 'to stand up, to rise.' Of a similar formation is بورتتمک (*bür-t-mek*) or برتمک (*bér-t-mek*) 'to wrench, sprain, dislocate,' from بورمق (*bür-maq*) 'to turn;' also: یونتمق (*yön-t-maq*) 'to cut or mend (a pen),' from یونمق (*yön-maq*) 'to cut or dress the sides (یان=یون) of timber.' All the simple roots which can thus be enlarged terminate in ر or ن or ل, and the single consonants by which this enlargement is effected are پ ت چ ق ج ک.

(5) بش (*beš*) five. There can be no doubt that بش 'five,' and باش (*bāš*) 'head,' were originally one and the same word, so that the number five was called the *head*-number, because it corresponded with the thumb of the left hand, which, when the hand is closed, rises above the other fingers as the head above the body. When once the word was regularly employed as a Numeral in counting, it was natural to change its pronunciation a little, so as to distinguish it from its usual form with its primary meaning. In all the Turkish dialects the thumb is still ordinarily called باش پارمق (*bāš pārmaq*), *i.e.* 'head-finger,' and in Arabic and Persian العفوقی (*el-fūqi*), *i.e.* 'the upper one.' According to A. Castren's Grammar, p. 17, the Koibals pronounce بش with the vowels *i* and *e*, and the Karagassians even with the diphthong *ei*.

(6) التی (*ál-t-i*) six. This means properly the "low" number, or the number "below," from the still current الت (*al-t*) 'the under part, the space below; under, below.' No more striking proof can be required, of the agreement between the ancient Tartars and the Negroes of Africa, in their mode of using the fingers for the purpose of numeration, than the name of this Numeral. It could not have been better chosen, had it been specially invented with the view of illustrating our theory. For if Five, as answering to the thumb of the left hand, is called the *head* or *upper* number, what can be more natural, one might almost say

more compulsory, than to take the name for Six from the corresponding *low* position of the little finger of the right hand, or to call Six the *underling* of Captain Five? We may also observe, in regard to its etymological character, that the root **الت** (*al-t*) is parallel to **دورت** (*dör-t*): it is not a perfectly simple or primary, but an enlarged or developed root. Its naked form is **ال** (*āl*), as in the Verb **المتق** (*āl-maq*) ‘to take, to hold;’ so that it appears the ancient Tartars regarded the *under* part of a thing as “taking” or “holding” what was above it, just as we say a vessel “takes” or “holds” what has room in it.

(7) **یدی** (*yéd-i*), *seven*. As **التی** (*āl-t-i*) ‘six,’ can etymologically be only derived from **الت** (*al-t*) ‘under,’ and **ایکی** (*ék-i*) ‘two,’ from **ایکمک** (*ék-mek*) ‘to sow, to throw:’ so also **یدی** (*yéd-i*) ‘seven,’ can only be formed from **یدمک** (*yéd-mek*) ‘to lead a horse by the hand, to tow a vessel, to draw after, or cause to follow anything.’ Another Noun derived from this Verb is **یدک** (*yéd-ek*), which means ‘a led horse, a ship or boat in tow, the rope by which the horse is led or the ship towed.’ The appellation of the seventh Numeral is therefore a most correct and striking characteristic of the finger next to the little one on the right hand, which, with its brother on the left, is of all our fingers the weakest and least independent, submissively following its little neighbour in all its movements, like a led horse, or a ship in tow. As the Latin language calls the one *secundus*, from *sequi*, to follow, so the Sanscrit names the other **सप्तन** (*sáp-tan*) from **सप** (*sap*) *sequi*, and the Turkish **یدی** (*yéd-i*) from **یدمک** (*yéd-mek*) ‘to be led after, to follow behind.’ These are facts which show a close observation of nature and a truly remarkable agreement in the systems of numeration belonging to languages so widely different as the Arian and the Tartar, and yet strongly confirming our African finger-theory. In point of etymology it may be observed that **یدمک** (*yéd-mek*) ‘to lead a horse, to tow a vessel,’ seems to have been originally identical with and only gradually to have separated its form from **یتمک** (*yét-mek*), in eastern Turkish **ییتماک** (*yít-mek, yét-mek*) ‘to

reach, to suffice:’ for in meaning both Verbs are closely allied, the following of a led horse or a towed vessel being in effect, as it were, a continual effort to “reach” what precedes. Perhaps the eastern dialects do not yet make use of the forms *یدمک* (*yéd-mek*) and *یدک* (*yéd-ek*), as I do not find them in the usual eastern vocabularies, but in their stead only *ییتماک* (*yít-mek, yét-mek*) ‘to reach,’ *ییتاک* (*yét-ek*) ‘a led horse,’ and likewise *ییتی* or *یتی* (*yét-i*) ‘seven.’ But the seventh Numeral tells also in this latter form (*ییتی* *yét-i*) the same tale about its connexion with the seventh finger, as in the now usual form *یدی* (*yéd-i*). The Numeral *یدی* is the first of which the Tartar-Turkish Dictionary, printed in Stambul by a learned Ottoman of high position, attempts an explanation in these words: “Its original form was *یتدی* (*yét-di*), as designating the day by which the week had *reached* its completion, the Sabbath day.” This explanation is right in connecting the Numeral with the Verb *یدمک* or *یتمک* or *ییتماک* ‘to reach, to endeavour to reach by following:’ but as the ancient Tartars no doubt had counted many things before they counted the days of the week, they could hardly have remained without a name for “seven,” until the Sabbath day suggested it to them; and had the *last* day of the week provided a number with its name, we would naturally expect to meet also with *other* traces of a septenary character in the Tartar system of numeration, which is not the case. Therefore the latter part of this explanation cannot well be entertained.

(8) *سکز* (*sék-iz*), in eastern Turkish *سیکیز* (*sik-iz*) *eight*. This is properly an Adjective derived from the Verb *سکمک* (*sék-mek*) ‘to jump, spring, bound; to rebound, glance off, ricochet (like a projectile from a hard surface).’ Accordingly it describes the eighth or middle finger of the right hand as the rebounding or glancing-off finger, in reference to the almost universally prevalent practice of *snapping* with this finger, when it glances off from the thumb, like a projectile from a curved surface. Shaw’s vocabulary of eastern Turkish has *ساکیز* and *سکز* (*sák-iz*) for eight, and *سکراماک* (*sák-ramak*) for: ‘to jump close-footed, to hop.’ Bianchi in his

Turkish Dictionary gives us two words سکز (*sék-iz*); the first he calls Persian, and assigns to it the meaning "whip" and "woodman's axe," and the second is the Turkish Numeral. But they are unquestionably one and the same genuinely Turkish word, which in the first case designates the whip and the axe as rebounding in being used and in the second the middle finger as glancing off in snapping. The termination *iz* or *'z* occurs with a similar force also in the following words: ايكيز or ايكيز (*ék-iz*), *lit.* 'a two-ling,' *i.e.* 'a twin, twins,' from ايكى or اكى (*ék-i*) 'two' (as in *Vei férandeñ*, 'a two-child'); ديكيز or ديكيز (*déñ-iz*) 'the sea,' *lit.* 'the still, quiet, the pacific,' from ديمك or ديمك (*diñ-mek*) 'to be still, quiet, calm;' because the sea stands still and does not 'go,' like the ايرماق (*ir-maq*) or 'river;' تيميز or تيميز (*tit-iz*) 'peevish, cross,' from ديمك (*dit-mek*), or eastern تيممك (*tit-mek*) 'to rend, tear in little pieces, to cast up wool as in carding it.' The Tartar-Turkish Dictionary already referred to seeks to explain the etymological origin of the eighth Numeral, by calling it "the number which *jumps* beyond seven." But if this kind of jumping had occasioned the name, it could with equal propriety have been conferred upon any other numeral except one; for every number in this sense jumps, as it were, beyond that which precedes it. Our own explanation is therefore the only one which meets the case.

(9) طوقوز or طوقوز, or in eastern Turkish توقوز (*tóq-uz*) *nine*. The formation of this and the preceding Numeral are the same in principle; for the difference in the formative syllable *iz* and *uz* is purely phonetic, the soft root *sek* requiring *iz* and the hard root *toq* demanding *uz*. As the name for eight is derived from a peculiarity of the middle finger of the right hand as the "snapping" one, so the appellation for nine is taken from a quality of the index-finger of the same hand, as the "touch"-finger. If this finger is in some languages justly called the "index" or Zeigefinger, it is in others with no less propriety also termed the "touching" or "feeling" finger; for most people, when they wish carefully to examine anything by their sense of touch, make

use almost involuntarily of the finger next to their right thumb. Accordingly the ninth Numeral derives its name from the Verb *طوقنمق* or *طوقونمق* (*tóq-un-maq*) ‘to touch, examine by the sense of feeling;’ which is itself derived from *طوقومتق* (*tóq-u-maq*) ‘to weave, strike yarn together;’ and this again from *توقماق* (*tóq-maq*, Tshagatai) ‘to put together, attach,’ with which the form of the Turkish noun *طوقمق* (*tóq-maq*) ‘a mallet, hammer, knocker,’ coincides. The Tartar-Turkish Dictionary is again right in connecting this Numeral with its verbal base, but as unlucky as before in the reason it assigns, saying: “*طوقوز* or *طقوز* (*tóq-uz*) is the number so near to *ten* as to ‘touch’ it.” But Nine does not touch Ten more closely than it does Eight, and all the other numbers equally “touch” their upper and their lower neighbour, and would thus be no less entitled to the appellation of “touch-number”; therefore the reason assigned does not account for the selection of the name exactly in this case. In the three Numerals whose etymological elucidation has been attempted by the distinguished and learned author of the Tartar-Turkish Dictionary, he succeeded as regards their outward form; but not possessing the right key to the enigma, it is no discredit to him that he failed in solving the difficulty altogether.

(10) *اون* (*ōn*), in Yakutic *يون* (*yōn*) *ten*. This root is identical with that of the Verb *اونمق* (*ōn-maq*), which Meninski renders by: *findere, expectare*; and Bianchi by: *fendre, attendre*; or with *يونمق* (*yōn-maq*) which means ‘to split (wood), to cut or dress (the sides of) timber or stone.’ From the latter comes the Noun *يونغه* (*yōñ-ḡa*) or *يونقا* (*yōñ-qa*), and *يوننتى* (*yōñ-un-ti*) ‘splinter, shavings and other offal in dressing timber.’ In Tshagatai Vambery gives the meaning of *اون* (*ōn*) by: ‘the right hand, the toes, ten;’ and that of the cognate *اونك* (*ōñ*) by: ‘right, good; the right, justice.’ Now the missing link for connecting all these different meanings is nothing else than the etymological base upon which all these words rest, namely, the Noun *يون* (*yōn*) *i.q.* *يان* (*yān*) ‘side.’ The connexion between *side* and *ten* is not very distant. Having counted up to ten,

the end of the fingers had been reached, so that they had now to be left on one side, and the mind to turn in a new direction. In Turkish *يان ويرومك* (*yān vérmek*, lit. 'to give side') means: 'to stand aside, aloof, to withdraw from a thing.' In any language, to pass from the side of a thing, or to turn aside from it, can give the idea: 'to cease, stop, stay in having any more to do with it.' The tenth Numeral is therefore characterized by its name *اون* (*ōn*) or *يون* (*yōn*) as the first great *turning*-point (leaving one side and turning to another), the first necessary *stoppage, halt, stay*, the chief natural *waiting* place in the progress of numeration. What my African friend, who could only count five, told me, "When we have counted thus far, we put it on one side and begin afresh," was also done mentally and figuratively by the nations who developed the decimal system. In one continued effort, and as it were without taking breath, the creative genius of language had invented a new name for every successive number up to ten, when the aid from the fingers was exhausted, and thus naturally a pause set in, and the question presented itself how to proceed farther. Many Negro tribes, after having done with their fingers, called the toes into requisition; and if the same thing was done elsewhere, might it not explain the singular coincidence that in Tshagatai and in German the same word is used for *toe* and *ten*? At all events the number *اون* (*ōn*) marks a stop or end in one direction, and the turn for a new start in another. The former meaning was also seized upon and still more plainly expressed by the language of the Kagsinians and Kanskois in Siberia, which, whilst agreeing with the Turkish in the other Numerals, has, according to Klapproth's *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 160, for the number "ten" the new word "*büd*," which plainly means "end," from *بوتماك* (*büt-mek*) 'to come to an end, to finish, terminate; to come out, germinate (plants).' Compare also *بيتيك* (*bít-ik*) and *بوتوك* (*bót-ük*) 'approaching the end, finishing,' and *بوتون* (*bütt-ün*) or *بتون* (*bít-ün*) 'whole, complete, all.' The word *يون* (*yōn*) 'side,' as we see from the Verb *يونمق* (*yōn-maq*) or *اونمق* (*ōn-maq*) 'to split,' also suggests the

idea of separating the two sides or halves of a whole, of halving, dividing, severing, parting. This is another way which would likewise lead us to the notion of division, section, separated portion, as the meaning of the Turkish Numeral which completes the first decade. The division of a whole into two equal parts or halves, closely corresponding to each other, also naturally suggests that similar correspondence and agreement which subsists between merit and recompense, and constitutes the essence of justice, righteousness, right. Hence اونك (*ōñ*) ‘just, right, good,’ and اون (*ōn*) ‘the right hand.’ When we see in dictionaries that اوگمق (*ōñ-maq*) means ‘to heal, recover,’ اوگلمق (*ōñ-ul-maq*) ‘to be healed,’ اوگلمز (*ōñ-ul-maz*) ‘incurable,’ اوگلدیجی (*ōñ-ul-di-ği*) ‘remedy,’ etc., we may feel tempted to regard the healing as a making whole, and to look upon the name of the tenth Numeral as signifying a numeric whole, a complete decade; but the meaning of اونك (*ōñ*) seems to forbid us from taking this view, and to represent to us the healing only as a restoration to a suitable, right and good condition. We may here also notice the material identity between the Turkish name for the first decade *On*, and the European name for the first unit in the Latin *un-us*, German *ein*; and the change of the former into *wonna* in the Tshawushian (see Kasem Beg’s Grammar, p. 54), and of the latter into *wienas* in Lithuanian, *weens* in Lettish, and *one* (= *won*) in English,—a coincidence, which, if not of an etymological, is at any rate of a phonetic interest.

(20) يگرومی (*yék-irmi*, but usually contracted into *yirmi*) *twenty*. This Numeral is evidently a compound, of which the first part is يکی (*yék-i*) or ايکی (*ék-i*) ‘two,’ and the second ایرمی (*ir-im-i*, *ir’m-i*) ‘its reaching,’ so that the whole literally means ‘two its reaching, or its twice reaching,’ viz. ‘to the end of ten, second arrival at a full decade,’ or ‘arrival at the end of two decades.’ The Verb ايرمك (*ir-mek* or *ér-mek*), cognate with ايرمق (*ir-maq*) ‘to go, to flow,’ signifies ‘to reach, to attain to, to arrive at a place;’ and from it the verbal Noun ايرم (*ir-im*, *ir’m*) is regularly formed. In counting the ten fingers for the first time, a stop or limit had been come to, which was indicated by the

name of the tenth Numeral; and when they were counted over again (or in their stead the toes), a second halt was occasioned by this new arrival at the goal, and this was expressed in like manner by the name for *twenty*, the second decade.

The Turkish language has manifested an originality, a vigour and productiveness far above other languages with which it shares the decimal character of numeration. For whilst these contented themselves, in forming the names for the Tens, with simply repeating the Units in a peculiar form, or in conjunction with the name for Ten, the Turkish made a desperate effort to produce distinct appellations, expressive of an intelligible meaning, for the second, third, fourth and fifth decade, in their respective last number; and only after having well-nigh exhausted the possible, stooped to the method of other mortals, by employing the Units in the formation of the names for 60, 70, 80 and 90. Only the Karagassians, a Turkish tribe near the river Yenisei, seem not to have followed the general Turkish imagination in its vigorous flight, but to have preferred the even march with compounds of the Unit and Ten throughout. According to A. Castren's *Sprachlehre*, p. 17, their Tens are as follows: 20 *ihon*, from *ihî* 'two,' and *ôn* 'ten,' 30 *üğon*, 40 *törton*, 50 *beşon*, 60 *alton*, 70 *yeton*, 80 *seheson*, 90 *tohoson*.

(30) *اوتوز* or *اوتوز* (*ót-uz*) *thirty*. The formation of this Numeral is similar to that of *سكز* (*sék-iz*) 'eight,' and of *طقوز* (*tóq-uz*) 'nine.' It is derived from the Verb *اوتورماق* or *اوتورماق* (*ót-ur-maq*) 'to sit, settle, rest, remain.' Therefore, when the ten fingers had been counted for the third time and the occasion was once more given for a pause or stop, the name for the thirtieth Numeral was taken from the idea of sitting down, resting, and thus the third decade became marked as a new "set." In Tshagatai the word for thirty is *اولتوز* (*ól-tuz*), and, as we would naturally expect, the Verb from which it is derived *اولتورماق* (*ól-tur-maq*) 'to sit, to remain.' Another instance of the same formation is *قودوز* (*qud-uz*) 'hydrophobia; mad, enraged, out of mind,

from قودورمق (*qúd-ur-maq*) 'to get out of one's mind, to become mad or enraged.' It will have been noticed that in these formations the final *r* of the Verb is eliminated, and that the *z* of *uz* and *iz* takes its place. By the same process also كوز (*göz*) 'the eye' is derived from the Verb كورمك (*gór-mek*) 'to see.'

(40) قرق or قيرق (*qir-q*) *forty*. The only Verb to which this Numeral can be referred is قيرمق or قورمق (*qir-maq*) 'to break.' Another pause having been reached on the ten fingers being counted for the fourth time, and the previous one having been called a "sitting" or a "set," this new stop is with no less appropriateness designated as a "break." The termination يق or ق (*iq* or 'q), or in soft roots يك or ك (*ik* or 'k), is employed in forming past participles, or adjectives of a passive and sometimes of an intransitive character, which are also frequently used as substantives,¹ e.g. يارق (*yár-iq*) 'split, cracked; a split, a crack, a fissure,' from يارمق (*yár-maq*) 'to split, to cleave;' ياتيق or ياتق (*yát-iq*) 'lying, inclined, not standing erect; a large flask with narrow neck, a travelling bottle,' from ياتمق (*yát-maq*) 'to lie, lie down, rest horizontally.' So likewise قيريق or قيرق (*qir-iq* or *qir'q*) means 'broken, broken off; a fracture, a fragment;' and it became the name for forty, because in reaching that number, the act of numeration met with another "break," and the fourth decade constituted a new "fragment" or part, portion, of the numbers.

(50) اللي (*él-li*), better الی or ایلی (*él-i*) *fifty*. What is now the usual orthography of this Numeral is plainly erroneous. As *ék-i* 'two,' is written اکی or ایکی, so also *él-i* 'fifty,' ought to be written الی or ایلی. Both these words are equally pronounced with only one consonant. The mistaken orthography may have been suggested to some by the desire graphically to distinguish this word from others, of which the pronunciation is different; and to others by a false etymology, deriving the Numeral from the Noun ال (*eł*) 'hand,' instead of perceiving that both the

¹ Compare Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV. Part II. p. 148.

Numeral and the Noun have their common origin in a Verb. The Tartar-Turkish Dictionary is of the latter class. It makes another sporadic attempt at numeral etymology, the last, as far as I can see, by explaining اللى (*él-li*) as meaning 'a hand of tens,' probably in the stead of a quint of tens, because the hand has five fingers. Vambéry and Shaw also follow in this track, contrary to native pronunciation, the former by writing ايليك (*él-lik*) and the latter ايلليك (*il-lik*) 'fifty,' adding the question in parenthesis: "Is this Numeral connected with *il-ik* 'hand'?" But what must at once raise a hesitation in the mind as to the correctness of this course, is the fact that this would be the only instance in the formation of Numerals by means of the termination لك (*lik*), shortened into لى (*li*); whereas the language in general shows a decided partiality for providing the forms of its Numerals in pairs, as *e.g.* *ált-i, yedi; sék-iz, tóq-uz; alt-miš, yedmiš; séks-ân, tóqs-ân*. Another such pair was the ancient قيريق (*qir-iq*) 'forty,' and ايليك (*il-ik*) 'fifty.' Dr. A. Castren, in his *Koibal Grammar*, p. 17, writes it quite correctly with one *l*, *il-ik* and *il-ek*; and Mirza A. Kasem Beg, in his *Turkish Grammar*, p. 54, though following the now customary faulty spelling in Turkish, yet in his Latin transliteration gives the correct form *él-i*. The state of the Turkish language itself, as it is still preserved to us in its various eastern dialects, and the nature of its grammatical laws, leave no doubt that, whether we recognize in the present form of the name for fifty the primitive termination يك (*ik*) or لك (*lik*), the Verb to which alone it must be traced as its source is ايلمك or المك (*il-mek*), signifying 'to stretch out, stretch forth; to stretch to, attach, tack to; to tie, fasten, button; to close, to shut.' Vambéry gives its meaning in *Tshagatai* only by 'to close, shut, tie, fasten;' and that of its derivative ايليك (*il-ik*) by 'closed, shut, tied, fastened.' Shaw, in his eastern vocabulary, also assigns to the latter the meaning of "hand" (either from being stretched out, or closed, shut), and "marrow" (from being closed in and shut up within the bone), to which Bianchi adds that of "buttonhole"

(because it, as it were, closes in and shuts up the button, in tying or fastening a dress). This same word is also undoubtedly the original form of the Numeral الی (*él-i*) which, in harmony with its four predecessors, expresses the idea that another counting of the ten fingers, the fifth decade, is “closed.” Thus the Numerals 40 and 50 were formed in one way, by the self-same suffix, which in the former case assumed the form یتق (*iq*), as attached to a hard root, and in the latter یک (*ik*), as attached to a soft root. Such terminations and suffixes change in course of time, or are dropped altogether. ایلک (*él-ik*), when it meant fifty, shortened its termination into ی (*i*), ایلی (*il-i*, *él-i*); and when it signified “hand,” discarded it altogether ایل or ال (*il*, *el*). The instances are not rare in which now only ی (*i*) is left of the primitive suffix یک (*ik*), and the following are some of them: دیری or دری (*dir-i*), *i.q.* دیریک (*dir-ik*) and تیریک (*tir-ik*) ‘living, alive;’ چری *ğér-i*, ‘militia-man, soldier,’ *i.q.* چیریک (*ğér-ik*) ‘brave, dexterous;’ ایتی (*it-i*), *i.q.* ایتیک (*it-ik*) ‘sharp, pointed, quick, agile.’

(60 and 70) التمش (*ált-miš*) *sixty*; یدمش (*yéd-miš*) *seventy*. With this couple of names, for the sixth and seventh Ten of numbers, the language has recourse to the correspondent Units. In fabricating new appellations for the end of decades and for the pauses occasioned thereby, the resources were practically exhausted when the first Ten had been called an “Aside,” a leaving on one “side,” so as to make a fresh start in a new direction; the second a “Twice arriving,” viz. at the end of the ten fingers; the third a “Sitting down, set, rest;” the fourth a “Break,” and the fifth a “Close.” At this point and not before, the creative imagination of the pristine Turks turns for aid to the Units. But even now it does not yet condescend to the mode of other nations, by mechanically combining a Unit and a Ten, but makes another desperate attempt, before consenting to that last step. It ingeniously converts the sixth and seventh Units into Verbs, and gives them the characteristic of the past participle, by appending to them the syllable مش (*miš*). التمش (*ált-miš*) and یدمش (*yéd-miš*)

mean respectively: 'having *sixed*,' 'having *seened*,' that is, having performed for the sixth and seventh time the act of numeration within its natural compass, as indicated by the fingers of both hands. Thus once more a couple of Tens has been provided with intelligible names, and yet the bodily introduction of اون (*ōn*) 'ten,' dexterously avoided.

(80 and 90) سڪسان (*sék-sān*) *eighty*; طوقسان or طوقسان (*tóqsān*) *ninety*. Now, in this last pair of Numerals, the creative ingenuity seems finally conquered; it can no longer avoid the long-deferred اون (*ōn*). But there is yet one means left of covering the defeat, and the language would not be Turkish, if it did not avail itself of this last alternative. A *compromise* is formed between the Unit and the Ten, by which each has to yield something: the former has its final consonant changed, the latter its vowel, and thus the transaction issues into daylight under the disguise of a سڪسان (*séksān*) for سڪز اون (*sékiz ōn*), and a طقسان (*tóqsān*) for طقوز اون (*tóquz ōn*).

(100) يوز (*yüz*) *hundred*. This same word is also still used with the signification of 'face, surface, front, farther side, onward direction.' A Verb is formed from it (يوزمك *yüz-mek*) which means 'to swim (*i.e.* to float or move on the "surface"); to skin, to flay (*i.e.* to take off the "surface" or skin).' It is obvious, therefore, that يوز (*yüz*) was chosen as a name for "hundred," because this Numeral was considered as the *uppermost*, or as being upon the *face* and *surface* of all the rest. At the time this name was chosen, "hundred" was probably the highest number beyond which the Turks did not count; and بيگ (*biñ*) 'a thousand,' may have been superadded at a later period. In analogy with the formation of كوز (*göz*) 'the eye,' from كورمك (*gör-mek*), 'to see;' of ايز (*iz*) 'track, trace,' from ايرمق (*ir-maq*), 'to go;' and of سميز (*sém-iz*) 'fat,' from سميرمك (*sém-ir-mek*), 'to grow fat;' the Verb from which يوز (*yüz*) was derived must have been يورمك (*yür-mek*). In the Osmanli dialect this Verb is no longer used, but has been superseded by يوريمك (*yür-ü-mek*) 'to walk, go, travel;' in Shaw's vocabulary of the eastern Turkish, however, we still find

یورماک (yür-mek) 'to walk, to progress, to proceed' (e.g. *âtga minip yürmek* 'to proceed on horseback'). This Verb fully accounts for the meaning of یوز (yüz) 'face, hundred' as of something foremost, uppermost. By the same association of ideas the eastern Turkish مانکلائی (māñ-lai), signifying 'forehead,' comes from the Verb مانکماق (māñ-maq) 'to walk, go, advance, progress, proceed.' This view of the connexion between 'hundred,' as the face- or front-number, and 'face,' and between face and the verbal notion of proceeding, advancing, fronting, is certainly much more natural and simple than another, which might likewise present itself to one's mind, and which might be attached to the meaning of the English word *gang* in e.g. "a gang of thieves," so that یوز (yüz) 'hundred,' from یوریمک (yür-i-mek) 'to walk, to go,' would be regarded as originally indicating indefinitely any great number, e.g. of warriors going together to battle, or of cattle going together to pasture, and as only gradually restricted in its use to the definite number "hundred." But though this is not altogether impossible, and I myself made the suggestion many years ago, the former view is preferable.

(1000) بنگ or بیگ (biñ) *thousand*. This last of Turkish Numerals undoubtedly comes from the Verb بینمک or بنمک (bin-mek) 'to mount, to ride,' because it surmounts all the other numbers and has them under it, like a rider his horse. In the Numeral the *n* of the Verb is changed into ñ from euphonic reasons, as is also the case in the Substantive بنگ or بنک (beñ), which was originally identical with the Numeral and signifies 'a spot, mole, freckle,' evidently because these things appear in the face or sit on the surface of the skin. In the eastern Turkish dialects the Numeral and the Substantive are still wholly identical in every respect, and need not be treated as two words, as is now done in the dictionaries, for they are really only one. This whole view acquires the strongest confirmation by a reference to the words under consideration in Mr. Shaw's eastern vocabulary, where it has only to be remembered that the initial *m* stands for the *b* of the west, and the three words are thus given: مینک (miñ) num. 'a thousand;,' مینک (miñ) subs. 'a beauty-spot,

a mole on the face;’ ميماک (*min-mak*) v.tr. ‘to mount a horse, to ride.’

The attempt has now been made, and for the first time successfully carried through, of tracing *all* the Turkish Numerals to their roots and primary signification. Prof. Bopp’s opinion, that not any language has produced original words for the designation of the peculiar ideas three, four, five, etc., has been fully confirmed, as far as the Turkish is concerned; for we have found that all the present Numerals had originally definite other meanings, and were afterwards only applied and adapted to represent numbers. But the other part of his assertion, that “the appellations of numbers resist all comparison with verbal bases,” has been triumphantly disproved, as wholly inconsistent with the Turkish. Whatever may be said about the obscurity of the Sanscritic and Shemitic Numerals, those of the Tartar languages are perfectly transparent, as to their etymology and original meaning. The key which I have brought from Africa to the solution of the difficulty did not fail us in a single instance. It has enabled us to cast a slight glance into the early laboratory of language, and to witness a little of the process by which an unfettered imagination called into existence new words, or used old ones with a new meaning, and thus opened the door for a difference of pronunciation and change of form. The success thus obtained, as regards the Turkish Numerals—a success which hardly admits of doubt, in even a single instance—may also prove helpful in other directions, where obscurity and uncertainty have not yet yielded to the assuring light of knowledge.

ART. IX.—*Grammatical Note and Vocabulary of the Language of the Kor-kū, a Kolarian tribe in Central India.* Communicated by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. N. CUST.

AFTER the meeting of the Society on the 21st of Jan. 1884, to discuss the subject of the origin of the Indian alphabet, brought forward by me, a printed Missionary pamphlet and a lithographed Vocabulary of the Language of the Kor-kū, were found in the Rooms of the Society, left intentionally or by accident by some unrecognized visitor. From internal evidence they appear both to have been composed by Mr. Albert Norton, an American Missionary, working among the tribe at Ellichpúr. It appears to be a proper compliment to him to insert the Vocabulary and Grammatical Note in our Journal, as they are genuine, entirely new material, and a contribution to our knowledge.

In my "Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies" (1878), I remarked as follows:—

"The Kur or Kur-ku dwell in the Central Provinces on the Mahadéo Hills, and Westward in the Forests on the Rivers Tapti and Narbada, up to the Bhil Country. On the Mahadéo Hills they prefer to be called Muasi. They are Pagans, and, though residing amidst the Gond (who are Dravidian), their Language is Kolarian. Vocabularies are supplied by Hislop and Dalton. They are wholly illiterate. In the Districts of Hoshangábád and Betúl their number exceeds fifty-nine thousand."

The name of the tribe is another instance of the Egotistical character of Savage tribes, of which we have so many instances in Asia and Africa. The word 'Koro' in their Language means 'Man,' with the Plural Suffix Kor-kū means 'Men'—*the men*, par eminence. The Grammatical construction has a strong affinity to the Sontal, and there is ample evidence of their belonging to one Family. There are many Loan-words in the Vocabulary.

VOCABULARY—ENGLISH-KOR.

- abide *v., p. imp.* tārū or tārē, *p.*
ind. tār̄bā or perākūbā, *past*
ind. tāren or perāken, bāng
 tār.
 able *v.* yaten.
 about (Hind. pās) *pr.* meran.
 above *pr.* len.
 advantage *n.* faida.
 afterwards *ad.* taute (F.).
 all *a.* sabhī.
 alone *ad.* ekla.
 always *ad.* itinka.
 anger *n.* rāgo.
 animal *n.* jānwar.
 another *a.* ūnikī.
 ant (large black) *n.* dongā (F.).
 ant (small black) *n.* chātī (F.).
 arm *n.* baura.
 arrived *part.* walen.
 as *c.* hindar.
 ashes *n.* hop.
 ask *v.* komārai, komāraibā, ko-
 māraiken or komāraike.
 axe *n.* ākī.
 bābūl (kind of tree) *n.* bābūlī.
 back *n.* baurī.
 bad *a.* kārabo.
 bamboo *n.* māt.
 barrel *n.* pīpā.
 basket *n.* dindwā.
 basket (a long kind with small
 opening) *n.* chātē.
 bathe *v.* ānglukī, ānglubā, āng-
 luken.
 be *v.* kā or tākā or tā,nyen.
 bazār *n.* hātī.
 beads *n.* mūtkū.
 bear *n.* bānā.
 beard *n.* dādī.
 beat *v.* kwāge, kwāgeba, kwā-
 genē.
 beautiful *a.* awalsagīrā.
 become *v.* dai or dai,ē, daiībā,
 dai,en.
 bed *n.* bindil.
 before *pr.* sūtikin.
 beg *v.* āsī or āsīke, āsība,
 āsīwen.
 behind *pr.* tawen or to,en.
 bell *n.* kasārtī.
 bellows *n.* bhātā.
 belly *n.* bāj.
 below *pr.* iten.
 bind *v.* tolkē, tolībā, tolkī,en.
 birds (names of kinds of) *n.*
 borīkū, chīchiro, tītīt, sūsūrū.
 black *a.* kendī or kend.
 blacksmith *n.* kātī or lohār.
 blackwood (Hind. tūas) *n.* rūtū.
 blessing *n.* sangū,ī (F.).
 blood *n.* pachna.
 blow (used of blowing a fire to
 make it burn) *v.* holomē, ho-
 lombā, holemken.
 boat *n.* jahājo.
 body *n.* kombor.
 bottle *n.* sīsā.
 box *n.* sandūko.
 boy *n.* poharā.
 bracelet *n.* bantā.
 brass (Hind. pītal) *n.* pītar.
 bread *n.* shokrā.
 bridge *n.* pūl or pūlā.
 bring *v.* sāge, sāgebā, sāle.
 broom *n.* jūnū or jūkarī.
 brother (elder) *n.* dhai (F.).
 brother (younger) *n.* boko (F.).

- brother-in-law (by wife) *n.* cotton *n.* kāpūso.
 tiā (F.). cough *n.* kū.
 brother-in-law (by husband) *n.* cough *v.* kūkī, kūbā, kūken.
 itūr (F.). country *n.* gonom.
 buffalo *n.* bitkil *or* batkil. cow *n.* gai.
 bullock *n.* dobā. cow's dung *n.* shēnā.
 cage *n.* pinjrā. crow *n.* kaurā.
 calf *n.* āsarū. cry *v.* yam *or* jamē, yambā *or*
 calf of the leg, pandarī. jambā, yamkī, en *or* jamken.
 call *v., p. imp.* konye. custom (Hind. dastūr) *n.* dap.
 camel *n.* ūt *or* ūto. cut *v.* nētkī, nētkībā, nētken.
 cane *n.* tī kātī. dāl (kind of grain) *n.* ūtū.
 cannon *n.* topā. day *n.* dīā.
 careful, be, *v., p. imp.* khabardār daughter *n.* konjē (F.).
 (Hind.). day-after-to-morrow *n.* mī, ang.
 carpet *n.* lūbū. debtor *n.* karjdāro.
 east forth *v.* tingke *or* tarpaikē, deer (jāngal bakrā) *n.* gotārī.
 tingibā *or* tarpaiba, tingī, en deer (spotted) *n.* dārkar.
or tarpaike. die *v.* ———, go, ībā *or* gūjūbā,
 cat *n.* mīnū *or* mānjar. gowen *or* gūjūen.
 chain *n.* sanko. difficult *a.* bakā.
 child *n.* senī. dig *v.* lai, ē, lālābā, lāke *or* lākī,
 chin *n.* otā. en.
 cholera *n.* golī dard. dinner *n.* shokrā (*lit.* bread *or*
 chūlha (native fireplace) *n.* iptī. cakes).
 clean *a.* bing. dirt *n.* kāsā.
 clothing *n.* lūbū. dirty *a.* kūmū (F.).
 cloud *n.* badrā *or* badarā. do *v.* daiē *or* kamai, daiūba *or*
 cock *n.* kombā. kamaibā, daien *or* kamaien.
 cold *n.* bramre (F.). dog *n.* chītā.
 cold *a.* rabang. door *n.* darājū *or* tātī.
 colour *n.* rango (fr. Hind.). dove *n.* kabdūr.
 comb *n.* pinī. dress *v.* ūrī, ē, ūrībā, ūrīwen *or*
 come *v.* hejē *or* hajē, hejibā *or* ūrī, en.
 hajibā, yīen *or* hē, en *or* hatki, drink *v.* nū, ē, nūnabā, nū, en.
 en. drum *n.* tambūr.
 command *n.* hukm. drunkard *n.* bulyen.
 cooked *part.* īsingken. dry *a.* lokor.
 copper *n.* tāmbā. duck *n.* badako.
 cot *n.* pārkom. dust, *n.* dūrī.

- dwell *v.* tārū *or* tārē, tār̄bā, tāren.
 ear *n.* lutūr.
 earth *n.* watē.
 easy *a.* sopā.
 eat *v.* jūmē, jījūmbā, jū, en.
 egg, *n.* ātkom.
 elbow *n.* kūnī.
 elephant *n.* hathī.
 evening *n.* shingrūp.
 ewe *n.* bedai.
 example *n.* ūmnā.
 excellent *a.* pūtā (F.) *or* khūb.
 eye *n.* mēt.
 face *n.* mū,ār.
 fall *v.* sojū *or* ūbdai *or* bachokē, sojūbā *or* ūbdaiba *or* boehokībā, sojī, en *or* ūbdai en *or* boehoken. (*See* Kor-English Voe.)
 far *ad.* kātlan̄kan.
 fasten *v.* tol̄kē *or* kētkī, tol̄ibā *or* kētkībā, tol̄kī, en *or* kētkī, en *or* kētkē.
 father *n.* ābā.
 father-in-law *n.* kūnkar.
 fear *v.* higrā, higrābā, higrāken.
 feed *v.* pāpālātī, ē *or* jījūmajē, pāpālātībā, pālātiken.
 fight *v.* tapaiē *or* āpārange, tapāngbā *or* āpārangbā, tapāngken *or* āpāringen.
 finger *n.* boto.
 finish *v.* dai *or* daiē, dai,iba, dai, en.
 fire *n.* shingal *or* shingel.
 first *a.* sūtū *or* sūtūken.
 fish *n.* kākū.
 flee *v.* nīrī *or* nīrū, nīrībā, nīrī, en.
 flesh *n.* jīlū.
 flour *n.* kolom.
 fly *n.* rūkū.
 foolish *a.* kārabo.
 foot *n.* nāngā.
 for *pr.* tin *or* tan.
 forest *n.* dongor.
 forget *v.* ringū, ē, ringūbā, ringū, en.
 forgive *p.* imp. māfokī.
 forgiveness *n.* māfo.
 friend *n.* soptī (Mar.).
 frog *n.* deddā.
 from *pr.* ten *or* aten.
 fruit *n.* jo.
 ghee *n.* tūpo (fr. Mar.).
 girl *n.* tāre.
 give *v.* ilē, ilibā *or* yēbā, ilen *or* ikenē *or* ike.
 go *v.* shenē *or* bo, shenibā, walen *or* olen.
 goat *n.* bokrā.
 God *n.* Bhagwan (fr. Mar.), gomoi (the name of sun and moon, the chief objects of worship among the Kor-kū).
 good *a.* awal.
 government *n.* sarkār.
 governor *n.* sarkār.
 grain *n.* oro.
 gram *n.* kātān.
 grass *n.* jārā.
 gravel *n.* bītīl.
 graze *v.* chārākī, ehārābā, chārāwen.
 great *a.* kāt.
 grind *v.* jātī, jātībā, jātī, en.
 ground *n.* watē.
 gum (Hind. gond) *n.* dīk.

- gun *n.* bundkī. known (Hind. mālūm) *part.* āde.
- hair *n.* hop. ladder *n.* sīrdī (Mar.).
- hand *n.* tī. lamp *n.* diroā (Mar.).
- happen *v.* —, dai,ibā, dai,en. language *n.* mändē or pārsī.
- happiness *n.* khūshī. large *a.* kāt.
- hard *a.* bobor. late *ad.* dī,ain.
- head *n.* kapār. laugh *v.* lāndai, lāndabā, lānda-
wen.
- hear *v.* ānjūmē, ānjūmebā, ān-
jūmken or ājūmke. lazy *a.* dilā (Mar.).
- heart *n.* rawān. leaf *n.* sākom.
- heat *n.* gāmū. leak *v.* ———, jorūbā, joren or
jorūen.
- heaven *n.* badrā. learn *v.* ātū or itū,ē, itūbā,
itūen.
- hen *n.* shim. let go *v.* ārrākī, ārrābā, ārrāken.
- herbs *n.* āvā. level *a.* bārabor.
- here *ad.* hingan. lift *v.* tūlē or bidē, tūlēbā or
bidbā or bidijbā, tūlen or
bidjen or bidkenē.
- hither *ad.* hingan. light *v., p. imp.* lābē.
- hog *n.* shūkari. line *n.* sarkā.
- hole *n.* popā (F.). lip *n.* chābū.
- horse *n.* gūrgī. liquor (intoxicating), shīdū.
- hour *n.* ghantā (Hind.). loan *n.* tīrīn (F.).
- house *n.* ūrā. lock *n.* kūlafo.
- how, *ad.* chopār (F.). long *a.* gilī (F.).
- how many *ad.* choto. look *v.* dogē, dogebā, doken or
doke.
- hungry *a.* rangī. love *n.* māyā (Mar.).
- hyena *n.* tarsā.
- in *pr.* en or gen or *n.* mad *a.* berī (F.).
- in the direction of *pr.* konē. make *v.* hūnārē, hūnārbā, hū-
nāren.
- iron *n.* lo. make (i.e. cakes) *v.* lālātē or lāte,
lālātbā.
- jaggory *n.* gūlo (fr. Hind.). make clean (as a pot) *v., p. imp.*
gāsākī.
- jungle-goat *n.* kīrī. make clean (as a spot of ground)
v. ārūki, ārūbā, ārūken.
- key *n.* kūnjī (Hind.). man *n.* koro or dotā.
- kill *v.* go,ītkē or mundai, goch-
kejbā or go,ītbā or mūrijbā,
go,ītkī,en or mundaiken.
- kite (Hind. chīl) *n.* bilā.
- knee *n.* topre.
- knife *n.* tsūrī (fr. Hind.).

- mangoe *n.* āmbī.
 many *a.* gonoch.
 marry *v.* bī,an,ē, bīanbā, bīan,
 daien.
 mat *n.* tātārā.
 meat *n.* jīlū.
 medicine *n.* rān.
 middle (in the), tālā.
 milk *n.* dīdom.
 mine *p.* iñye.
 mirror *n.* ārsā (Mar.).
 money *n.* damā.
 monsoon *n.* barsādo.
 mouth *n.* mahina.
 moon *n.* gomoi [*or* tēndē (F.)].
 morning *n.* pātā *or* pātoman.
 mother *n.* mai.
 mother-in-law *n.* kankār.
 mountain *n.* balā.
 mouse *n.* godai.
 moustache *n.* musā *or* mushā (fr.
 Mar.).
 name *n.* jūmū *or* jūmā.
 near *pr.* mēran.
 neck *n.* totrā (F.).
 never *ad.* cholē kā bāng.
 new *a.* ūnē.
 niece, nephew, *n.* kosre.
 night *n.* rāto (fr. Hind.).
 no *ad.* bāng.
 nose *n.* mū.
 not *ad.* bāng, bakī (Mar.).
 nothing *n.* chū,ī kā bang (F.).
 now *ad.* ai *or* nākā.
 oil *n.* sunūm.
 old *a.* sanain [*or* āranjā (F.)].
 on *pr.* len.
 one *a.* mī,ā.
 or *con.* kī.
 out *pr.* dāromen (F.).
 over *pr.* len.
 owl *n.* gūgū.
 pain *v.* —, kāsūbā, kāsu,en.
 panther *n.* chītil.
 paper *n.* kāgado.
 parents *n.* aiang (F.).
 pea-fowl *n.* mārā.
 pea-cock *n.* jelya.
 pea-hen *n.* pode.
 pice *n.* damā.
 pipe *n.* chilam (Hind.).
 pistol *n.* tamāncha.
 place *v., p. imp.* doē.
 place *n.* jāgā (Hind.).
 plaster *v., p. imp.* jolamkī.
 plain *n.* chaparā.
 play *n.* hunjū.
 play *v.* kē,ālē, *or* hūnjū, kē,-
 ālbā *or* hūnjūba, kē,ālen *or*
 hūnjūen.
 plow *n.* nāngar (Mar.).
 porcupine *n.* jikriā.
 punishment *n.* sajā.
 put on ornaments *v.* ūrī,ē, ūrībā,
 ūriken.
 quickly *ad.* japū.
 rabbit *n.* kwālī.
 rags *n.* pālū.
 raise *v.* tūlē *or* bīdē, etc. (*See*
 ‘lift.’)
 ram *n.* bēriā.
 rat *n.* pūchī, gūso.
 read *v.* —, paratinūbā.
 ready *a.* tīār (fr. Hind.).
 recognize *v.* —, chīnaiba, chī-
 nai,en.
 red *a.* rātā.

- remain *v.* tārū *or* perākū, tār̄bā
or perākubā, taren *or* perāken.
 remember *v., p. imp.* yādokī.
 return *v.* hinderē, hindrabā,
 īrāken.
 rice *n.* bābāchaulī, jom.
 river *n.* gādā.
 road *n.* korā.
 rope *n.* dorā.
 ruler *n.* sarkār, mālīkō.
 run *v.* saurūbe, saurūbā, saurū-
 kī, en *or* saurūjen.
 saddle *n.* the European, jīn ;
 the native, khogīr.
 salt *n.* būlūng.
 Saturday *n.* Chīnwār.
 save *v., p. imp.* jītā.
 say *v.* mändē, mändībā, mandi-
 wen.
 see *v.* dogē, dogēbā, doken.
 seize *v.* ūthai, ē, ūthābā, ūthai, in.
 sell *v.* kijē, kijība, kijīken.
 send *v.* kŭlē, kŭlībā, kulen.
 servant *n.* bagīā.
 scorpion *n.* kidīng.
 service *n.* lojār.
 sew *v.* sŭkē, sŭkībā, sŭken.
 shears *n.* kainchī.
 she-goat *n.* sirī.
 shoe *n.* kaurē.
 show *n.* sobā (tamāsha).
 show *v.* kānī, kānībā, kanīken.
 sickle *n.* dātarūm.
 sing *v.* sirī, ē, sisīringba *or* sīsī-
 ringba, sisīringken (*or* sīrīen,
 F.).
 sinner *n.* kāt sum.
 sir *n.* dādā.
 sisam (a kind of tree) *n.* chiras.
 sister *n.* bokājē.
- sister-in-law (by wife) *n.* bong.
 sister-in-law (by husband) *n.*
 ājī.
 sit *v.* subange *or* subang, su-
 bangba, subangken.
 skin *n.* kalrē.
 sleep *n.* dūnūm.
 sleep *v.* gītīkē, gītībā, gītīen.
 slowly, *ad.* bāgā-bāgā.
 small *a.* senī (F.).
 smallpox *n.* mai.
 snake *n.* bīn, biñ (F.).
 so *adv.* dīndar.
 son *n.* pohara, kon.
 song *n.* susīring.
 sore *n.* ūjū.
 sour *a.* khatta.
 sow *v.* ēwērē, ēwēr abā, ēwēr
 ken.
 squirrel *n.* tūr.
 stand *v.* tenginbā.
 star *n.* īpil.
 stone *n.* gotā.
 straight *a.* sarkā.
 strike *v.* kwāgēbā, kwāgenē,
 kwāgē.
 strong *a.* kātpakā.
 stumble *v.* tokātē *or* tobai (F.),
 tokātken *or* tobā, en (F.).
 sun *n.* gomoī.
 sweat *n.* ūbrā.
 sweep *v.* jūkarīkī *or* jūkarī, e,
 jūkarībā, jūkarīken *or* jūka-
 rikē.
 sweet *a.* simīl.
 swing *n.* jūrī.
 sword *n.* talwār.
 table *n.* mēzo.
 tail *n.* chūt.
 tailor *n.* chipīku.

- take across (*i.e.* a river) *v.* par-
ūmkī, parūmbā *or* agrūbā,
parumken *or* agruken.
- take away *v.* saiāke *or* sā,ākē.
- take care *ex.* khabadār.
- take out *v.* olēt̄bā, oletken, olēt-
kē.
- tamarind *n.* chīcha.
- tawa (native frying pan) *n.* lūtī.
- teach *v.* itū, itūbā, itūen.
- teak *n.* sipna.
- teeth *n.* tering *or* tīring.
- tent *n.* lāmbū, rantī.
- that *a.* dī.
- this *a.* inī.
- theft *n.* chūcharī.
- there *ad.* tengin.
- therefore *con.* dī barē.
- thigh *n.* būlū.
- thing *n.* chīz.
- thither *ad.* hungan.
- thorn *n.* janūm *or* jānom.
- thread *n.* sītom.
- throw away *v.* tingkē, tingībā,
tingī, en.
- throw *v.* tarpaī, tarpaibā.
- Thursday *n.* Bitwār.
- tiger *n.* kula.
- time (Hind. dafā) dūrā.
- time (Hind. wakt) bēriā.
- tired *a.* lawa, en.
- blackwood, rūlū.
- to *prep.* ken *or* en.
- to-day *ad.* tēng.
- to-morrow *ad.* gapan.
- tongue *n.* lang (F.).
- touch *v.* sabū, sabūkībā, sabūken.
- tree *n.* sing *or* tsing.
- trouble *n.* pijīto.
- trouble *n.* ruā, kāsū (meaning
pain or illness rather).
- trowel *n.* tāptī.
- tub *n.* pīpā.
- Tuesday, *n.* Mangrā.
- turban *n.* pagrī.
- turmeric *n.* chāsān.
- twelve o'clock, pār-i-pār.
- twine *n.* sūtrī.
- under *ad.* barūn.
- umbrella *n.* chhatrī.
- vomit *n.* ūlā (F.).
- vomit *v.* ūlākī *or* ūlai, ūlābā,
ūlāken *or* ūlai, en.
- very *ad.* khub.
- wages *n.* lojgār.
- wait *v.* tēngenē, tēngenbā, tēn-
genen.
- waist *n.* maiang.
- warm *a.* chātā (F.).
- water *n.* dā.
- water-pot *n.* gagrā.
- water-pot (earthen) *n.* kūbrī.
- well *n.* jīrā *or* kūhī.
- water-stand *n.* māchān.
- we *pro.* ālē.
- week *n.* ātōdin.
- well *a.* awal.
- wet *v.* tūpūē, tūpūibā, tūpū, en.
- what *pro.* choch.
- wheat *n.* gchū.
- when *ad.* chol *or* chowel.
- where *ad.* tongan.
- wheel *n.* chāko.
- wherefore *ad.* chojikā, chochtan.
- white *a.* pūlūm.
- wife *n.* jāpai.
- wild *a.* dongorā.
- wind *n.* korīo.
- wise *a.* chatrai.

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| with <i>prep.</i> satou. | worship <i>v.</i> pujai <i>or</i> sabkī, |
| woman <i>n.</i> jāpai. | pujaba <i>or</i> sabkībā, pūjāke <i>or</i> |
| wood <i>n.</i> (for burning) chākan, | sabkī, en. |
| (for building) kerī. | |
| word <i>n.</i> māndī. | year <i>n.</i> orasso. |
| work <i>n.</i> kāmo, kāmai. | yes <i>ad.</i> wo,ī, jī. |
| world <i>n.</i> watē. | you <i>pro.</i> am. |
| worm <i>n.</i> kirā. | your <i>pro.</i> ama. |
| worry <i>n.</i> kakai. | yesterday <i>ad.</i> kolā din. |

KOR-ENGLISH.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ābā, father. | badśā, a cloud, heaven. |
| ādiren, arrived. | bāgā-bāgā, slowly. |
| ādē, known, understood. | bāgī,ā, servant. |
| ai, now. | bakī, not (Hind. mat). |
| aiang, parents. | bamrc, cold. |
| ājī, sister-in-law. | bānā, bear. |
| ākī, axe. | bāng, no, not (nahin). |
| ālē, we. | barē, about (Hind. bābat). |
| am, you. | barsādo, monsoon. |
| ama, your. | barūn, under. |
| āmbī, mango. | batkil <i>or</i> bitkil, buffalo. |
| āngluki, bathe. | bauñ, back. |
| ānjūmē, hear. | baurā, arm. |
| āpārange, fight. | bautā, bracelet, bangle. |
| ārā, herbs. | bēdai, ewe. |
| ārrākī, let go. | bērī, mad. . |
| ārūkī, make clean. | bērīā, ram, lime (Hind. |
| ārsā, mirror. | ‘wakt’). |
| āsarū, calf. | bhātā, bellows. |
| āsī, beg. | bhagwān <i>or</i> bhagwat, God. |
| āsīkī, beg. | bīānē, marry. |
| ātkom, egg. | bīde, lift, raise. |
| ātodin, week. | bilā, kite (Hind. chīl). |
| awal sagīrā, beautiful. | bin, snake. |
| awal, good. | bindil, bed, bed-clothing. |
| | bing, clean. |
| bābā chaulī, rice. | bītil, gravel. |
| bābūlī, bābūl. | Bitwār, Thursday. |
| badako, duck. | bo, go. |

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| bochokī, fall (used when the fall is off from something). | chūt, tail. |
| bokājē, sister. | dā, water. |
| boko, younger brother. | dādā, sir! |
| bokrā, goat. | dādī, beard. |
| bong, sister-in-law by wife. | dai, ē, become. |
| borikū, a kind of bird. | damā, money, 'pice.' |
| boto, finger. | dap, custom. |
| būjā, forearm. | dārkar, spotted deer |
| būlū, thigh. | dāromen, out. |
| būlūng, salt. | dārūm, physic. |
| būlyen, drunkard. | dālarūm, sickle. |
| bundkī, gum. | dedda, frog. |
| | dī, that, he, she, it. |
| chābū, mouth. | dīā, day. |
| chākan, wood. | dīain, fate. |
| chāko, wheel. | dīdom, milk. |
| chaparā, plain. | dīja, his, her, its. |
| chārākī, graze. | dīk, gum arabic. |
| chāsān, turmeric. | dīlā, lazy. |
| chātā, warm. | dīndar, so. |
| chātē, long basket with small opening for storing grain. | dīwa, lamp. |
| chātī, small black ant. | dobā, bullock. |
| chatrī, umbrella. | do, ē, place, unload. |
| chīchā, tamarind. | dogē, sec. |
| chīchiro, kind of bird. | dongā, large black ant. |
| chilam, pipe. | dongor, forest. |
| Chīnwar, Saturday. | dongora, wild. |
| chipikū, tailor. | dotā, man. |
| chiras, kind of tree (Hīn. sīsam). | dūra, time (Hīnd. dafa). |
| chītā, dog. | dūrī, dust. |
| chītil, panther. | dūnūm, sleep. |
| chiwai, ē, recognize. | |
| choch, what? | eklā, alone. |
| chochtan, chojikā, therefore. | en, in. |
| chol, when. | ēwēre, son. |
| cholē ka bāng, never. | |
| chopar, how? | faida, advantage. |
| choto, how many? | |
| chū ī ka bang, nothing. | gādā, river. |
| | gadarī, ass. |

gagrā, brass water pot.
 gai, cow.
 gāmū, heat.
 gapan, to morrow.
 gāsākī, make clean.
 gehu, wheat.
 ghanta, hour.
 gilī, long.
 gochkejbā, is killing.
 godai, mouse.
 goiba *and* gūjūbā, is dying.
 gulo, jaggery.
 gurgī, horse.

hathi, elephant.
 hatī, bazaar.
 hejē, come.
 higrā, fear.
 hindar, as.
 hinderē, return.
 hingan, hither, here.
 holomē, blow.
 hop, ashes, hair.
 hūkm, command.
 hūnārē, make.
 hungan, thither, there.
 hūnjū, play.
 hūnjū, to play.

ī, who.
 īa, whose.
 īlē, give.
 īñ, I.
 īñya, mine.
 īnī, this, he, she, it.
 inīja, his, her, its.
 ipīl, star.
 iptī, native fireplace.
 isingken, cooked.
 itinkā, always.
 itū, ē, learn (teach?).

itūr, brother-in-law by husband.

jāgā, place.
 jahāzo, boat.
 jaisā, as.
 jānom, thorn.
 jānwar, animal.
 japū, quickly.
 japai, wife.
 jatī, grind.
 jilya, peacock.
 jī, yes.
 jījūmajē, feed.
 jīko *or* jīkrīā, porcupine.
 jīlū, fresh meat.
 jīrā, river-well.
 jītai, save.
 jo, fruit.
 jorūbā, is leaking.
 jūkarīkī, sweep.
 jūmē, eat.
 jūmū, name.
 jūnū, broom.
 jūrī, a swing.

kabdūr.
 kāgado, paper, book.
 kakar, worry.
 kākū, fish.
 kamai *or* kamo, work.
 kamchī, shears.
 kāndā, piece.
 kānī, show.
 kankar, mother-in-law.
 kaurā, a crow.
 kaurē, shoe.
 kapār, he.
 kapūso, cotton.
 kārabo, bad.
 karjdāro, debtor.
 kasārtī, bell.

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| kāsubā, is paining. | kūnī, elbow. |
| kāt, large. | kūnkar, father-in-law. |
| kātān, grain. | kūmū, dirty. |
| kātī, blacksmith. | kwāgē, beat, strike. |
| kātlānkan, fan. | kwālī, rabbit. |
| kātpaka, strong. | |
| kātrē, skin. | lai,ē, dig. |
| kātsūm, sinner. | lāj, belly. |
| kē,ālē, to play. | lālātē, make (<i>i.e.</i> eakes). |
| kēri, timber. | landai, laugh. |
| kētkī, fasten. | lang, tongue. |
| khabardao, be careful. | lawā, en, tired. |
| kattā, sour. | len, above. |
| kattābā, is sour. | lo, iron. |
| khogīr, saddle. | lojār, servicee. |
| khūb, excellent. | lojgār, wages. |
| khūshī, happiness. | lokor, dry. |
| kī, or. | lūbū, cloth, clothing, carpet. |
| kiding, scorpion. | lūtī, native frying pan. |
| kijē, sell. | lūtūr, ear. |
| kīra, worm. | |
| kīrī, jungle-goat. | māchān, water-stand. |
| kolā din, yesterday. | māfo, forgiveness. |
| kolā kē, take out. | māfokī, forgive. |
| kolom, flour. | mahina, month. |
| komārai, ask. | Mangrā, Tuesday. |
| kombā, coek. | māndē, word. |
| kombor, body. | mānjar <i>or</i> mīnū, eat. |
| konē, in the direction of. | māt, bamboo. |
| kor, child. | maya, love. |
| korā, road. | mārā, peafowl. |
| korīo, wind. | meran, near, about. |
| kosrē, nephew, niece. | mēt, eye. |
| kū, enough (<i>noun</i>). | mēzo, table. |
| kubrī, earthen water pot. | mī,ā, one. |
| kūhī, well. | mī,ang, day after to-morrow. |
| kukī, enough (<i>verb</i>). | mū, nose. |
| kūlā, tiger. | mū,ār, face. |
| kūlafo, a lock. | mūndai, kill. |
| kulē, send. | mūsā <i>or</i> mūshā, mustache. |
| kūnjī, key. | mūtkū, beads. |

nangū *or* nāngā, foot.

nāngar, plow.

nēkkī, cut.

nū, ē, drink.

nīrī *or* nīrū, flee.

oraso, year.

oro, grain.

pachna, blood.

pagrī, turban.

pāk, holy.

pandarī, calf of leg.

papalāti, ē, feed.

pār-ī-pār, twelve o'clock.

pārkōm, cot.

pārsī, language.

pārūmkī, take across (*i.e.* a river).

pātā *or* pātoman, morning.

perākū, abide, dwell, remain.

pījito, trouble.

pinī, comb.

pinjrā, cage.

pītar, brass.

poharā, boy.

popā, hole.

pūchī, rat.

pūjaī, worship.

pūlā *or* pūl, bridge.

rabang, cold, cool.

rāgo, anger.

rān, medicine.

rangī, hunger, hungry.

rango, colour.

rantī, tent.

rātā, red.

ringū, ē, forget.

rū, ā, fever.

rūtū, blackwood.

sā, artē *or* sā, a, take away.

sabkī, worship (*v.*).

sāgē, bring.

sajā, place (*n.*).

sākom, leaf.

sanain, old.

sandūko, box.

sangū, ī, blessing.

sanī *or* senī, small.

sanko, chain.

sarka, line, straight.

sarkār, the government, governor,
ruler.

saurūbē, run.

shēnā, dung of cow, bull, *or*
buffalo.

shīdū, liquor.

shim, hen.

shingel *or* shingal, fire.

shingrūp, evening.

shokrā, bread, chapātī.

shūkarī, hog.

simil, sweet.

similbā, is sweet.

sing, tree.

sipnā, teak.

sirdī, ladder.

sirī, she-goat.

sītōm, thread.

sīsā, bottle.

sobā, show, sight.

sojū, fall (used when one falls
down).

sūbangē, sit.

sūnūm, oil.

sūsiring, song.

sūtrī, twine.

sutū, first.

sirī, ē, sing.

sūlikin, before.

tālā, in the midst.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| talwār, sword. | toprē, knee. |
| tamāncha, pistol. | totrā, meek. |
| tambā, copper. | tsing, tree. |
| tambū, tent. | tsūrī, knife. |
| tambūr, drum. | tūlē, raise. |
| tan, for. | tūpo, ghee. |
| tapai,ē, fight. | tūr, squirrel. |
| tāptī, trowel. | tū,iba, is floating. |
| tārē, girl. | |
| tarpai,kē, cast forth. | ūbdai, fall (in running). |
| tarsā, hyena. | ūbrā, sweat. |
| tārū, tārē, abide, dwell, remain. | ūjrī, sore (<i>n.</i>). |
| tautē, afterward. | ūlā, vomit. |
| tawen, behind. | ūmnā, example. |
| te, ten, from. | ūnē, new. |
| teng, to-day. | ūmkī, another. |
| tengin, there. | ūt, camel. |
| tengenē, stand, wait. | ūthai <i>or</i> uthai,ē, seize. |
| tharī, forest. | ūtū, dāl. |
| tī, hand. | ūrā, house. |
| tī,ā, brother-in-law by wife. | ūrī,ē, dress, put on ornaments. |
| tī,ār, ready. | |
| tī kālī, walking stick. | walen, arrived. |
| tin, for. | watē, ground. |
| tingkē, cast forth. | wo,ī, yes. |
| tīrīn, loan. | |
| tītīt, kind of bird. | yādokī, remember. |
| tobai, stumble. | yam, cry. |
| to,en, behind. | yaten, able. |
| tokatē, stumble. | yebā, is giving. |
| tolkē, bind. | yih, who. |
| tongan, where. | yih, whose. |
| topā, cannon. | yīn, whose (<i>n.</i> nasal). |

NUMBERS.

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. mī,ā. | 7. yēyā. |
| 2. bārī,ā. | 8. ilārī,ā. |
| 3. āpī,ā. | 9. ārē. |
| 4. opan. | 10. gel. |
| 5. mono <i>or</i> monō,ā. | 20. isā. |
| 6. tūrū,ī <i>or</i> tūrū,ī,ā. | 100. mīā sadī. |

NOTES.

1. Different forms of the same part of the verb. Ex.: past tense of 'come,' *yi,en*, *hē,en*, *hatke,en*. Perhaps they represent different persons.

2. Great need of noticing closely the forms of the letters. *e* must always be distinguished from *ē*. *tarpaikē* means 'thrown away,' *tarpaikē* is the imperative 'throw away.'

3. The past form of the verb is sometimes used as a past participle. Ex.: *sāle* 'have brought' or 'having brought.'

4. *ū* and *o* are interchangeable in many words. Ex.: Korkū sometimes say *jūmē*, and at other times *jomē* for the present imperative 'eat.'

5. Korkū postpositions. (1) *len* 'above, on, over.' Ex.: 'on the mountain' *balu len*. (2) *tawen* or *to,en* 'after, behind.' Ex.: 'come after me' *inya tawen hejē*. (3) *sūtūken* 'before, in front of.' Ex.: 'go before' *sūtūken bo*. (4) *tin* or *tan* 'for, for the sake of.' Ex.: 'he works for you' *dī amātin kāmāibā*. (5) *en* or *n* 'in, within.' Ex.: 'there are ten houses in the village' *gaoen gel ūrāko tīkyē*, 'he is in the house' *dī ūrān ka*. (6) *ten* 'from.' Ex.: 'from where have you come?' *tonganten yī,en*. (7) *ke* or *ken* 'to.' Ex.: 'give the money to me' *iñke damā ilē*. (8) *meran* 'near, about.' Ex.: *iñye meran hejē* 'come near me.'

6. The possessive termination *ye* or *ya* is used like the Hind. terminations *kā*, *kī*, *ke*, before some postpositions. Ex.: *iñye meran* 'near me.'

We have been able to discern only four forms of the verb :
 1. The present indicative, which form is used also for the future ind. Ex.: *in hegibā* 'I am coming' or 'I will come.'
 2. The present imperative. Ex.: *am shene* 'go.'
 3. The present indicative with a negative. Ex.: *in hingan bāng tar* 'I do not dwell here.'
 4. The past indicative. Ex.: *dī yī,en* 'he has come.' We have not inserted in the vocabulary the form of the negative present ind., except with the verb *tārbā*. It appears to be formed regularly by joining the negative to the root of the verb. The past ind. seems to be used for both the perfect and imperfect tenses. We have

not been able to discover the variations of the verb in the different persons and genders.

Nouns form their plurals by adding the termination *-ko* to the singular. Ex.: *dobā* 'bullock,' *dobāko* 'bullocks.' The word for 'man' is *koro*, for 'men' it is *korkū*; the final *o* of *koro* is rejected, and *kū* added instead of *ko*. Many nouns are adopted from Marāthī, Hindī, and Hindūstānī, by adding the vowel *o* to the adopted word. Ex.: the Hindūstānī word for 'box' is *sandūk*, the Kor-kū say *sandūko*. But the Kor-kū adopt some words without making any change in them. Ex.: in Hindūstānī *tambū* and *rautī* mean 'a tent,' and they are used without any variation in Kor. In adding the *o* to adopted nouns the usage is not uniform.

ART. X.—*The Pariah Caste in Travancore.* By S. MATEER,
Nevandrum, Travancore, South India.

THE Pariahs or *Parayans* (feminine in Tamil *Parachi*, in Malayalam *Parayi*) number 63,688, and are more numerous in the South of Travancore, though a few are found in almost every Talook (county). Of the whole, only 192 males, and no females, can read. Their general social condition is very similar to that of the other so-called "slave castes," though, perhaps, not quite so low.

There are said to be thirteen branches of this caste, somewhat varying in status and in the estimation in which they are held. Like various other castes, they delight to expatiate on some traditionary pretensions to a former free and elevated position, which the more intelligent endeavour to support by curious childish reasonings and fanciful deductions. A native friend, who is very familiar with their views, has favoured me with a sketch of their arguments on this point, of which the following slight abstract is presented. It will be observed that they assume the truth of the Brahmanical explanation of the origin of the present low castes, which is to the effect that they are the offspring of forbidden unions between persons of differing castes. All such instances reported by tradition, or mentioned in sacred poems or Puranas, are supposed to be instances of *Pariahs*, who thus can be proved to have been kings, prophets, saints, and even gods! The argument is founded on baseless myths and poems rather than on history, ethnology, and comparative philology. And the whole applies rather to the Tamil Pariahs than to the Malayalam ones.

ORIGIN OF PARIAS.

One born of a Brahman female by a Sudra was called Chandálan or Parayan. In South India the classification of "right-hand" and "left-hand" castes is ancient, and the

mutual disputes between these long continued. There is no open quarrelling at present, but their mutual enmity has not quite ceased. Besides Pariahs, who headed the quarrel, the right-hand castes are Vellálars, Shánars, Náyakkars, etc.; the left-hand castes are Carpenters, Maravars, Pallars, Chakkiars, etc. The Brahmans joined neither party, but fomented the discord.

Sundry Pariahs have reigned in ancient times, as Nanthen, King of Bahar, son of a *Sudra* maid-servant; Kookan, the friend of Rama Rajah in the Ramayana; Athikamen, born of a Pariah woman, and brought up by Cheramán. Hari-chandra Rajah, the great-grandfather of Rama, was brought up by a Pariah, as stated in the drama. King Veerakumáran and his mother were supported by a Pariah, and his kingdom strengthened by a thousand of them.

Gurus also. Vadishtan, teacher of Rama, was born of a dancing-woman by Brahma; and is said to have married a Pariah woman, who, in consequence of her chastity, became, on her death, a star in the zodiac.

The Shánár race are descended from Adi, the daughter of a Pariah woman at Karuvur, who taught them to climb the palm-tree, and prepared a medicine by which they should be protected from falling from the high trees. The squirrels also ate some of this, by which they enjoy a similar immunity.

Upei was the daughter of this Adi, and married a Parayan Vediya: after her death she became Marianman, the goddess of small-pox, and is worshipped in every village. Her younger sister, Valli, became the wife of the second son of Siva, and is worshipped in every Saivite pagoda as equal to Supramanian. Isakki was a Pariah woman, whose pagodas in Tinnevely and South Travancore are numerous: the Hindus fear him more than they do their own Triad. Oaths are taken at her shrines.

Siva is said to have had two children by a Parachi, in honour of the elder of whom, Aneyíerum perum parayan—"the great Parayan who rides on the elephant"—annual festivals are conducted at Tiruvárur.

In many Hindi temples there is also an altar called Mádán munnadi, dedicated to Chambanaya Parayan, on which sacrifice is offered before the worship of the chief gods is begun. Also, before securing the ropes to idol cars for drawing them, a lamb is sacrificed to Tériadi Mádán according to the proverb "Before the god, the chámbean or pariah; before the Shástávu, the munnadi."

All this, however, we may remark, might naturally arise from the desire to propitiate the Pariah demons, as easily as from any original authority or influence exercised by this caste.

The origin of the Serpent Worship at Nagercoil is attributed to a Pariah woman, who was at work in a rice field on the spot, when she saw a divine serpent expanding its hood: a pagoda was erected, and on account of this, certain Pariahs in the vicinity enjoy grants from the Native Government.

Tiruvallavar, the author of the Tamil Kural, and Avvei, the authoress of various other poems, are reputed to have been Pariahs.

Somewhat more to the point, whatever be their origin, are the curious and anomalous privileges of the servile castes in a few places, which Mr. Walhouse regards as surviving vestiges of ancient power exercised by them, and of a higher position as masters of the land before the arrival of the Brahmanical races. At Melkotta, for instance, and Bailur, the Holiars have the right of entrance to the temple on three days of the year specially set apart for them. At the Dindigul "bull games," the Kallars alone can officiate as priests and consult the deity. At Tiruvalur, the headman of the Pariahs is mounted on an elephant with the god and carries a *chauri*. At the annual festival of the goddess of Blacktown in Madras, when the *táli* (marriage-badge) is tied round the neck of the goddess in the name of the entire community, a Pariah represents the bridegroom.

The following points of similarity or connexion between the Parayans and the Brahmans have been traced by the former.

1. The Pariahs occasionally used the sacred thread; a few of their priests (Valluvars) wear it constantly. At funerals it is used; and on the occasion of marriages both bride and bridegroom wear the cord for sixteen days, then leave it off. But is not this mere imitation of a fashionable custom?

2. When there is a marriage in a Brahman house, the master is obliged to offer to the Pariah a new cloth, coconut, rice, plantains, and vegetables: these are taken to the back yard and the Brahman shouts thrice towards the Pariah village, "Brother, the wedding is about to be completed." The marriage cloth and badge are also taken there, but brought back again.

But are not these mere acts of condescension and charity to the poor on a festive occasion?

3. The white cloth umbrella, the handle of which is a bambu with twenty-one joints, and the white flag which Brahmans only are privileged to use, are claimed and used by Pariahs as their right on marriage and funeral occasions. The proverb is, "A white umbrella for the Brahman and the Sámbovan."

4. At certain sacrifices Brahmans used to be obliged to eat the flesh of the cow, which only Pariahs besides will touch. Of late years, mutton, or a figure of dough, has been substituted for this.

5. If an aged Pariah die, his wife is carried part of the way to the funeral, as if to be burned with her husband's corpse.

6. There is a legend to the effect that in ancient times, before the institution of caste, two sisters going weary and hungry along a road came upon a dead bullock: the elder sister very sensibly cut out a steak and ate it, which the younger refused to share. The descendants of the elder became Pariahs, those of the younger Brahmans, whence the proverb, "The Brahman's elder is the Parayan."

7. Brahmans and Pulayars have no special washermen. (No one will condescend to wash for degraded Pulayars.)

8. Brahmans and Pariahs call their dwellings *kottil*, and use the term *nangeinatti* for the husband's sister, which no

other castes do. Eastern Brahmans and Parachis at funerals wear the cloth in exactly the same way.

Whatever be the practical value of the preceding speculations, and they seem not to be worth much, it is certain that the actual condition of the Pariahs in Travancore was and still is lamentably low. They were formerly bought and sold like cattle, starved, flogged "like buffaloes," made to work all day for a little rice, and kept at a distance as polluted; and they still are in a position of subservience and deep degradation, not vitally differing from that of the Pulayars and Vedars. Rarely possessed of any property but a small clearing, to which their rights have never been legally secured, they are employed principally in field labour, with wretched dress, dwellings, and food, no manufactures of any value, suffering from ignorance and evil habits of drunkenness and vice, and devoted to demonism and sorcery.

One peculiar characteristic of this caste, and most offensive to others, is that they eat the flesh of bullocks and cows left dead by the roadside. They cut it up and bear it away; what they leave the vultures and dogs devour. This disgusting practice is discouraged, and is to a great extent disappearing among the Christian converts from that caste.

Beginning with those in the centre of Travancore, we shall afterwards speak of the Pariahs of Nánjinád in the south, and lastly of those of the Vembanád and North Travancore.

The Pariahs of Nevandrum district are rather stout, fair in complexion, and comparatively bold. They live in clusters of huts, and eat the putrid flesh of dead cattle, tigers, and other animals. Their girls are married when very young for mere form by their cousins, but when grown up, are selected by others, who give them a cloth and live with them in concubinage. Cases of polygamy occur, and sometimes also of polyandry.

The females are rather fair in complexion and licentious in habits. They wear numerous heavy ornaments, generally two iron bracelets and two heavy and several lighter brass

ones on the arms, copper rings for the fingers, and for the ears several leaden rings with a flat circular brass piece, the size of a rupee, pendent from the upper part. Their necks are burdened with a multiplicity of bead necklaces. They rub turmeric over their faces and bodies and cloths. They have no washermen, and are not accustomed to wear white cloths or to bathe regularly. From their filthy habits, therefore, the stench of a crowd is almost insufferable.

These people are often dishonest, brutish, and drunken, very offensive and abusive in their behaviour towards the higher castes, for which they are objects of reproach and dislike, these classes forgetting too often that this moral degradation has been caused by the long-continued oppression, ignorance and contempt to which they have been exposed.

They eat the seed of the *Melocanna Rheedii*, which abounds in an unusually dry season, as does also the bambu. Jungle roots, land crabs, and snails form part of their food. Some of them have enough of rice at harvest time, but seldom at any other period of the year. Their domestic relations are very loose and unsatisfactory, husband and wife too readily separating for slight causes, and forming new connexions even after several children have been born.

The Pariahs are zealous devil-worshippers, their chief demons being *Mádan* (the cow one), *Rathachámandy Mallan* (the giant) and *Múvaratta Mallan*, *Karunkáli* (black *Káli*), *Chávus* (departed spirits) *Bhútham*, *Mantramúrthi*, and other *Murttis* (ghosts), with many other evil beings, to whom groves and altars are dedicated.

The souls of their deceased ancestors are called *Maruttá* (ghosts), for whose worship young cocoa-leaves are tied at the bottom of a tree, and a small shed erected on poles and decorated with garlands of flowers; presents of cocoa-nuts, parched rice, and arrack are offered, and cocks killed in sacrifice. In the devil dancing they use clubs and rattans, bells, handkerchiefs, and cloths dedicated to these deities.

Other castes generally dread incurring the displeasure and malice of these deities. *Sudras* and *Shanars* frequently employ the Pariah devil dancers and sorcerers to exorcise

demons, search for and dig out magical charms buried in the earth by enemies, and counteract their enchantments; and, in case of sickness, send for them to beat the drum and so discover what demon has caused the affliction and what is to be done to remove it. Sometimes a present of a cow is given for these services.

These pretended sorcerers are slightly acquainted with a few medicines, profess to cure snake bite, and can repeat some tales of the Hindu gods. They also profess to discover thieves, who sometimes, indeed, through fear actually take ill, confess, and restore the property.

One priest whom I knew used to pretend that he had a "bird devil" in his possession, by which he could cast out other devils. On one occasion, however, when he made the attempt in the presence of a large concourse of Sudras and others, he utterly failed, and hurt himself severely by beating his chest with a cocoa-nut and leaping into the fire. He soon after resolved to abandon this vile course of life, and became a Christian.

Even after commencing attendance on Christian worship, they are easily alarmed by the occurrence of sickness, which is attributed by their relatives remaining in heathenism to the attacks of the demons whom they have deserted.

In one place the people of a whole village were hindered from Christianity, to which they are well disposed, and where some have at times joined us, by a peculiar endowment they enjoy, on the ground and condition of their influence and intercession with the demons. The story runs that some three centuries ago the Sudras of the locality joined together for some cause to beat a Parayan to death. Shortly after, many of the assailants died, and it was supposed by the astrologers that the demon Pára Mádan, worshipped by the murdered Parayan, was the cause of their suffering. To appease his anger, the diviners recommended the Sudras to make a collection of money, grain, fowls, and other offerings, which was handed over to the Pariah devil dancers. The sacred grove of this demon lay near the houses of certain Brahmans, who next began to suffer, and who then endowed

the grove with certain lands and rice fields for the service of the demon. The Pariahs still possess the lands, and make annual offerings in March. They are afraid that if they become Christians, the whole will be taken from them.

MARRIAGE.

The usual age is fourteen for boys, and seven for girls. Having selected a girl, the bridegroom sends to her a cloth, a fanam, and two finger-rings. This is called the "advance" or "earnest cloth." Henceforward the man ought to pay for her food and cloth at new moons and Onam feasts. Then the bride's father and uncle unite to give a feast. Early in February a person from the husband's party comes to the girl's house to settle that the marriage should be performed at this harvest. On the next day both parties boil some rice, which is called "muhúrta nel"—"rice for the propitious hour"—fixed for the marriage, which will be, say, a Wednesday or Thursday of the month of Meenam (middle of March to the middle of April).

All friends should be invited, and each render what help he can to the feast. The wedding takes place in a pandal at the bride's house, erected by their headman, for which he is rewarded with a double mat, a double basket of boiled rice, a náli measure of prepared areca nut, a bundle of tobacco, and one of betel-leaves, and three measures of aval (flattened rice) on the conclusion of the ceremony. On the appointed day, the bridegroom comes to the bride's house fully prepared, and sits in the pandal, where a pot filled with water, a náli measure of paddy, a lamp, and a flat brass plate, with a cloth and betel-leaves, are placed.

When the auspicious hour has arrived, the bride's uncle covers her face with the cloth which had lain on the plate, leads her three times around the shed, and then sets her near the bridegroom and towards the east. Then his sister and her sister take her, along with the measure of rice and the lamp, and go round the shed three times: the bride then covers her face with the nine betel-leaves, and sits looking

towards the east. The bridegroom then ties the *táli*. The headman now breaks a cocoa-nut (which is called the Gana-pathi polivu) to augur the future of the pair. The bride's uncle delivers her to the husband's elder brother, who takes her from the shed and sets her in another room.

After the feast, the husband and wife go to their house together with their relatives. They have a feast there too. In the morning, the husband gives ten fanams to the bride's father, and fourteen fanams (two rupees) to her uncle. Should the couple live together till the death of the husband, the wife will receive one-half of her husband's property. Should they separate, the uncle returns to the husband the fourteen fanams which he had at first received, which he will pay to some other uncle to give him a niece as wife.

After the wife's confinement, the husband is starved for seven days, eating no cooked rice or other food, only roots and fruits; and drinking only arrack or toddy. The shed in which she was confined is burnt down. All this is dropped by the Christian converts.

DEATH AND BURIAL.

In case of sickness, the diviner is first consulted as to its cause, as is done amongst other similar castes: he names a demon, and offerings are demanded of rice, fruits, flowers, and fowls. Being duly supplied with these articles, the diviner spreads cow-dung thinly over a small space in the yard, where he places the offerings on three plantain-leaves, invokes the presence of the demons, dances, and repeats mantras, looking towards the east. He catches the demon that is supposed to come in an old piece of cloth filled with flowers and parched rice, and carries both demon and offerings into the jungle, where again preparing a spot as before, two torches are set, the food arranged, and after further mantras a fowl is sacrificed. He takes the whole afterwards for himself, gets a good meal, and is also paid twelve chuckrams (small silver coins) for the service.

Here it is interesting to note that among the Samoans a

sheet is spread out to obtain the soul of one deceased without burial, but some visible object is expected. The first living thing that happens to light upon the sheet is supposed to be the spirit, is carefully wrapped up, and the bundle buried with all due ceremony. (Turner's Polynesia, p. 233.)

Cases of death are at once reported to the relatives and caste men, who assemble and bathe the corpse, males for a man, females for a woman. Purchasing two new cloths, they tie one round the head, the other round the waist, remove the body to the open floor or verandah, and lay it north and south. The children and nephews then put the usual raw rice and scraped cocoa-nut into the mouth, wrap it in mats and carry it for burial. The diviner gives directions for the digging of the grave, which looks north and south. The body is carried round three times, mantras are repeated, and it is lowered in: the relatives first, then all present, throw in handfuls of earth and fill up the grave. On it are placed a tender cocoa-nut at the head, and a plant of turmeric and another of the esculent arum (*márán*) at the foot. All present are served with betel. The people of the house fast on that day, next day take raw rice, conjee, and young cocoa-nuts, and for sixteen days mourn and weep for the departed.

On the seventh day, all meet again at the house and purify it with cowdung. Each is presented with a little tobacco and two betel-nuts, and pays two chuckrams to the head of the house. A day is appointed for the pulakuli or purification from pollution, which is done within thirty days after the decease: then all attend and are fed with rice.

In case of small-pox, one who has had this disease is called in to attend; he takes the patient to a temporary hut in a lonely place, and is well paid and supplied with all that he requires. Through fear, none of the relatives will go near. Should the patient die, the attendant buries him on the spot, performing the ceremonies himself, then comes to the house, repeats mantras, and waves his hands round the head of each to remove further alarm. If a woman with child dies, she is buried at a great distance away. Occasionally the remains

of an aged man are burnt on a funeral pile, as being more honourable than burial, and providing some merit to the soul.

The Pariahs spend much of their hire, received in grain, on these ceremonies and on the purchase of arrack and toddy and fowls, which they present as offerings, and afterwards eat and drink.

One of our Christian converts who had been a devil-dancer being asked concerning his former practices, replied, that they were mere tricks to obtain money. Others have said that something came over them which they could not explain.

Let us pay a visit to one of the rural hamlets of the *Kólám Parayans*, a considerable subdivision of this caste. It is situated, as required by Travancore caste law, at some distance from the road, so that one might pass by it for years without noticing its existence. In obscurity is their safety. Brahman agrárams or streets are also far retired, but from the opposite cause. The Pariah village is situated at the head of a valley, and on the border of the rice-fields where they labour. The site is unhealthy, low and damp, surrounded by cocoa-nut palms and plantain-trees, the ground covered with decaying vegetable matter, and the drippings of cattle actually trickling into their spring and well. Did they but settle on the hill above, in view of the beautiful scenery, and fanned by the fresh breezes, longer life would be enjoyed.

The houses are small and dirty, but not quite so bad as those of the Pulayars, the walls being of mud and the roof thatched with jungle-grass. They stand close to one another, and are supplied with cowsheds and a few cattle. Two or three sheds for drying and thrashing grain are larger and more airy.

The younger women generally flee from the presence of a stranger. Those whom we see are covered with numerous brass rings, red beads, and other ornaments. The complexion is rather fair, sometimes a nice light red colour. There are occasional marked exceptions in fairness of skin,

perhaps arising from some admixture of Mussalman or other blood, as Pariahs are not avoided to the same extent as Pulayars are. Some of the children are pretty, with pleasant brown eyes.

The men are in wretched filthy cloths. There is much suffering from sickness, the dirt of the houses produces vermin and itch, which deprives them of rest by day and sleep at night. A respectable native must cover his nostrils with his cloth when he enters amongst them, for the stench and filth. The aged, if there are any, suffer from debility, and may lie helpless day after day until they die; infants suffer from sores, diarrhœa, worms, and want of food; and adults from headache and indigestion, ague, dysentery, and intermittent fever. Much of the disease arises from starvation and lack of nutritive food; but instead of saving and careful habits and industry, they turn to drink, which is but a poor remedy for their sorrows.

The cattle manure is partly saved, but handed over to the Sudra farmers. The Pariahs plant a few trees around their settlement as "otti (mortgage) and kurikánam (a kind of tenant-right)," then pay a sum to the Sudra landowner to permit them to enjoy the produce, as it is so difficult for them to get waste lands registered in their own name. Some have cleared lands and possess a few cocoa-nut and betel-nut palms, mangoes, etc., part of the fruit of which they sell and use the remainder. They may have a few cattle also, and let out a milch cow to the shepherds at one rupee per month. They grow some vegetables, tapioca, etc., in waste valley lands temporarily cleared and cultivated. They work in the rice fields, sowing, planting, and reaping, for which they are paid in paddy at about the same rate as other castes—say seven edungallies of unhusked rice for reaping one para of land (about an eighth or tenth of an acre), and earn with diligence and care now-a-days as much at each harvest, twice in the year, as supplies them for a month or two without further purchase.

During the slack season they work at making mats of *Melocanna Rheedii*, for which the men bring loads of the

reeds from the hills, and the women do the more laborious work of plaiting. Baskets are made, worth one chuckram each, of which they manage to make sometimes three a day, "working day and night," and coarse mats, which are sold at four for a fanam at the nearest market, or three at Trevandrum or Kaliakavilei. This art they are said to have learnt from the Kanikar hill men within the last fifty years.

A man needs cloths twice a year, the suit costing one rupee each time. The wife sometimes sports a good red cloth of Madura make, which costs three rupees, and lasts for special occasions, with care, several years.

Their property, if they have any, goes half to sons, half to nephews.

In another village familiar to me, the Pariahs live along the side of a narrow and deep glen, in the bottom of which their forefathers, four generations ago, cleared a small rice field, on the produce of which, along with their labour for the Sudras, they live. They manure the fields pretty well with the droppings of the oxen and buffaloes, and reap about ten times the seed sown. The sirkar tax is one-tenth of the produce, but on one piece the rate is four times the quantity of seed sown. Along the banks are planted a little coffee, which they sell, areca palms, mangoes, and pepper vines. The huts are very small and poor, and the spring of water polluted with manure and mud, cocoa-nut husk and rubbish; so there are no old men amongst them, no tall well-grown men, and no good-looking persons, as in some parts. They die at a comparatively early age of fever, cholera, and other diseases. And their masters have for years fiercely persecuted, in this out-of-the-way corner, those of them who became Christians, and have tried to deprive them of the spots of earth on which they live, lest their own power to oppress and make gain of the unfortunate Pariahs should be gone.

Now a few notes on the Pariahs of Nánjinád, in the extreme south, near Cape Comorin. Four of the subdivisions of the caste are found there, and extend thence as far as Kulitory. From their geographical position and the comparative readiness with which they could escape to either

side from oppression, the high castes have been less able to degrade them than in the more northern regions. They go somewhat freely to Sudra houses, and into various streets where other people go, but not into Brahman streets. They enjoy pretty free intercourse with Sudras and other medium castes, unlike the western Pariahs, who are called *Teendár Parayans* 'not to be touched,' and cannot associate with their masters.

Some Pariahs in Nanjinad have enjoyed ancestral property for six generations, and a few still have good properties. An instance has been known of a Sudra writer employed by a Pariah landowner.

Titles were purchased for money of the Rajahs of Travancore, *e.g.* *Sámbavan*, an old name for Pandi Pariahs. The Rajah gave to such a headman a cane and authority to claim a double allowance of betel, etc. He, however, had in his turn to give double at funerals and festivals to his visitors. This head Parayan would be met with drums and marks of honour by his people, and the arrangement would enable the government to rule the Pariahs more easily. It is said that some Rajah fleeing in war hid himself in Pariah huts at Changankadei, and was thereby saved, for which he gave them a small grant of land producing a few fanams annually, which they still enjoy. They have a tradition that in M.E. 102 (A.D. 927) some Vanji Mannan Rajah granted privileges to Pariahs.

Their priests, called Valluvars, always wear the sacred thread as gurus. There are two or three such in Nánjinád, and their houses are called, like those of Brahmans, *madam*.

During the war with Tippu, proclamation was made that every Parayan in this district must have a Náyár or master, and belong to some one or other; all who were not private property would be made slaves of the sirkar (which was greatly dreaded on account of the merciless oppression), and obliged to cut grass for the troops and do other services.

Many, therefore, became nominally slaves to some respectable man, asking it as a kindness to free them from government slavery. This reminds us of the Roman clients and

patrons. Several respectable families begged the Nambúri high priest, visiting Suchindram and other temples, to call them his slaves, for which they paid him one fanam a head per annum; this payment is still kept up. This priest conferred upon them additional benefits, for in their troubles and oppressions he wrote to the government requiring for them justice and proper treatment. The slaves of a Nambúri would also be treated with consideration on account of his sacred position and rank. These families, "Pótty slaves," still intermarry only among themselves, as in this case the wife could not be claimed by a different owner from the husband's.

These Pariahs generally live near tanks and by the riversides, in order to be near the fields of their masters which they cultivate. Sometimes both their houses and the sites on which they stand are the property of their masters: so that whenever they show any disobedience, they are driven away. Their huts are poor and crowded together; cleanliness is little cared for.

Lastly, as to the Pariahs of North Travancore. Their condition seems lowest of all, as they enter farther into the Malayálam country, and enjoy fewer opportunities of escape from caste degradation and from bitter servitude.

"Their own tradition has it that they were a division of the Brahmans who were entrapped into a breach of caste by their enemies through making them eat beef. They eat carrion and other loathsome things. The carcasses of all domestic animals are claimed by them as belonging to them by right. They frequently poison cows and otherwise kill them for the sake of their flesh. They are also charged with kidnapping women of the higher castes, whom they are said to treat in the most brutal manner. It is their custom to turn robbers in the month of February, in which month, they pretend, the wrong was done them, to break in through the houses of the Brahmans and Nairs, and to carry away their women, children, and property, to which they are actuated more by motives of revenge than of interest, and to justify which they plead the injury their caste had received

from these parties. In former times, they appear to have been able to perpetrate these cruelties almost with impunity, from the fear of which the people still betray great uneasiness, though the custom is now grown into disuse." (Rev. G. Matthan, in *C. M. Record*, 1850.)

These Pariahs are regarded as polluting by contact, are miserably provided with the necessaries of life, while their persons and property are entirely at the disposal of their masters. The state of these poor creatures is in every point of view most wretched.

ART. XI.—*Some Bihārī Folk-Songs.* Contributed by
 GEORGE A. GRIERSON, B.C.S., Member of the Asiatic
 Society of Bengal, Officiating Magistrate of Patna.

THE following songs are a portion of those collected by me last hot weather, when acting as Magistrate of Patna. They were written down for me in the heart of Bihār by Bābū Shiv Nandan Lāl Rāy, Deputy Magistrate, a gentleman born and bred in the neighbourhood of Ārā (Arrah), who takes a most lively and intelligent interest in his own beautiful native language. I have printed them exactly as they have been taken from the mouths of the reciters, a few obvious slips of the pen being alone corrected. I have allowed no theories of my own to interfere with the text obtained, and I have religiously abstained from consulting even competent native scholars as to probable or possible emendations. Natives in such cases are, as is well known, only too ready to invent readings which have never existed. They have no reverence whatever for the words or matter of songs in the vernacular, and feel themselves justified in making any alterations or additions on the spur of the moment, which may seem required by the metre, or more adapted to their present temperament.

The great preservers of these songs are the women of all classes, and it is therefore impossible for a European to obtain them direct from their storekeepers. I am hence doubly indebted to Bābū Shiv Nandan Lāl Rāy, who has given me these songs exactly as they have been taken down from the mouths of ladies in Shāhābād.

It may be mentioned here that Bihārī is the name which is being adopted to a considerable extent in India for the

language hitherto known as Eastern Hindī. The Government of Bengal is publishing a series of grammars of the dialects of the Bihārī language, and Dr. Hoernle and myself are busily at work on a dictionary of it.

Bihārī possesses a most elaborate grammatical structure. It has three main dialects, a North-Eastern (the Maithilī), a South-Eastern (the Māgadhī or Magahī), and a Western (the Bhojpūrī). The first has been grammatically dealt with in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the extreme western variety of the last (commonly known as Western Bhojpūrī) forms the groundwork of Dr. Hoernle's Gauḍian Grammar. A grammar, set of fables, and vocabulary of the Māgadhī dialect has just been published by the Government of Bengal, and a grammar of the pure Eastern Bhojpūrī spoken near Ārā, the chief town of the district of Shāhābād, is in the press, and will shortly be published by the same Government.

The following songs being collected in Shāhābād may reasonably be expected to be in the Bhojpūrī dialect. It will be seen that with one or two exceptions they are, the exceptions being foreign songs introduced into and adopted in Shāhābād, and having their language curiously coloured, so to speak, by the grammatical peculiarities of their new home. These will be pointed out in the proper place.

As Dr. Hoernle's Gauḍian Grammar is in the hands of every one who will care to read these songs, and as there is no great essential difference between the grammars of Eastern and Western Bhojpūrī, I have not devoted much space to grammatical explanation. I would, however, here draw attention to the present tense of the Bhojpūrī Verb, which should be carefully distinguished from the 2nd preterite (*c.* Hoernle, § 520).

The main difference between the Western and the Eastern forms of Bhojpūrī lies in the termination of the oblique form of substantives and pronouns. In Western Bhojpūrī, these end in *e*, but in Eastern Bhojpūrī in *ā* (Old Māgadhī Prākṛit *āh*).

Thus the genitival affix in Western Bh. is *kāi* with an oblique form, *ke*, while in Eastern Bh. *kāi*, *kē* or *k*, with an oblique *kā*. So also the first possessive pronoun is *mor* 'my,' and its oblique in Western Bhojpūrī is *more*, but in Eastern Bhojpūrī *morā*. Again, *jekar* 'of whom,' has its Western oblique form *jēk're*, and its Eastern *jēk'rā*. Full particulars of these oblique forms, especially of the oblique forms of substantives, will be found in my Essay on Bihārī Declension, lately published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.¹

Another set of terminations should be noted which is frequently met in poetry. It is **हि** *hi*, **है** *hī*, **हु** *hu*, or **हूँ** *hū*. These terminations have two distinct uses. They are commonly used as case terminations for almost any oblique case. They are also used as particles of emphasis meaning 'even' or 'also.' On this point, see also my essay above alluded to.

I have already stated that these songs are printed *ipsissimis verbis*, as they were recited by women of the Bhojpūrī tract. This has its advantages, but, it must be confessed, it also has its disadvantages. The uneducated, and especially women, have a great reverence for the unintelligible, and the love for "that blessed word Mesopotamia" is just as great in the East as it is in the West. Hence many an obscure word is retained, simply because it is not understood, and finally after generations of ignorant attrition becomes a sound and nothing more, having no meaning in itself, but interesting simply from its unintelligibility. A few instances of such words will be met with in the following songs.

Another point to be noted in these songs is that they by no means follow the strict and complicated metric laws of Tulsī Dās and Bidyāpati. Nor, considering their singers and preservers, can they be expected to do so. Probably, when they were first written, each line may have contained its orthodox supply of long and short *mātras*, but now they are, and for generations they have been, remembered by the melody to

¹ J.A.S.B. vol. lii. part i. 1883.

which they are sung, and by that alone. Any number of syllables, long or short, can be crowded into a line, so long as the need of a musical *ictus* is satisfied.¹ Hence no study of the *Prākṛit Piṅgal*, nor of the *Chhandodīpak*, will avail for reading these songs, though, as Mr. Beames so happily says, "they trip off the tongue with a lilt and grace which are irresistible."

Like folk-songs in other languages, these songs abound in unmeaning burdens, like the English "Sing heigh, sing ho, the linden tree," and similar passages unconnected with the story, common in Percy's Reliques.

Examples are the unmeaning phrases ललना in Song No. 9, and ह रे जी in Song No. 16. These, as a rule, I have left untranslated. To transliterate them would seem only ridiculous, and to translate them would be impossible without destroying the Oriental colour of the picture which I attempt to present to view.

The Bihārī language, unlike Hindī, contains a series of short diphthongs which possess no graphic representation in the local character. The local character, indeed, possesses no distinction for length in any of the vowels except *a*, representing *i* and *ī* when initial by *i* (इ), and when non-initial by *ī* (ई), and *u* and *ū* by *u* (उ, ऊ) whether initial or not. This local character is known as the Kaithī.

In transcribing these songs into the Nāgarī character for the benefit of European scholars, it has been found necessary not only to separate the long and short vowels (*i* and *u*), but also to show clearly the difference between the long and short diphthongs. This has been done by allowing the established Nāgarī signs for *e*, *ai*, *o*, and *au* to retain their usual long value, and by inventing the following signs, initial and non-initial, for the short diphthongs :

¹ A parallel example in English occurs in an extreme case in the famous couplet of Tom D'Urfey :

"Óh wásn't hé a ráschal,

Who refúsed to allow the children of Israel to go into the wilderness with their wives and fámilies to eat the Páschal."

| | INITIAL. | NON-INITIAL. |
|----|----------|--------------|
| ē | ए | ॆ |
| ā | ऐ | ॆ |
| ō | ओ | ॆ |
| āu | औ | ॆ |

It will be seen that with the exception of the sign for initial ē (which is simply the sign ए, for e, reversed) all these differ from their corresponding long forms by merely having an upward serpentine instead of a simply curved form for their top strokes.

One other sign requires notice. Many syllables in these songs which are long by position or by nature, must be read short to fill up the metre properly. These I have still *written* long, but over them I have placed the mark ¹, which corresponds with the English *brevis* ˘, and is often used for that purpose by natives. This will be found useful in reading the songs aloud.

The first seven of these songs belong to a class well known throughout India from the earliest times. Sanskrit literature has more than one popular example, and Hāla gives detached fragments which seem to come from some similar Prākṛit poem. My own knowledge of modern vernacular folk-songs is confined to Eastern Hindūstān and the Bengal Presidency, and with regard to this tract I can assert that several songs of the class are popular in every district between Banāras and the Brahmāputra. These songs are at the present day called 'Bārah Māsas' or '(songs of) the twelve months.' Their form is always the same. Some woman laments the absence of her beloved or of her son. Each verse is devoted in order to a month of the Hindū year; in it she describes the peculiar woe which she experiences at that season. Thus she goes through the round of the twelve months, and at the last month her patience is generally rewarded by the return of her husband, or of her son, as the case may be.

The following are the months of the Hindu *Fasli* year, which is that current in Bihār :

| | | | |
|----|--|---|-----------|
| 1 | Āsin or Kuār, corresponding with the English | { | September |
| | | | October |
| 2 | Kātik | { | October |
| | ” | | November |
| 3 | Ag’han | { | November |
| | ” | | December |
| 4 | Pās | { | December |
| | ” | | January |
| 5 | Māgh | { | January |
| | ” | | February |
| 6 | Phāgun | { | February |
| | ” | | March |
| 7 | Chait | { | March |
| | ” | | April |
| 8 | Bāsākh | { | April |
| | ” | | May |
| 9 | Jeth | { | May |
| | ” | | June |
| 10 | Asārḥ | { | June |
| | ” | | July |
| 11 | Sāwan | { | July |
| | ” | | August |
| 12 | Bhādo | { | August |
| | ” | | September |

The first of these songs commences with the month Asārḥ. The name of the singer's husband is given as 'Shām,' which however is probably used in its derived sense of 'darling,' the original Shām, alias Krishn, having been the darling of the Cowherdresses of Braj.

I.

चढ़ले माँस असाहँ बाँदर घन घमण्ड दल साजि के ।
 हमें बिरहिनी तेजि के पिआ रहे कहींँ खाइ के ॥ १ ॥
 सावन माँस सोहावन, हे सखि, सावन पिआँ मन भावहींँ ।
 कवन बिरहिनी जादू कीन्हा कन्त घर आवत नहींँ ॥ २ ॥
 भादो मेंँ एक सेज बनतु है अवर सेज बनाइ के ।
 औ पपिहरा मोर बोले सेज घनेरे सालती ॥ ३ ॥
 कुआर आये पिआ न आये मेंँ मरोँ बिख खाइ के ।
 रोइ के जल धोइ डालोँ सीस माँग बिगारि के ॥ ४ ॥

कातिक में प्रक पाति लिखतु है रकत आँसु बहाइ के ।
 जाह्र कागा देस पिआ के दुख कहो समझाइ के ॥ ५ ॥
 अगहन में प्रक सेज सूनी में अकेली ताकती ।
 जा के पिआ परदेस छाप, रहौ सखि केहि भाँति सेँ ॥ ६ ॥
 पूस में प्रक पाला परि गये विरह आइ सतावहीं ।
 जब जाड़ कूटत, हे सखि, तब कन्त अङ्ग लगावहीं ॥ ७ ॥
 माघ में प्रक आम मौरै में मरौ बोराइ के ।
 शाम बिना प्रक बेली फूले कवन सेजिआ जाइ के ॥ ८ ॥
 फागुन में प्रक रङ्ग बनतु है और रङ्ग बनाइ के ।
 शाम बिना प्रक में न ऊडौ जैसे उड़त रङ्ग अवीर के ॥ ९ ॥
 चैत चन्दन सरद सीतल अगिनि सीतल ।
 ले चली डाल सेइल होके ढु एडेँ जाइ के ॥ १० ॥
 वेसाख में मोहि घाम लागत में मरौ अकुलाइ के ।
 जब घाम लागत, हे सखि, तब हाल में केहि सेँ कहौ ॥ ११ ॥
 जेठ त जेठ मास आये पूरल बारह मास ।
 सूर के प्रहि बारह माँसा गावल राजा रामचन्द्र ॥ १२ ॥

1. The month of Asārḥ has commenced. The clouds have arranged their thick army. My beloved has left me ¹ deserted, and is sojourning somewhere.

2. Pleasing is the month of Sāwan, O friend, my beloved loves the month. What deserted damsel has enchanted him? My husband cometh not home.

3. In Bhādo a bed is being made with care,² but the sparrow-hawk and the peacock³ cry, and it stings me exceedingly.

¹ **हमें** is a rare form in Bhojpūrī. It is probably here the Hindī accusative plural, **हमें**.

² *Literally*, is being made, and having made it.

³ The cry of these birds is supposed to be an incentive to love. **सालती** is Hindī pres. part. fem., agreeing with **सेज**, used in the sense of the pres. ind.

4. Kuār has come, but not my beloved, let me take poison and die. Weeping let me wash my head with the water (of my tears), and disarrange the parting of my hair.¹

5. In Kātik I am writing a letter, causing tears of blood to flow (for ink). Go, O crow,² to the country where my beloved is, and tell him the tale of my woes.

6. In Ag'han there is an empty bed, and alone I watch.³ My beloved is gone and sojourns in a far country, how, O friend, can I endure?

7. In Pūs a snow-storm has fallen, separation has come and tortures me, nor will the cold leave me, O friend, till my love clasps me in his arms.

8. In Māgh the mango blossoms, let me go mad and die. Without Shām the jasmine flowers.⁴ Who can (at such a season) seek her couch.

9. In Phāgun⁵ colour is carefully made ready, but without Shām I fly not about, like the balls of red *Abīr*.

10. In Chait instead of cool sandal powder I applied cool fire (*i.e.* ashes) to my head, and went to seek my husband.⁶

11. In Bāisākh heat oppresses me, I die overpowered by it. O friend, when I am oppressed by the heat, to whom shall I tell my condition?

¹ The parting of a married woman's hair is coloured with vermilion, which is washed out when she becomes a widow.

² A crow's call is said to be टॉय टॉय, which means 'place.' He is a great traveller. Hence, by tradition, a crow is always supposed to know the whereabouts of a beloved.

³ ताकती is Hindī pres. part. fem.

⁴ The odour of these two flowers is supposed to incite love.

⁵ In this month occurs the feast of the Holī—the spring festival of love. It is then customary to throw red powder (*abīr*) on passers-by in the street.

⁶ The meaning of this verse is doubtful. My informant, who recited the song, did not know its meaning. Songs like the present one, which are in a language foreign to Bihār, are often learned by rote, and only half-understood. The translation given is only a guess. सेइल I do not know the meaning of, nor is the word known in Bihār. It may be a corruption of सेली 'a necklace worn by mendicants,' and in this case डाल सेइल would mean 'having put on such a necklace.'

12. Jeth, the month of Jeth has come, and the twelve months (of my love's journey) are fulfilled.

King Rām Chandra sang this song of the twelve months to Sūr.¹

NOTE ON DIALECTIC PECULIARITIES.

This song is interesting as exhibiting the radical difference between the Hindī and Bihārī languages. It was evidently written originally in the Braj dialect of Hindī, learned as such, and adopted in the district of Shāhābād, where Bihārī is spoken, and where it was found. The Hindī and Bihārī languages are so distinct in grammatical structure, and even in vocabulary, that parts of the song have undergone some extreme corruptions and are quite unintelligible. Its grammar is still almost pure Braj, although here and there some Bihārī forms (e.g. चढ़ले in v. 1, and पूरल in v. 12) have been substituted. Examples of forms more or less Braj are कीन्हा (3 sg. pret.) in v. 2; बनतु है (3 sg. pres.) in v. 3; आये (3 pl. pret.) in v. 4; लिखतु है (pres. 3 sg. for 1 sg.); कहो (2 pl. imperat.) in v. 5; and other similar forms. A Hindī turn is also given to many of the sentences, by the free use of the pres. part. (e.g. आवत in v. 2) in the sense of the pres. ind., which is rare in pure Bhojpūrī.

This song is, in short, an excellent proof that Hindī is not understood in Bihār, and that it is a cardinal error to make Hindī the language of Government, and of the schools receiving Government aid in the Bihārī tract.

The next *bārah māsā* is supposed to be sung by a cowherdess whom Krishn has deserted. It commences with the month of Kātik.

¹ It is customary for a poet to insert his own name, and that of his patron, in the last line of any of his works. The last line is hence called the *bhanitā*, because it tells (root *bhan*) the name of the author. The poet here politely attributes his inspiration to the king.

II.

Refrain.—आली रे

बिनु शाम सुन्दर मैँ ना जिवौँ रे ॥

पहिल माँस जब कातिक लाग

हम के छाँड़ि पियाँ मैँले वनिजार ।

नाँचत अहीर चरावत गाइ

बिनु पियाँ कातिक मोहि न सोहाइ ॥ १ ॥

कातिक उतरत अगहन लाग

सभ सखियन मिलि गवन केँ जात ।

पान फूल रस त्यागन कीन्ह

बिछुरत कन्त दइव दुख दीन्ह ॥ २ ॥

पूस माँस घन परत टुसार

काँपत अङ्ग जोवन थहरात ।

काँपत गेडुआ काँपत सेज

बिनु सँआँ काँपत गोरि के करेज ॥ ३ ॥

माघ माँस सिव वरत तोहार

मैँ बरती पाँचो अतवार ।

धोइ नहाइ के दिहलैँ असीस

जीअङ्ग कन्त तुँ लाख बरीस ॥ ४ ॥

फागुन माँस बहेँ फगुनाँ बेआर

तरीबर पत्र सभे झरि जाय ।

झरि गैँलेँ पात खड़ा रहेँ रूख

किवो कन्त सहावत दूख ॥ ५ ॥

चैत माँस बन फूलत टेसु

गोरिया पठावत पियाँ केँ सनेस ।

हमरो सनेसवा कहङ्ग तुम जाइ
 बिरह अगिन मीँ सँ सहलो न जाइ ॥ ६ ॥
 बेसाख माँस रितु मङ्गल चार
 आनत गवन बियाहत बार ।
 छावत मण्डल गावत गीति
 बिनु पियाँ लागत मोहि अनुरीति ॥ ७ ॥
 जेठ माँस बर चरचा होइ
 बर पूजन निकसे सभ कोइ ।
 सोनवाँ के टिकुलि कजरवाँ के रेख
 मैँ काँ पूजौँ मोर पियाँ परदेस ॥ ८ ॥
 असाहँ माँस असाहीं लागि
 काटत नर घर छाँवे सभ कोइ ।
 चिरै चुरगुन खौँता लाइ
 हमरो पिया बिदेसवाँ मैँ छाइ ॥ ९ ॥
 सावन माँस जला जलि होइ
 छाँड़ि धनि कुसुम पहिरही चीर ।
 (कि) झुलतु हिडोलवा गावहि गीति
 बिनु पियाँ लागत मोहि अनुरीति ॥ १० ॥
 भादो माँस बहँ गगन गभीर
 भरि आइ नदियाँ उमड़ि आइ नीर ।
 (कि) लबका लबके होखैँ उजियार
 गोरिया जानि पियाँ अइले हमार ॥ ११ ॥
 कुआँर माँस बन बोलत मोर
 उठु उठु गोरि पियाँ अइले तोर ।
 अब तोर पुजले मन केर आस
 सूर दास गावैँ बारह माँस ॥ १२ ॥

Refrain.—O friend, without Shām Sundar,¹ I will not live.

1. When Kātik, the first month, began, my beloved left me and became a merchant. The cowherds are dancing and tending kine, but without my love, Kātik pleases me not.

2. Kātik passes away, and Ag'han begins, all my friends embrace and are going on journeys (to their husband's houses), but I have given up betel, flowers, and sport, for fate has separated me from my love, and given² me misery.

3. In Pūs a heavy hoar frost is falling, my limbs tremble and my bosom quivers. The water cup³ trembles and the bed, and without her lord trembles the damsel's heart.

4. In Māgh, O Sib, it is thy fast (the *Sib rātri*), and I fast⁴ on all the five (holy) Sundays. I washed and bathed, and blessed⁵ (my husband), may you live, my love, for ten thousand years.

5. In Phāgun blow the Phagunā gales, and the leaves of the trees are falling. The leaves are falling, and the stark trees remain. And my love has caused⁶ me to bear this sorrow.

6. In Chait, the Ṭesū tree (*Butea frondosa*) flowers in the forest, and the fair one is sending a message to her beloved. "As you go, tell him my message also, that the fire of separation can no longer be even endured by me."

7. Bāisākh is the season for performing four happy things, bringing⁷ home brides, marrying young people,⁸ building houses, and singing songs, but, without my beloved, they all seem to be untimely.

¹ One of the many names of Krishn.

² कीन्ह and दीन्ह are Braj for कैलीँ and देलीँ.

³ Compare Song XVI. line 24.

⁴ बरतीँ is not the Hindī present participle, but is the Bihārī 1 pl. pres. conj. used in its original indicative sense.

⁵ दिहलीँ altered for metre from दिहलीँ. The five holy Sundays are the first Sundays of the bright halves of Ag'han, Pūs (omitting Māgh), Phāgun, Chait, and Bāisākh.

⁶ किवो Hindī for कैलन.

गवन, *lit.* a going, is often specialized to mean the procession which goes to fetch the bride from her father's house. The root आन in Bihārī means 'bring.'

⁸ बार = Hindī बाल.

8. In Jeth there is the searching for¹ the bridegroom, and every one goes out to honour him, (wearing) *Tikulis*² of gold, and (adorned with) lines of collyrium. But what shall I honour, when my beloved is in a far country ?

9. In the month of Asārh, the *Asārhi* grass is growing; people are cutting it and thatching their houses with it. Birds and the like are building their nests, but my beloved is dwelling in a foreign land.

10. In Sāwan everything is covered with water,³ and women are giving up their red veils and taking to white ones. They rock themselves in swings, and sing songs, but it seems untimely to me without my love.

11. In Bhādo the (wind) blows strong in the sky, the rivers are filled, and the streams are swollen. The (lightning) flashes brilliantly, and the sky becomes bright, and the fair one thinks that her beloved has arrived.

12. In Kuār, the peacock cries in the forest, Rise, Rise, O fair one, thy beloved has come,⁴ now the hope of your mind is fulfilled, and Sūr Dās sings the song of the twelve months.

NOTES ON DIALECTIC PECULIARITIES.

This song is in nearly pure Bhojpūrī. A few Braj forms have got into it, owing to a traditional theory, widely current, that Braj is the only North Indian Vernacular worthy of a poetic dress. This theory has influenced poets who write in dialects even other from Hindī. Thus, Bangālīs claim, though generally wrongly, that their old Bangālī hymns are written in a variety of Braj. So also Bihārī poets frequently insert Braj forms to show their learning, *e.g.* कीन्ह in v. 2 of the

¹ Reference is made to the ceremony of *Parichhan*, or welcoming of the bridegroom at the bride's house.

² टिकुलि is the silver spot worn on a woman's forehead.

³ जलि is an inundated piece of ground. जला is an old oblique form of जलि (like मारा मारी in Hindī). The phrase is hence literally 'an inundation on an inundation,' just as मारा मारी is 'a beating on a beating,' 'a mutual beating.'

⁴ केर, as a sign of the genitive, is rare in Bhojpūrī, but is common in the other dialects of Bihārī.

above song. At the same time the dialect of this song is very different from that of the first. The first is a Braj song, with a few Bihārī words introduced. The present is a Bihārī song with a few Hindī words introduced.

The next *bārah māsā* details various incidents which occurred in the siege of Laṅkā by Rām Chandra and Lachhuman (Lakshmaṇa). Many of the proper names are changed from their Sanskrit forms, but little difficulty will be found in identifying them. The song commences with the month of Māgh.

III.

Refrain.—लकुमन जी के सकति लागे

रघुपति बड़ सोचे ॥

माघ माँस रितु लागत बसन्त

कहति मँदोदरि सुनु पिया कन्त ।

दे डालु जानकि राम अवध फिरि जासु

नाहिँ तो निसचर बन्स नसाइ

(बचे नाहिँ केह) ॥ १ ॥

फागुन फौदन कीन्ह तैयार

लङ्का घेरे चारु दुआर ।

कि जैसे फागुन उड़त अवीर

तैसे धरिँ राम लखन दो वीर

(सैन सभ ले के) ॥ २ ॥

चैत माँस बन फूलत गभीर

कहत राम सुनु हलिवन्त वीर ।

कि जाइ रैनि मेँ लाव सजीवन मूल

नाहिँ तो लकुमन तेजिहँ सरीर

(जिअव हम कैसे) ॥ ३ ॥

- बेसाख माँस तन तप दिन राति
 विनु रे लखन मौर कटक उदास ।
 आधी राति गद् कपि नहिँ आए
 हमहँ मरब हलाहल खाइ
 (अवध कैसे जैहौँ) ॥ ४ ॥
- जेठाहिँ लकुमन भैलें तैयार
 लङ्का घेरे चारु दोआर ।
 खड़बड़ भूमि निसाचर जूध
 अइले कपि दल सैन बरूथ ॥
 (समे बनि आई) ॥ ५ ॥
- असाहँ माँस घन गरजत घोर
 मेघनाद रहैं रन में जोर ।
 मारहिँ लकुमन भुज उड़ि लांगहि अकास
 जाइ गिरहीँ सिलोचना के पास
 (सभ चरितर लिख दीजै) ॥ ६ ॥
- सावन समर
 . . . राम रावन से जूध ।
 कुक्षकरन रावन अस वीर
 कि जाइ गिरहिँ सागर के तीर
 (सैन सभ ले के) ॥ ७ ॥
- भादो हाँक देत हलुमान
 गरजत तड़पत भइल विहान ।
 जैसे रैन में गरजत घोड़
 तैसे कीन्ह लङ्का पर चोट
 (सैन सभ लेके) ॥ ८ ॥
- कुआरहिँ बोलें मँदोदरि रानि
 जुझले कन्त सैन सभ जाइ ।

चली राम पद असतुति कीन्ह
 रीझी है राम सभ ककु दीन्ह
 (जे माँगे से पाए) ॥ ९ ॥

कातिक जामवन्त सभ आइ
 सभ देवतन के सीस नवाइ ।
 चली जानकी नवाई माथ
 देवता सभ छोड़े संझ साथ
 (रैनि बड़ वीते) ॥ १० ॥

अगहन आगर जानकि कीन्ह
 सैन बड़त साथ भँ लीन्ह ।
 जितहोँ लङ्का नगराँ बजाइ
 तब तो अवध पुर जाइ
 (सेँभु सिर नाइ) ॥ ११ ॥

पूसहिँ पुजले बारह मास
 अवध पुरी अइलेँ तुलसि दास ।
 अइले राम मिटे सभ सोग
 हरखित भइले नगर के लोग
 (मिलि पुर परिजन) ॥ १२ ॥

Refrain.—Raghupati grieves much because Lachhuman¹ is insensible.

1. In Māgh spring commences, and Mādodari says, "Hear my beloved husband. Give back Jānaki to Rām, and let him return² to Awadh, otherwise he will destroy³ the tribe of demons, no one will escape."

2. In Phāgun he made ready his army,⁴ and invested the

¹ *i.e.* Lakshmana.

² जासु is regular 3 sing. imperat. of root जा, 'go.'

³ नसाइ is shortened from नसाई for the sake of metre. It is 3 sg. fut.

⁴ Note the common change of a foreign *j* sound to *d* in Bihārī in फौद = the Arabic فوج. Cf. कागद = کاغذ.

four gates of Laṅka. As (thickly as) in Phāgun flies the *Abīr*,¹ so (thickly) did the two heroes Rām Lakhan invest (the city), with all their army.

3. In Chait the thick forest is in blossom, saith Rām, “Hear, brave Haliwant,² go by night and bring the *Sajīwan* root, otherwise Lachhuman will depart from his body, and then how will (shall) I live ?

4. In Bāisākh my body burns day and night. Without Lakhan³ my army is down-hearted.” At midnight the monkey went,⁴ and has not yet returned. I will take poison and die. How shall I go⁵ to Awadh ?

5. In Jeth⁶ Lachhuman became ready, and invested the four gates of Laṅka. The ground is thrown into a tumult by the battle with the demons ; and seizing a fit opportunity the monkey army has come.

6. In Asārḥ the sky is thundering terribly, and Meghnād remains engaged in the battlefield. Lachhuman strikes⁷ him, his arm flies off up to heaven, and falls near Silochanā. It writes out the whole story.

7. In Sāwan⁸ Rām fights with Rāban. Such heroes as Kumbh’karan and Rāban fall (dead) upon the shore of the sea, with all their armies.

8. In Bhādo Halumān cries out. (The night passed) as they were roaring and leaping, and morning dawned. Even as a horse roars⁹ in the night, so attacked they Laṅkā with all their armies.

9. In Kuār saith queen Mādodari, “My husband with all

¹ See note to Song I. line 9.

² *i.e.* Hanumān.

³ *i.e.* Lakshmaṇa.

⁴ गइ or गे is a rare form of the indeclinable participle of root जा ‘go.’

⁵ जैहौँ is Braj 1 sg. fut.

⁶ The हँ in जैठहँ is the old Apabhramsha sign of the locative.

⁷ मारहँ in this line is superfluous as regards the metre.

⁸ There are two half lines missing in this verse.

⁹ The word ‘roar’ is rendered necessary for the comparison. Note, that for the purposes of rhyme ड and ट are considered as one letter. So also a Sanskrit ट always becomes ड in Prākṛit.

his hosts has fought¹ (and been killed).” She went and adored the feet of Rām. Rām, being gratified, gave her everything. What she asked, that she got.²

10. In Kātik Jām’want and the others bowed their heads to the gods and came. Jānakī went with her head bent, and the gods all left (their abodes) and went with her. Many nights have passed.

11. In Ag’han Jānaki returned to her abode, with a large army. (For Rām) had conquered Laṅka, and with beating of drums he returned to Awadh, and bent his head to Sib.

12. In Pūs the twelve months are passed, and, O Tul’si Dās, they came to Awadh. Rām came and wiped out every grief, and the people of the city, all uniting, rejoiced.

In the following *bārah māsa* Kaushalyā, the mother of Rām Chandra, after cursing Kaikeyī, laments her son’s travails in his banishment. It commences with the month of Chait.

IV.

Refrain.— पठै तुम नारि बैरिनि बन बालक मोरा ॥

चैत अजोध्या जनमेलै राम

चन्दन सँ लिपाए धाम ।

गजमोतियन सँ चौक पुराइ

सोना के कलस दिये धरवाइ

(बरे घट भीतर)

॥ १ ॥

बेसाख माँस रितु बिख समान

तलफत धरती और असमान ।

¹ The first aspiration in the root जूझ or झूझ ‘fight,’ is optional. It is used generally to mean ‘be killed in combat.’

² i.e. salvation.

जैसे जल विनु तलफत मीन
से गति मोरी केकड़ कीन्ह
(दिवो दुख दारुन) ॥ २ ॥

जेठ माँस लव लागत अङ्ग
राम लखन औ सीता सङ्ग ।
राम चरन पद कमल समान
तलफत धरती और असमान
(चले मगु कैसे) ॥ ३ ॥

असार्ह माँस गरजे चङ्ग और
बोलत पपिहा कुँहकत मोर ।
बिलखे कोसिला अवध पुर धाम
भीजत होइहँ लखन सिय राम
(खड़े तरीबर तर) ॥ ४ ॥

सावन में सर सायर नीर
भीजत होइहँ सिय रघुवीर ।
भूमि गोजरिया फिरत भुअङ्ग
राम लखन औ सीता सङ्ग
(रैनि अंधियारी) ॥ ५ ॥

भादो माँस बून बरिसें अपार
घर के छावे सकल संस्तार ।
बड़ बड़ बून जे बरिसत नीर
भीजत होइहँ सिय रघुवीर
(झमकि झार लावे) ॥ ६ ॥

कुआर माँस, सखि, धरम के राज
निति उठि धरम करे संस्तार ।
प्रहि अबसर जौ रहिते राम
बिप्र जेँवाइ दिते ककु दान
(थार भरि कञ्चन) ॥ ७ ॥

आइल, रे सखि, कातिक माँस
 हम पर लागे बिरह के फाँस
 घर घर दीपक बारहिँ नारि
 हमरि अजोध्या भइल अँधियारि
 (केकइ कीन्हा) ॥ ८ ॥

अगहन कुँअरी करत सिँगार
 कपड़ा सिलाये सोना के तार ।
 पाठ पितामर पुलक समान
 कनक सीस वैजन्ति के माल ॥ ९ ॥

पूस माँस, सखि, परत दुसार
 रैनि भइल जैसे खाँड़ के धार ।
 कुस आसन कैसे सोइहेँ राम
 बन में कैसे करिहेँ बिस्राम
 (जनम जरे ओहि के) ॥ १० ॥

आइल, हो सखि, माघ बसन्त
 कैसे जिवीँ मैं विनु भगवन्त ।
 राम चरन मन लागत मोर
 बैसि भरथ जी हिलावत चौर
 (बसन्त समे में) ॥ ११ ॥

आइल, हो सखि, फगुआ उमङ्ग
 चौआ चन्दन छिरकत अङ्ग ।
 बैसि भरथ जी घोरत अवीर
 का पर छिरकोँ विनु रघुवीर
 (मैं का सङ्ग खेलीँ) ॥ १२ ॥

जे प्रहि गावे बारह माँस
 से पावे वैकुण्ठे वास ।
 गावत तुलसि अवध पुर धाम
 बन सेँ आये लकुमन राम
 (मिले केकइ से) ॥ १३ ॥

Refrain.—O thou woman, my enemy, thou sendest my son to the forest.

1. Rām is born in Chait in Ajodhyā, and the palace is sprinkled with sandal-wood. The *chauk*¹ is filled with elephant pearls and the *kalas*² is made of gold, and within are excellent jars.

2. Bāisākh is a season (hot) like poison, the earth and sky are writhing under it. As a fish deprived of water writhes, that is the state to which Kekaï³ has brought me; she has given⁴ me dire distress.

3. In Jeth the hot wind affects the body, while Rām, Lakhan, and Sītā are together (in the forest). Rām's feet are tender as lotuses. The earth and sky are writhing, how can he travel on the way.

4. In Asārḥ the thunder rolls in all directions, the sparrow-hawk cries, and the peacock screams, Kōsilā⁵ laments in her palace in Awadh, Lakhan, Sītā and Rām will be wet as they stand at the foot of a tree.

5. In Sāwan all the tanks and rivers are filled, Sītā and Raghubīr will be wet. Worms and snakes creep about over the earth with Rām, Lakhan, and Sītā, and the night is dark.

6. In Bhādo huge rain drops fall, and all the world are mending the roofs of their houses. Sītā and Raghubīr will be wet with the great large drops as they fall, for the rain is loud and sudden.⁶

7. In Kuār, O friend, is the reign of the God of Virtue, and the whole world is continually arising to do virtuous actions. If, now, Rām were but here, he would have fed Brāhmanas and filled dishes with gifts of gold.

8. Kātik, O friend, has come, and the noose of separation

¹ The *chauk* is a square space filled with sweetmeats, etc., for distribution at a festival.

² The jar decked with lights placed within the cupola erected in the courtyard of a house at a marriage festival. The last line of this verse is very obscure.

³ Rām's step-mother Kaikeyī.

⁴ दिवो Hindī for देले.

⁵ i.e. Kaushalyā, Rām's mother.

⁶ root झमक means to 'glitter,' hence to 'do a thing suddenly.' झार or झाड is given in Hindī dictionaries as meaning a continued rain, but it means rather a sudden burst of rain.

has fallen upon me. In every house women are lighting lamps, but my Ajodhyā is dark, and Kekai has done it.

9. In Ag'han virgins adorn themselves, and embroider their garments with golden threads. They wear silk garments, (soft) as woollen (?) ones, and on their heads is the garland¹ of the golden Baijanti.

10. In Pūs, O friend, falls the frost, and the nights are sharp as the edge of a sword. How will Rām bear a seat of *kus* grass, and how will he rest in the forest? May her (*i.e.* Kekai's) birth be cursed.

11. With Māgh, friend, has come the spring, and how will I live without Bhagabant?² My mind is fixed upon Rām's feet, while Bharath sits and waves a fan (over Rām's shoes)³ in the season of spring.

12. O friend, the jollity of Phāgun has come, and we sprinkle our bodies with perfume and sandal. Bharath sits and pounds *abir*, but upon whom shall I scatter it, in Rām's absence? With whom shall I sport?

13. He who sings this song of the twelve months will find a home in heaven. Tul'si sings that Rām and Lachhuman came from the forest to the palace in Awadh, and met Kekai.

The next *bārah māsā* is sung by one of the Cowherdesses of Braj, when Krishn has left Braj and gone to Mathurā (Madhupur). She addresses Ūdho, whom Krishn had sent from Mathurā with news of himself.

V.

प्रथम माँस असाह, हे सखि, शाम अजङ्ग न आवहीं।

गोखुला उजारि ऊधो जा के मधुपुर छावहीं ॥ १ ॥

सावन सगुन सोहावन देखि के मन लोभहीं।

घर घर सखि सभ झूले हिँडोला पिया सँ करत कलोलहीं ॥ २ ॥

¹ Note in this verse how ल is considered as rhyming with न.

² *i.e.* Rām in his capacity of the Deity.

³ Alluding to the well-known tale of Bharat refusing to take Rām's place as king.

भादो रैन भयावनि देखि के जियरा डरो ।
 चङ्ग और चमकत विजुली ऊधो मेघ गरजत घन भरी ॥ ३ ॥
 आसिन अनदेस ऊधो कौन बाते धिरजा धरो ।
 मै मरौ विख खाइ ऊधो जाँ मोहन नहिँ आवहीं ॥ ४ ॥
 कातिक मै पुनीत ऊधो सखिन सभ कौतुक करे ।
 हरि दुआरे पूजि के ललित हो कूल्हि आवहीं ॥ ५ ॥
 अगहन मै, सखि, जाइ लगतु है जाँ पिया रहिते साथ मै ।
 दुख सुख राम साथे गवैतौ दीपक वरितौ अकासहीं ॥ ६ ॥
 पूस मै, सखि, परे फुहेरा धूँध काल न सूझहीं ।
 अस पुख्ख असि नारि नाही और सो मन लावहीं ॥ ७ ॥
 माघ मै धन भाग उनकर जेकर पिया का पास मै ।
 अङ्ग मै अङ्ग मिलाइ वाँहि धरी सिरहानहीं ॥ ८ ॥
 फागुन मै, सखि, खेलत होरी रङ्गन भौजत सरीरहीं ।
 खेलत होरी राम करत बोली पिया बिनु लहरे करेजहीं ॥ ९ ॥
 चैत मै चित चार ऊधो भाग से पिया पावहीं ।
 अपना करम के बात ऊधो दोस काङ्ग न लावहीं ॥ १० ॥
 बेसाख मै उक्ताह ऊधो नारी मङ्गल गावहीं ।
 घर घर सखि सभ मङ्गल गावे हरखि झुमरि पारहीं ॥ ११ ॥
 जेठ मै प्रभु भइ गइल भेट पूजल वारह माँस हीं ।
 पूजल वारह माँस ऊधो पूजल मन केर आस हीं ॥ १२ ॥

1. The first month is Asārh, O friend, and Shām doth not come to-day. Having depopulated Gokhul,¹ O Ūdho, he hath set up his house in Madhupur.

2. In Sāwan I see good omens, and my mind is enchanted. In each house, O friend, all (the fair ones) are rocking

¹ Gokhul or Gokul is the country of Braj. Krishn had broken the hearts of all the girls there by deserting them and going to Mathurā (alias Madhupur).

themselves in swings, and amusing themselves with their beloveds.

3. In Bhādo the night is terrible, and when I see it, I fear in my heart. In all directions, flasheth the lightning, and the clouds fill up their masses and thunder.

4. In Āsin I am anxious, O Ūdho, at what thing can I be patient? I will take poison and die if Mohan come not back.

5. In Kātik are holy actions performed, O Ūdhō, and my friends are all engaged in sport. They worship Hari in the doorway, and return home glad.

6. In Ag'han, O friend, I feel cold. If I were now with my beloved, I would endure pain and pleasure, O Rām, and would have lit a light in the sky.

7. In Pūs, O friend, the fog is falling. At the time of mist, it is too dark to see. Such a man, and such a woman cannot be found (as we two), and yet he falls in love (with another).

8. In Magh fortunate is she who is near her beloved, with body pressed against body, and her arm placed upon the pillow.¹

9. In Phāgun my companions are enjoying the Hōlī, and their bodies are wet with red dye. They are sporting, and each is talking with her husband, while, without my beloved, my heart is in a blaze.

10. In Chait, O Ūdho, my mind is restless.² Happy are they who obtain their loves. It is in my lot, and whom should I not blame?

11. In Bāisākh is there happiness, O Ūdho, and the women are singing marriage songs. In each house are they singing them, and in their delight singing *Jhumaris*.³

12. In Jeṭh I met my lord, and the twelve months are fulfilled. The twelve months are fulfilled, O Ūdho, and so are my hopes.

¹ The ह्रीँ in सिरहानह्रीँ is the old Apabhraṃsha Prākṛit termination of the locative.

² *Lit.* 'I have four minds.'

³ A kind of song sung by women.

VI.

Refrain.—सावनवा मोरा लेखि बैरी भइल ॥

भादो भवन सोहावन न लागे । आसिन मोहि न सोहाइ ।
 कातिक कन्त बिदेस गइल हो । समुझि समुझि पढताइँ ॥ १ ॥
 अगहन आइल न कहि गैल ऊधो । पूस वितल भरि माँस ।
 माघ माँस जोवन के मातल । कैसेँ धरब जिउ आस ॥ २ ॥
 फागुन फरकेलै नैन हमार । चैत माँस सुनि पाइ ।
 पियवाँ जेँ ऐतन प्रहि बैसाखे । फुलवन सेजवा बिक्कैतिँ ॥ ३ ॥
 जेठ माँस बेआकुल जैसेँ राधे । नहिँ है शाम हमार ।
 तुलसि दास प्रभु तोहर दरस के । कैसेँ खेपौँ माँस असाहँ ॥ ४ ॥

Refrain.—Sāwan has become an enemy in regard to me.

1. In Bhādo my house does not please me, nor does Āsin please me. In Kātik my love went afar off, and as I realize it I lament.

2. In Ag'han, O Ūdho, he said he would come, but he has not, and the whole of Pūs has passed away. I am maddened with youthful passion in the month of Māgh; how can I sustain the hope of my life?

3. In Phāgun my eye throbs,¹ and I heard news in Chait, If my beloved would come in this Bāisākh, I would spread a bed of flowers for him.

4. In Jeth I am restless like Rādhā, for my Shām is not here. Tul'si Dās (prays) for the vision of thee, O Lord. How can I pass the month of Asārḥ?

The next song deals only with the four months of the rainy season, and is hence called a *chatur māsa*. In other respects it does not demand special notice.

¹ When the left eye of a woman throbs, it is a lucky omen. When the right eye throbs, it is the reverse.

VII.

चतुर माँसा

Refrain.—जेह दिन छाड़ि गइले वेनि माधो ।

तेह दिन आगी लागी तन मेँ ॥

चढ़ले असाहँ गगन घन गरजे

बिजुली चमकेले तेहि घन मेँ ।

चिड़की चिड़की चाँकिरित हो के

चितवौँ बैसि के सोच करौँ मन मेँ ॥ १ ॥

सावन शाम कीन्ह कल हम सेँ

पोरिति कीन्ह जा के कुबरी सेँ ।

बनहँ मेँ चाँकिरित मोर बोलेले

दादुर सबद मुनावतु है ।

(अरे) नन्द लाल परान कैसेँ राखीँ

ध्रिक जीवन मोरा प्रहि तन के ॥ २ ॥

भादो आगम पन्थ नाँहँ सूझे

दादुर बोले आँगन मेँ ।

(अरे) कोइल हो के बनेँ बनेँ फीरौँ

ताल सुखइल त्रिन्दावन के ॥ ३ ॥

कुआँर कुसल नाँहँ पावौँ शाम के

पाती नाँहँ अइली मधुवन सेँ ।

सूर शाम मोहि आनि मिला दो

नाँहँ तो परान तेजौँ कन मेँ ॥ ४ ॥

A SONG OF FOUR MONTHS.

Refrain.—What day Beni Mādho deserted me, on that fire seized my body.

1. Asārh has commenced ; the clouds of the sky are thundering, and the lightning flashes¹ therein. I start in fright, look round, and sit and think within my mind.

¹ The *e* in the penultimate of चमकेले is always short. In this verse, however, it must be read long to save the metre. The mark *e* over a consonant is the native way of making a long syllable.

2. In Sāwan Shām has deceived me, and made love with Kubjā. The frightened peacock cries in the forest, and the frog makes its sound heard.¹ O Nand Lāl, how can I keep my life? Shame on my life to remain within this body.

3. Bhādo² has come, nor can we see the paths, as the frogs croak in the courtyard. Let me become a cuckoo and roam from forest to forest. The marshes of Brindāban are dried up.

4. In Kuār I receive no news of Shām, no letter has come from Madhuban. Sūr (sings) "Let Shām meet me, otherwise let me leave my life in an instant."

This concludes the songs of the year.

Next follows a song in which a wife entreats her husband not to leave her. His concluding threat of marrying another wife is characteristic of an ordinary well-to-do native home.

VIII.

Refrain.—असौँ के सावन सँआँ घरेँ रऊ

घरेँ रऊ ननदि के भाइ ॥

साँप कीँडेलें साँप केचुलि गङ्गा कीँडेलि अरारि ।

तूहँ सँयाँ तेजेल निज ग्रिह धनी अनारि ॥ १ ॥

घोड़वा क देवौँ घोड़सरिया हथियाँ के देवौँ हथिसार ।

तूहँ प्रभु देवौँ अटरियाँ रहवौँ नैनाँ के हजूर ॥ २ ॥

घोड़वाँ के देवऊँ महेलवा हथियाँ के लवङ्ग कपूर ।

तूहँ प्रभु देवौँ घ्यू खीचड़ कर जोरि रहवौँ हजूर ॥ ३ ॥

नैयाँ तोर बूड़ी महाँ धरवा बरदी लें जासु चोर ।

तूहँ प्रभु मारे बटवरवा होइवौँ चोकवाँ के राँड़ ॥ ४ ॥

नैआँ मोर लार्गिहँ सुरुज घाट बरदी उतरेलें पार ।

धनि वेचवौँ मोगल हथवा दूसर करवौँ विआह ॥ ५ ॥

¹ सुनावतु हे is Braj.

² A very dark and gloomy month.

Refrain.—"O, my husband, brother of my sister-in-law, remain at home in the Sāwan of this year.

1. "The snake is deserting¹ its slough, the Ganges its banks; and thou, my lord, art deserting thy young² wife, and thine own abode.

2. "For thy horses I will give a stall, and for thy elephants a stable. To thee, my lord, will I give an upper chamber, and I will remain humbly before thine eyes.³

3. "To thy horses will I give a mash of beans, to thy elephants cloves and camphor. To thee, my lord, will I give clarified butter and *khicharī*,⁴ and with hands clasped will I remain in thy presence.

4. "May thy ship sink in the mighty stream,⁵ and may a thief make off with thy bullocks. May robbers kill thee, my lord, and may I be a virgin widow."⁶

5. "My boats will moor at *Suruj ghāt*, and my bullocks will cross the river. Wife, I will sell thee into the hand of a Mughal, and marry a second wife."

Next follow three *Sohars* or congratulatory songs sung by D̄omin women on the birth of a child. D̄omins are the people who are employed to sing at any festive occasion, especially birth festivals and marriages. They usually have a large collection of songs of various kinds, some being of considerable pretensions. An example of the latter kind will be found in the song of Sa'hes, in my Maithil Chrestomathy.

Of the three following birth-songs, the first describes at length the circumstances of the birth of Rām and his brothers.

¹ **काडेलै** is the regular Bhojpūrī present indicative. **तेजेल** being the second person plural, always has the inherent final *a* pronounced; thus *tej'la*. This final *a* of the 2nd pl., moreover, is always pronounced long with a peculiar drawl like the English word 'awe,' thus *tej'el* 'awe.' This tense sometimes has the force of the future. An example is **उतरेलै** in v. 5.

² **अनारी** literally 'a simpleton,' 'a novice.'

³ **नैना** is oblique of **नैन** 'an eye.'

⁴ A mass of boiled pulse and rice. The word is usually feminine, but is masculine in the text.

⁵ **धरवा** is long form of **धार**

⁶ Or a widow from the date of my marriage. The *chawk* is a square space of coloured meal in which the bridegroom and bride are seated at a marriage ceremony. Hence 'a widow from the *chawk*' means a widow from the date of the marriage ceremony.

IX.

सोहर

सूतल राजा चिहाइ उठे

ऐनक ले मुँह देखेले, समइ बितित भइली रे ॥ १ ॥

हथियन कसेले महाउत, घोड़वन जीन कसे रे ।

ललना चलि भैले गुरु के दुआरे, त पुत्र फल माँगेले रे ॥ २ ॥

अँगना बहरइत चेरिया, त औरि लोँडिया ह रे ।

चेरिया गुरु जि के देऊ ना जगाई, दुआरिं राजा ठाढ़ भइले रे ॥ ३ ॥

कि राउर अन धन थोर भैले, सोनवा मलिन भइले रे ।

राजा कौन सकठ रौरा परले, दुआरे हमरा ठाढ़ भइले रे ॥ ४ ॥

नहिँ मोर अन धन थोर भैले, सोनवा मलिन भइले रे ।

ललना एकइ पुतर का करनवा, त पुत्र फल माँनीला रे ॥ ५ ॥

एक फल गुरु जि ले अइले, राजा जी के दिहले रे ।

राजा रगरि रगरि ओखधा पिसह, रानी के पिआबड़ रे ॥ ६ ॥

एक खौरा पीयेलि कोसिला, दूसर केकइ रानी ।

सिल धीइ पीयेलि सुमित्रा रानी, तीनू जानि गरभसेँ हो रे ॥ ७ ॥

अँगना बहरइत चेरिया, त औरि लोँडिया ह रे ।

चेरिया राजा जि के देऊ ना बोलाई, दरद हमार उहे बूझे रे ॥ ८ ॥

पसवा खेलत राजा दसरथ, चेरिया अरज करे रे ।

राजा राउर धनि वेदने वेआकुलि, रउरा के बोलावे अइली रे ॥ ९ ॥

पसवा लड़वइत वेल तर और बवुर तर रे ।

ललना धपसि पैसेले गजओबर, कह न धनि कूसल रे ॥ १० ॥

कपरा मोर टनकेले गौड़ घहराइल मुँह पियराइल रे ।

ललना मरीले कमरिया के पीरे, धगरिनि चाहीले रे ॥ ११ ॥

हथियन कसेले महाउत घोड़वन जीन कसे रे ।

राजा चलि भैले मोरंङ्ग देसवा, जहाँ बसे धगरिनि रे ॥ १२ ॥

पुकेलें अटइल बटइल, ओर पनिहारिनि रे ।

ललना पुकेलें सहरिया के लोग, कहाँ बसे धगरिनि रे ॥ १३ ॥

ऊँच नगर पुर पाटन, बैतवा के छाजन रे ।

ललना दुअरा चननवा के गाछ, जहाँ बसे धगरिनि रे ॥ १४ ॥

दुअरहि घोड़ हेहनाइल, पथल घहराइल रे ।

ललना सूतल धगरिनि चिहाई, उठलि काहे के राजा आइल रे ॥

॥ १५ ॥

के मोर टटर उजारल के मोर बैड़ खरकावल रे ।

ललना कौन सुहैया के नेकवा अद्धि राति आइल रे ॥ १६ ॥

हमरे त घर है अजोध्या, नाम मोर दसरथ रे ।

धगरिनि मोरि धनि वेदन बेआकुलि, रउरा के बोलावे अइली रे ॥

॥ १७ ॥

(राउर धनी) हथवा के साँकर मुँहवा के फूहर, बोलइ न जानेली रे ।

राजा नाहिँ जैवाँ रउरि महलिया, लीटी घरवा जाह रे ॥ १८ ॥

प्रक ऊँ त जाति के धगरिनि, बोलेलें गरब सँ ना रे ।

ललना नाहिँ जैवाँ रउरि महलिया, लीटी घरवा जाह रे ॥ १९ ॥

धगरिनि जाँ घरेँ लछिमि ओतरिहेँ, अवध रङ्ग चूनरि रे ।

ललना जाँ घरेँ राम ओतरिहेँ, त अवध लुटाइवाँ रे ॥ २० ॥

हथियन चढ़त डेराइब, घोडवन गिरि परवाँ रे ।

राजा रानि के डँडिया मँगाबइ, ओहि चढ़ि के चलवाँ रे ॥ २१ ॥

क्रीटि मीटि डँडिया चननवा के, नेतेवेँ ओहारल रे ।

ओहि चढ़ि चलेलें धगरिनिया, त चौर डोलत आवे रे ॥ २२ ॥

घरि राति गइलि पहर राति, औरि पहर राति रे ।

ललना बाजे लागि अनन्द बधाव, महल उठे सोहर रे ॥ २३ ॥

कोसला के भइले राजा राम, सुमित्रा के लकुमन रे ।

ललना केकइ के भरथ भुआल, तीनु घर सोहर रे ॥ २४ ॥

जिरवा के बोरसि भरवेले, लवङ्ग के पासङ्ग रे ।
 ललना मानिकदियरा बरवेले, ओबरिया मोर सोहावन रे ॥ २५ ॥
 सभवा बैसल राजा दसरथ, चेरिया अरज करे रे ।
 राजा महल भइले नन्द लाल, तीनू घर सोहर रे ॥ २६ ॥
 आवङ्ग विप्र गोसैयाँ, चौक चढ़ि बैसह रे ।
 विप्र कौन लगन राम जनमेले, कौना सुख करिहँ रे ॥ २७ ॥
 राजा वारह बरिस के राम होइहँ, रमैया बनवा जैहँ रे ।
 सभवा बैसल राजा दसरथ, दरब लुटावेले मोहर भँजावेले रे ।
 ललना जाचक भइले निहाल, सुख सभ देब मूनि रे ॥ २८ ॥
 कौरहि ठाढ़ी कोसिला रानी, राजा केँ बुझावेली रे ।
 राजा जानि बुझि दरब लुटावङ्ग, रमैया बनवा जैहँ रे ॥ २९ ॥
 सभवा बैसल राजा दसरथ, रानी केँ बुझावेले रे ।
 रानी कूटल निरबन्सिया के नाँव, बलिया से राम बन जैहँ रे ॥ ३० ॥
 जिन्ह प्रहि मङ्गल गाइ सुनावेले रे ।
 ललना हरि के चरन बलि हारि, परम पद पावेले रे ॥ ३१ ॥

1. The Rājā started suddenly from his sleep. He looks at his face in a mirror. His youth has passed away.

2. The Mahāuts gird up the elephants. On the horses they tie the saddles. Behold¹ he came to the gateway of his *guru* (spiritual preceptor) and asks² for a son as a boon.

3. The maid-servant was sweeping in the court-yard, with her girls³ and damsels. "O maid-servant, wake the Reverend Guru. His Majesty is standing in the doorway."

4. "Hath your Majesty's wealth decreased, or hath thy gold become dim? Hath your Majesty fallen into any strait,⁴ that thou art standing in my doorway?"

¹ ललना, *lit.* 'a darling,' is used in Birth-Odes like the present as a simple expletive.

² I have been careful throughout to translate the tenses as they occur.

³ औरि is simply a rhyming repetition of लौँडि.

⁴ सकठ = Hindi सङ्कट.

5. "My wealth hath not decreased, nor hath my gold become dim ; but, lo, for the sake of only one son (am I come), and therefore I ask for the boon of a son."

6. The Reverend *Guru* brought a fruit, and gave it to His Majesty. "O king, rub and pound this drug, and give it to thy queens to drink."

7. One cupful drinks *Kosilā*, and another cupful drinks Queen *Kekai*. Queen *Sumitrā* washes the grinding stone and drinks (the water), and the three find that they become pregnant.

8. The maid-servant was sweeping in the court-yard with the maids and damsels. "O maid-servant, call his Majesty. He understands my pain (and will sympathize)."

9. King *Das'rath* was playing dice, and the maid-servant says respectfully, "O King, your Queen is distraught with pain, and I am come to call your Majesty."

10. He threw away the dice at the foot of a *Bel* and of a *Babur* tree. Lo, he hastily entered the lying-in chamber, saying, "Tell me, wife, how thou art."

11. "My head is aching, my legs are paining me, my face hath become pale. Lo, I die, for my loins ache, I desire a midwife."

12. The *Mahāuts* gird up the elephants, on the horses they tie the saddles. And the King started for the *Morang*,¹ where the midwives live.

13. He asks from passers-by and travellers, from the women who carried water, and from the people of the city, where the midwife lives.

14. The town is well laid out and is a high city, thatched with cane. At her gate there is a sandal tree, where the midwife lives.

15. The horses neighed at the door, and the stones rattled under their feet. The midwife started from her sleep, and rose saying, "Why has the king come ?"

16. "Who is breaking down the mat (door of my house), who is moving aside my door-bar, the husband of whom of my friends has come at midnight."

¹ The eastern part of the *Nepāl Tarāi*.

17. "My house is in Ajodhyā, and my name is Das'rath. O midwife, my queen is distraught with pain. I am come to call thee."

18. "Thy wife is niggardly of hand, rough of tongue, and doth not know how to speak even. O King, will I not go to thy palace. Return to thine own house."

19. Firstly, she was by caste a midwife, and secondly, she speaketh in pride. Hence said she, "I will not go to thy palace. Return to thine own house."

20. "O midwife, if Lachh'mi become incarnate in my house (*i.e.* if a daughter is born), I will give thee a garment dyed in Awadh;¹ and if Rām is born in my house, I will give away Awadh."

21. "I will be afraid to mount elephants, and will fall from a horse. O King, send for the Queen's palankeen. I will mount it and go."

22. It was a dear little palankeen of sandal-wood, and covered with cloth. The midwife rode in it, while the *chaūri*² was waved over her.

23. An hour, and a watch of the night passed, and then another watch: then they began to sing songs of joy, and the birth-song arose in the palace.

24. To Kosilā is born King Rām, to Sumitrā Lachhuman, to Kekāi King Bharath. In all three palaces is heard the birth-song.

25. They fill the fire pan with cumin-seed, and with an equal weight of cloves. They light lamps of rubies, my house is very pleasant.

26. King Das'rath sat in his audience hall, and the maid-servant says humbly to him: "O King, a prince has been born in the palace. They are singing the birth-song in the three houses."

27. "Come, my Reverend Brāhman. Mount the platform, and sit. O Brāhman, under what star is Rām born, what happiness will he enjoy?"

¹ *i.e.* the complimentary garment given to the midwife on the birth of a child.

² The *chaūri* is the fly-flapper, which is a sign of royalty.

28. "O Rājā, when Rām is twelve years old, he will go to the forest." Seated in counsel King Das'rath distributes presents, and changes gold *mohars*. So, the beggars were made happy, and all the gods and saints were happy.

29. Queen Kosilā stands at the corner of the door, and advises the King. "O King, thou knowest that Rām must go to the forest, and yet thou art distributing presents."

30. King Das'rath sat in the council and advises the Queen. "O Queen, the name of 'childless' has departed from me; I care not¹ if Rām goes to the forest."

31. He who sings and recites this song, by the blessing of the Lord's footsteps, will reach the supreme feet.

NOTE ON DIALECTIC PECULIARITIES.

v. 2, दुआरे is locative of दुआर 'a doorway.'

v. 3, अँगना is oblique of अँगन 'a courtyard.' It is for अँगना में.

v. 9, बेदने is locative of बेदन 'a pang.'

v. 11, कपरा is oblique of कपार 'the forehead.'

v. 14, दुआरा is oblique of दुआर 'a doorway.'

v. 15, The termination हि in दुआरहि is an old sign of the locative. It is also found in the Apabhramsha Prākṛit.

v. 17, हमार or हमरे is the direct genitive of हम 'I.' The oblique form would be हमरा.

v. 20, घरे is locative of घर 'a house.'

X.

सासु जे भेजेलि नउनिया

त ननदि बरिनिया हू रे ।

ललना गोतिनि अपने प्रभु जाइ

गोतिनियां हमहीं पाइच रे ॥ १ ॥

¹ An idiomatic use of the word बलैया, used by men. Women in the same sense would use अँगार से.

सासु जै आवेलि गवइत
 ननदि बजवइत रे ।
 ललना गोतिनि आवेलि बिसाधल
 गोतिनि के घर में सोहर रे ॥ २ ॥
 सासु लुटावेलि रूपैया
 त ननदि मोहरवा रे ।
 ललना गोतिनि लुटावेलि वनउरवा
 गोतिनिया फेरिहँ पाइच रे ॥ ३ ॥
 सासु के डासेलि खटियवा
 ननदि के मचियवा ह रे ।
 ललना गोतिनि के पलङ्ग रेसमिया
 गोतिनिया फेरिहँ पाइच रे ॥ ४ ॥
 सासु के दिहलि चुनरिया
 त ननदि पियरिया ह रे ।
 गोतिनि के लहरा पटोरवा
 गोतिनिया फेरिहँ पाइच रे ॥ ५ ॥

1. It is the mother-in-law who sends the barber's¹ wife (instead of coming herself), and the husband's sister who sends the Bārī's wife; but the brother-in-law's wife must come herself (my lord), as she and I have to return each other's debts (of visits and complimentary presents).

2. It is the mother-in-law who comes singing, and the sister-in-law who comes playing, but the brother-in-law's wife who comes angrily (in envy), because the birth-song is being sung

¹ The barber's wife and the Bārī's wife (or torch-seller, who also acts as barber) officiate at a birth ceremony. This song refers to the proverbial jealousy between the wives of two brothers. It also refers to the custom of one sister-in-law giving the other presents on the occasion of the latter having a child. When the former has, in her turn, a child, the latter is bound to give her presents of equal value.

in the house of *her* brother-in-law's wife (*i.e.* the mother of the child).

3. It is the mother-in-law who distributes rupees, and the sister-in-law gold mohars, but the brother-in-law's wife distributes only cotton seeds, though she should return the debt.

4. The mother of the child spreads a cot for the mother-in-law, and a seat for the sister-in-law, but for the brother-in-law's wife a silk bed, as she will return the debt.

5. She gives a cloak to the mother-in-law, and to the sister-in-law a yellow (veil), but to the brother-in-law's wife an embroidered silk, for she will return the debt.

XI.

राम जनम सुनि आइ डोमिनिया

माँगन लागि वधइया रे ॥ १ ॥

हीरा माँगे जवाहिर माँगे

माँगेले साल दोसाला रे ॥ २ ॥

राजाँ दसरथ के पगिया माँगे

माँगेले कमर कटरिया रे ॥ ३ ॥

1. Hearing of Rām's birth, the Dom's wife¹ came, and begins to ask for rewards.

2. She asks for diamonds, precious stones, and shawls single and double.

3. She asks for King Dasrath's turban, and for the dagger at his waist.

Next follows a specimen of the songs sung at marriages. The present is an example of a class of songs celebrating the marriage of Sib. They are very common in this style.

¹ These birth-songs are sung by Doms.

XII.

॥ गीत विवाह महादेव जी के ॥

जब रे महादेव विअहन चलले
 सखि सभ मङ्गलइ गाइ रे ।
 भूत पिचास बरियतियन चलले
 सरप लिहले लटकाइ रे ॥ १ ॥

केह कुकुरन केऊ सिअरिअन
 आपु बैल असवार रे ।
 चौँडि के माला सिब गलवां लगवले
 बिखिधर लेले झोरि आइ रे ॥ २ ॥

जब रे महादेव गोपूँडन अइले
 लडिका देखले बरियात रे ।
 भांगि भांगि लडिकन घर में लुकइले
 अब न देखव बरियात रे ॥ ३ ॥

वाजन बाजेला धुतुका पखाउज
 ऊरक कइल धुधुकार रे ।
 जब रे महादेव दुअरहिँ लगले
 सखि सभ मङ्गल गाइ रे ॥ ४ ॥

परिछन चलली सासु मदागिनि
 सरप छाड़ेले फुफुकार रे ।
 मुसरां के फेकली लोढ़वां पेवरली
 पाँछाँ के चललि पराइ रे ॥ ५ ॥

गौरां ले के ऊड़व गौरां ले के बूड़व
 गौरां ले के खिलव पताल रे ।

ऐसन बौराह बर (के) गौरा नाहिँ देबों

बलु गौरा रहिँहँ कुँआर रे ॥ ६ ॥

कलसा के अंतै बोलेलि गौरा देई

सिब जि सँ अरज हमार रे ।

गँगवां नहाइ सिब भभुति उतारी

नैहर लोग पतियासु रे ॥ ७ ॥

मति अमां बुड़ह मति अमां उड़ह

मति अमां खिलऊ पताल रे ।

हमरां करमवां भँ लिखल तपसिया

से कैसें मेटल जाइ रे ॥ ८ ॥

गँगवां नहिले सिब भभुति उतरले

आठौं अङ्ग चनन चढाइ रे ।

कहवाँ गइलि मोर सासु मदागिनि

अब रूप देखसु हमार रे ॥ ९ ॥

अतिनाँ सुनि के सासु हरखइली

मनें मनें करत बिचार रे ।

भागी परबल गौरा के भइली

पुरुख मिलेले महादेव रे ॥ १० ॥

करव चौक चननवा चढाइब

अब हम करव बियाह रे ॥ ११ ॥

भैले बियाह महादेव फिरेले

सँझ चलेलि जगत मातु रे ।

गुन औगुन गौरा सभ जानेली

ओर नाहिँ जानेले केऊ रे ॥ १२ ॥

MARRIAGE SONG.

The Marriage of Sib.

1. When Mahādeb went to his marriage, the bridesmaids all sang the (marriage) blessing. Ghosts and goblins formed his marriage party, and he had serpents hanging about his body.

2. Some rode on dogs and some on jackals, and he himself on a bull. Sib had a garland of skulls, which he wore round his neck, while he filled his wallet with poisonous snakes.

3. When Mahādeb came to the village site, the boys saw the procession. They ran away and hid in their houses, saying they would not see a procession again.

4. Instruments are being played,—the bassoon, and the timbrel, while the hour-glass drum made a great noise. When Mahādeb arrived at the gate, all the bridesmaids sang the marriage blessing.

5. Madāgini, the bride's mother, came out to welcome him,¹ when the serpents emitted a hiss. She threw away her wooden pestle, and flung away her stone one,² and ran away back (into the house).

6. "I will run away with Gaurā, I will drown myself with Gaurā, with Gaurā will I enter the lower world, but to such a madman of a bridegroom will I not give her. Better for her would it be if she remained a virgin."

7. Gaurā speaks from behind the jar in (the cupola), "This is my prayer to Sibji. O Sib, bathe in the Ganges, wash off those ashes, and then come back to my father's house."

8. "Mother, do not drown yourself, nor run away with me, nor enter the lower world. An ascetic has been written in my book of fate, how can it be wiped out?"

9. Sib bathed in the Ganges, rubbed off the ashes, and applied sandal to his eight limbs. "Where is my mother-in-law Madāgini? Let her now see my appearance."

10. Hearing this much, the mother-in-law rejoiced, and

¹ See note to II. 8.

² These are moved round the bridegroom's head at the time of *parichhan*.

thought in her mind, "Gaurā's good fortune has been strong, in that she is getting Mahādeb for a husband."

11. "Now I will prepare the marriage platform, and anoint myself with sandal, and perform the marriage."

12. The marriage took place, Mahādeb returns, and with him goes the mother of the universe. Gaurā knows all his good and bad qualities, and no one else knows them.

Next follows a selection of *jhūmars* or *purwīs*, a kind of miscellaneous song sung by women. The first treats of a very popular legend,—that of Sib's second marriage, a subject unknown, I believe, to Sanskrit literature.

XIII.

महादेव चललें हां पुरबि बनिजिया

बितेला महिनवन चारि रे ।

मचिया बैसि गौरां जोहेलि वटिया

कव ऐहँ तपसि हमार रे ॥ १ ॥

बरह बरिस पर लीटि महादेवा

भैलें दुअरवां पर ठाढ़ रे ।

सूतल बाडु के जागल गौरां देइ

खोलह बजर केवाड़ रे ॥ २ ॥

पनियां पियऊ तँह बैस महादेवा

कह न नैहर कुसलात रे

कूलह कुसल मोरे वाड़ि हे गौरां देइ

कूसल नैहर तोहार रे ।

प्रक कूसल मोरे नाहिँ हे गौरां देइ

कैलीँ हाँ दूसर बियाह रे ॥ ३ ॥

कैलीं बियाह सिब बड़ निक कैलीं

जें अङ्ग सुभाव बताव रे ।

कैसन हथवा कैसन गोड़वा
 कैसन सहज सुभाव रे ॥ ४ ॥
 तोहर निअर बाँड़े गोड़वन हथवन
 विसन अङ्ग सुभाव रे ।
 ओँटवा त बाँड़े गौरां कतरल पनवा
 केसियन भीर लोभाइ रे ॥ ५ ॥
 कियां गौरां आन्हर कियां गौरां लङ्गर
 कियां गौरां कोखियां बेहन रे ।
 कियां गौरां देइ सेवा के चुकलीं
 काहे कैलीं दूसर बियाह हे ॥ ६ ॥
 नाहिँ गौरा आन्हर नाहिँ गौरां लङ्गर
 नाहिँ गौरां कोखिया बेहन रे ।
 बिधि के लिखल गौरां आरे नाहिँ मेट रे
 भावीं कैल दूसर बियाह रे ॥ ७ ॥

1. Mahādeb has gone to the East to trade, and four months are passing away. Gaurā sits on a chair and watches the road (saying), "When will my ascetic come?"

2. Mahādeb returns after twelve years,¹ and stood at the gateway. "Art thou asleep, or awake, O Gaurā? Open the strong fastened door."

3. "Drink water, and sit, O Mahādeb. Tell me the news of my father's house." "I am quite well, O Gaurā, and all is well in your father's house. But there is one piece of news about me, which is not good—I have married another wife."

4. "You have done very right, O Sib, in marrying again, but describe to me the person and the nature (of my co-wife). What are her arms like, and what are her legs like, and what her real nature?"

5. "Her legs and arms are like thine, so also her person

¹ वरह pronounced *baraha* with the final *a* sonant, is an old oblique form of वारह, 'twelve.'

and nature. Her lips are like cut betel, and her locks (are so sweet that) they attract the bees."

6. "Is Gaurā blind, or lame, or barren? Hath she failed in her service towards thee? Why hast thou made another marriage?"

7. "Gaurā is not blind, nor lame, nor is she barren. What is written in one's fate, O Gaura, cannot be expunged. It was my fate, and I made a second marriage."

XIV.

Refrain—सैयाँ अइब तू कवन महिनवाँ मेँ ॥

अपने त जाइ पियाँ नोकरि उठवले ।

हमराँ के काँड़ले महलियाँ मेँ ॥ १ ॥

दुइ चारि दिन सैयाँ कुटि ले अइले ।

हीत भिनसरवा बिदाँ भइले ॥ २ ॥

Refrain.—My lord, in what month wilt thou return?

1. My beloved has gone away, and entered into service, me (alone) in the house.

2. He took two or four days leave and came, and went away at dawn.

XV.

इकड़ियाँ मारले,

झिकड़ियाँ मारले रे

घड़िलवाँ फूटल ए हीँ हमारे ॥ १ ॥

घड़िलवाँ फूटले रे

चुनरियाँ भीजल ए हीँ हमारे ॥ २ ॥

चुनरियाँ भिँजले रे

अँगियवाँ भीजल ए हीँ हमारे ॥ ३ ॥

अँगियवाँ भिँजले रे

जोबनवाँ भीजल ए हीँ हमारे ॥ ४ ॥

जोबनवाँ भिँजले रे

बलमुआँ रूसल ए हीँ हमारे ॥ ५ ॥

1. My water-jar was struck with pebbles and potsherds,¹ and broke, alas !
2. The water-jar broke, and my dyed cloak was wet, alas !
3. My dyed cloak was wet, and my bodice became wet, alas !
4. My bodice was wet, and my bosom became wet, alas !
5. My bosom was wet, and my love became angry, alas !

The next three songs are a *jat'sārs* or songs of the mill. *Jāt* is a wheat-mill, and a *jat'sār* is literally "a mill-house," It is a class of songs sung by women when grinding wheat. These songs are always of a pathetic nature, and are sung to a characteristic melody. The first one is a very popular account of how a Rajpūt woman killed herself rather than become the wife of a Muhammadan conqueror. The Mirza, as his name indicates, is a Muhammadan, and Singh is a patronymic of the Rajpūts.

XVI.

जतसार

आठहि काठ केरि नैआं रें नैआ ।

इंगुरिं ढरावल चारू मँगिया हू रे जी ॥ १ ॥

तेहि घांटे उतरेला मिरिजां सहेबवा ।

जेहि घांटे भगवति नहलि हू रे जी ॥ २ ॥

पनियां भरति पनिभरनि विटिया ।

केकर बहिनि करे असननिया हू रे जी ॥ ३ ॥

गाँव केरि गाँआ हीरिल सिद्ध रजवा ।

उन्हकर बहिनि करे असननिया हू रे जी ॥ ४ ॥

धाव तुह नौआ धाव चपरसिया ।

होरिल सिद्ध पकड़ि ले आवड हू रे जी ॥ ५ ॥

¹ इकड़िया means 'pebbles.'

पनियां भरति पनिहारिनि विटिया ।

होरिल सिद्ध मकनियां कहाँ वाड़े ह रे जी ॥ ६ ॥

उत्तर मुँहें उतराऊत उनका ।

दुआरें चननवा गच्छिया ह रे जी ॥ ७ ॥

होरिल सिद्ध मुसक चढ़ाव ह रे जी

(जब रे) होरिल सिद्ध गैलें मिरिजा पांसवा ।

नइ नइ करेलां सलमिया ह रे जी ॥ ८ ॥

लेऊ नां होरिल सिद्ध डाल भर सोनवा ।

भगवति बहिनियां मोहि बकसह ह रे जी ॥ ९ ॥

आंगि लगऊ मिरिजा डाल भर सोनवा

मोरा कुलें भगवति ना जामेलें ह रे जी ॥ १० ॥

घर में सेँ निकसि अँगनां ठाढ़ि भइली ।

अँगना ठाढ़िय भौजी रीवेली ह रे जी ॥ ११ ॥

आंगि लगऊ भगवति तोहरि सुरतिया ।

तोहरा कारन सामी बांहल ह रे जी ॥ १२ ॥

लेऊ ना भौजी घर गिहियांनवा ।

होरिल छोड़ावन हम जाइव ह रे जी ॥ १३ ॥

जब (ना) भगवति गैलि मिरिजां कां पांसवा ।

नइ नइ करेलि सलमिया ह रे जी ॥ १४ ॥

जौं तुऊँ मिरिजा हमरां सेँ लोभिया ।

होरिल सिद्ध के मुसुक छोड़ावऊ ह रे जी ॥ १५ ॥

जौं तुऊँ मिरिजा हमरां सेँ लोभिया ।

हमरा जोगे चुनरि रँगावऊ ह रे जी ॥ १६ ॥

जौं तुऊँ मिरिजा हमरां सेँ लोभिया ।

हमरा जोगे गहनां गढ़ावऊ ह रे जी ॥ १७ ॥

जाँ तुङ्ग मिरिजा हमराँ सँ लोभिया ।

हमरा जोगे डँडिया फनावङ्ग ह रे जी ॥ १८ ॥

हँसि हँसि मिरिजा गहना गढौले ।

रोइ रोइ पेन्हे बेटी भगवति ह रे जी ॥ १९ ॥

हँसि हँसि मिरिजा चुनरि रँगौले ।

रोइ रोइ पेन्हे बेटी भगवति ह रे जी ॥ २० ॥

हँसि हँसि मिरिजा डँडिया फनीले ।

रोइ रोइ फाने बेटी भगवति ह रे जी ॥ २१ ॥

एक कोस गैलि दूसर कोस गैली ।

लागि गैल मधुरि पियसिया ह रे जी ॥ २२ ॥

गौड़ तीर लागीला अगिला कहरवा ।

बून एक पनिया पियावङ्ग रे जी ॥ २३ ॥

मिरिजा गडुअवे पनिया पियह ह रे जी ॥ २४ ॥

तीराँ गडुएँ मिरिजाँ निति उठि पिअवौँ ।

बाँवाँ के सगरवा दुरलभ भइले ह रे जी ॥ २५ ॥

एक चिरुआँ पियलि दूसर चिरुआँ पियलि

तिसरें गइलि तरबोरवा ह रे जी ॥ २६ ॥

रोवेला मिरिजवा मुँह देँ रुमलिया ।

मोरि बुधि करे बेटी भगवति ह रे जी ॥ २७ ॥

रोइ रोइ मिरिजाँ रेँ जलिया लगावेले ।

बाझि गैल घोँघवा सेवरवा ह रे जी ॥ २८ ॥

हँसि होरिल सिँद्ध जलिया लगावेले ।

बाझि गैलि भगवति वहिनियाँ ह रे जी ॥ २९ ॥

हसेलाँ हीरिल सिँद्ध मुँहे खाँइ पनवा

तीन कुल राखे वहिनियाँ भगवति ह रे जी ॥ ३० ॥

A Song of the Mill.

1. The ship, the ship, was of¹ eight pieces of wood, and its four heads were adorned with² vermilion.

2. At the landing-place descends the Mir'jā Sāheb, where Bhagabati is bathing.

3. "O ye girls who are filling water, whose sister is she who is bathing?"

4. "The head of the village is Rājā Horil Singh. It is his sister who is bathing."

5. "Run, thou barber, run thou peon, seize Horil Singh and bring him here.

6. "O ye girls who are filling water, where is Horil Singh's house?"

7. "His house faces the north, and towards the north of his doorway is a sandal tree."

8. "Tie Horil Singh's arms behind his back." When Horil Singh came before the Mir'jā, he bent low and saluted him.

9. "Take, O Horil Singh, a basketful of gold, and give³ thy sister Bhagabati."

10. "O Mir'jā, may fire burn thy basket of gold. No Bhagabati has been born in my family."

11. Bhagabati's sister-in-law (*i.e.* Horil's wife) comes out of the house, and stands in the courtyard. She stands in the courtyard and weeps.

12. "May fire burn thy beauty, Bhagabati. For thy sake my husband is in prison."

13. "O sister-in-law, take charge of the house, and of its duties, for I will go to release Horil Singh."

¹ केरि is a rare instance of the Bihārī genitive suffix केर taking a fem. form. केर, itself, is rare in Rhojpūrī.

² It is hardly necessary to point out that ईगुरे is for ईगुरेँ the instrumental of ईगुर.

³ Note the word for give put in the mouth of a Muhammadan. It is the Ūrdū بخشنا.

14. When Bhagabati came before the Mir'jā, she bent low and saluted him.

15. "If, O Mir'jā, thou desire me, unloose the bonds of Horil Singh.

16. "If, O Mir'jā, thou desire me, dye a dyed garment fit for me.

17. "If, O Mir'ja, thou desire me, have ornaments made fit for me.

18. "If, O Mir'jā, thou desire me, have made ready a palankeen fit for me."

19. Laughing, laughing, did the Mir'jā have the ornaments made, and weeping, weeping did the girl Bhagabati put them on.

20. Laughing, laughing, did the Mir'jā have a dyed garment dyed for her, and weeping, weeping did the girl Bhagabati put it on.

21. Laughing, laughing, did the Mir'jā have the palankeen made ready for her, and weeping, weeping, did the girl mount it.

22. One league they went, a second league did they go, and there came to her a slight thirst.

23. "I fall at thy feet, O first palankeen-bearer, let me drink one drop of water."

24. "Drink out of the Mir'jā's cup."

25. "I will often drink out of your cup, O Mir'jā, but my father's tank will soon be hard to drink from."

26. She drank one handful, and then a second, and at the third she threw herself into the deep water, and was drowned.

27. The Mir'jā weeps, and hides his face in his handkerchief, saying, "Bhagabati hath made a fool of me."

28. Weeping, weeping, the Mir'ja lets down a net, but only shells and weeds were brought up.

29. Laughing, doth Horil Singh let down a net, and brought up his sister Bhagabati.

30. Horil Singh laughs, and eats betel, saying, "My sister Bhagabati hath preserved (the honour of) three generations."

NOTES ON DIALECTIC PECULIARITIES.

आठहि, in v. 1, is oblique of आठ 'eight.' घाटे, in v. 2, is locative of घाट 'a landing-place,' and गडुअवे, in v. 24, of गडुअवा the long form of गडुआ 'a cup,' of which गडुए, in v. 25, is the locative of the short form. तिसरे, in v. 26, is the locative of तीसर 'third.'

XVII.

Refrain.—गहिड़ि नदिया अगमि वहेँ राम पनिया

पीया चलले मोरंङ्ग देसवा, विहरेला राम छतिया ॥

जौँ हम जनिताँ प्र लोभिया जैव रें विदेसवा ।

पियाँ के पप्रतवा प्र लोभिया अचराँ छिपैताँ ॥ १ ॥

दह रीवें चकवाँ चकैया ।

विछोहवाँ कैले राम बलमू ॥ २ ॥

मुँह तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया सुरुज के जोतिया ।

आँखि तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया अमवाँ के फरिया ॥ ३ ॥

नाक तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया सुगवाँ के ठोरवा ।

भङ्ग तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया चढ़ल कमनिया ॥ ४ ॥

आँठ तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया कतरल पनवा ।

ओर तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया कड़ि कड़ि मोछिया ॥ ५ ॥

बाँहि तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया सोवरन सोटवा ।

पेट तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया पुरइनि पतवा ॥ ६ ॥

पीठि तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया धोबियाँ के पटवा ।

गाँड़ तीर हँवे प्र लोभिया केरवाँ के थुम्हवा ॥ ७ ॥

Refrain.—The river is deep, and the water flows bottomless. My beloved has gone to the Morang, and my bosom is being cleft asunder.

1. If I had known, O covetous one, that you would go¹ to a far country, I would have hid your *pāet*² under my cloth.

2. The Chakwā³ and his mate are weeping on the lake, and Ah Rām, my beloved, has deserted me.

3. O covetous one,⁴ thy face is⁵ like the rays of the sun, and thine eyes are large as a split mango.

4. Thy nose is like a parrot's beak, and thine eyebrows like a strung bow.

5. Thy lips are red as clipped betel, and thy moustache is stiff.

6. Thine arms are like golden maces, and thy stomach like a lotus leaf.

7. Thy back is flat as a washerman's plank, and thy legs like a plantain stem.⁶

XVIII.

घरि राति गैलि पहर राति गैली ।

रजवां बेटौनां केवड़िया खीलेला हू रे जी ॥ १ ॥

दुर तुहँ कुकुरा दुर रँ बिलरिया ।

दुर रँ सहर सभ लोगवा हू रे जी ॥ २ ॥

¹ *जैव* is 2nd person plural future. In the 2nd person plural the final inherent vowel is always pronounced, thus *jaiba*, and not *jaib*, even in prose. The first person singular would be *जाइब* *jāib*.

² A *pāet* is a dress or cloak, worn by a man, which, when he is going on a journey, is sent out on the way before him at an auspicious time. *अचरा* is oblique of *आँचर* 'a woman's bodycloth.'

³ *Anas casarca*. This bird is traditionally said to spend its nights lamenting its enforced separation from its mate.

⁴ This refrain in the original is repeated in all the following verses, but will be omitted in the translation.

⁵ *हँवे*. In this word the penultimate is always pronounced long, though generally written short. In the Western Bhojpurī, illustrated by Hoernle's Grammar, it is written *हौवै* (see § 516).

⁶ These similes, which seem absurd enough in a translation, are perfectly natural to a Hindū mind.

नाहिँ हम कुकुरा नाहिँ रे बिलरिया ।
 नाहिँ रे सहर सभ लोगवा ।
 हमङ्ग त राजा के कुँअरवा ह रे जी ॥ ३ ॥
 दिया नाहिँ तेलवा बोरसि नाहिँ अगिया ।
 नाहिँ पनहेरिया घरवा पनवा ह रे जी ॥ ४ ॥
 दिया बाड़े तेलवा बोरसि बाड़ि अगिया ।
 आरे हमरा हमलिया बाड़े पनवा ह रे जी ॥ ५ ॥
 अतिनाँ रइनिया कहवाँ बितल जी ।
 राम दोहाण परमेसर किरिये ।
 सोनरा दोकनिया पसवा खेलाँले ह रे जी ॥ ६ ॥
 इहेँ किरियवेँ प्राभु मैँ न पतिऐवौँ ।
 तुलसि चउरवा कुइ आवङ्ग ह रे जी ।
 बम्हना जनेउआ कुइ आवङ्ग ह रे जी ॥ ७ ॥
 बम्हना जनेउआ कुअलेँ मरि जाइव ।
 सिर केँ सेनुरवा सपना होइहेँ रे जी ॥ ८ ॥
 तुलसि चउरवाँ कुअलेँ मरि जाइव ।
 आँखि के कजरवा दुरलभ होइहेँ रे जी ॥ ९ ॥
 सिर केँ सेनुर प्रभु हम परतेजवौँ ।
 सवती बिरहिया नाहिँ हम सहवौँ ह रे जी ॥ १० ॥
 कँटवा जेँ सालेला घरि रेँ पहरिया ।
 सवती सालेले अधिरतिया ह रेँ जी ॥ ११ ॥

1. An hour of the night, and a watch of the night has passed, and the King's son would open the door.

2. "Begone¹ (if you are) a dog, or a cat, or if you are people of the city."

¹ **दुर** is an interjection used only to something contemptible, like a dog, cat, or a discovered villain.

3. "I am not a dog nor a cat, nor yet the people of the city. I, indeed, am the son of the king."

4. "There is no oil in the lamp, nor fire in the pan.¹ There is no betel in the betel-seller's shop."

5. "There *is* oil in the lamp. There *is* fire in the pan, and I have got betel in my handkerchief."

6. "Where have you passed so much of the night?" "I call upon Rām, and swear by heaven, that I have only been playing dice in the goldsmith's shop."

7. "Such an oath, my lord, I will not believe; touch the platform and the *Tul'si* plant (that grows in it, and swear by it), or touch the sacred thread of a Brāhman (and swear by it)."

8. "If I were² to touch a Brāhman's thread, I should die, and the vermilion on your head would become a dream.³

9. "If I were to touch the platform and the *Tul'si* I should die, and the collyrium in your eyes would become impossible for you."

10. "O husband, I would rather lose the vermilion on my head, than bear the pangs of being a co-wife.

11. "A thorn gives pain for but an hour, or for but a watch; but a co-wife gives pain at midnight."

¹ Cf. Song IX. 1. 24.

² *Lit.* 'on touching.' कूञ्जले is the locative of the verbal noun कूञ्जल.

³ *i.e.* you would become a widow. Only women whose husbands are alive wear the red line down the parting of their hair, and the collyrium in their eyes.

ART. XII.—*Some Further Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki.*

By the Rev. Prof. S. BEAL, M.R.A.S.

THERE are several passages in the *Si-yu-ki* that deserve more notice than can be given in a foot-note by a translator. To some of these I will call attention in this paper. My remarks may appear in some cases too discursive; but I trust this may be pardoned, as they are but "Gleanings."

I. 三會說法

There is a passage in the 7th book (p. 2 in the original, p. 357 in the *first*¹ vol. of Julien's translation). The pilgrim is speaking of a stûpa in the "deer garden"² at Banâras; this stûpa was erected to commemorate the prediction uttered on the spot about Maitrêya becoming a Buddha; the translation runs thus: "This is the spot where Maitrêya Bodhisattva received assurance that he would become a Buddha; in future years when the country of Jambudvîpa shall be at peace . . . there will be a Brâhman called Maitrêya, whose body will be the colour of pure gold; leaving his home he will become 'perfectly enlightened,'³ and preach the three-fold law, for the benefit of all living things," or "he will widely diffuse the three-fold—spoken—law for the benefit of all that lives." The expression "*three-fold*" in this passage is *san hwui*,⁴ which Julien translates by "three assemblies," thus: "He will obtain superior intelligence, and in three great assemblies he will exhibit the law for the sake of all men."⁵

¹ Commonly cited as Jul. ii.

² Mrigadâva.

³ 成正覺 *i.e.* perfect Sambuddhi.

⁴ 三會.

⁵ Jul. ii. *loc. cit.*

It is true the word *hwui* means "an assembly"; but the rendering of 三會說法 by "preaching the law in three great assemblies," does not quite commend itself. We may seek therefore another meaning of the passage. Now the law of Buddha is described as "a triple, twelve-part, trustworthy knowledge."¹ Thus we read, "And so long, O monks, as I did not possess in perfect clearness this triple, twelve-part, trustworthy, knowledge and understanding of these four sacred truths, so long, O monks, I knew that I had not attained the supreme Buddhahood;" and in a note² the writer explains the expression thus: "Of each of the four truths³ Buddha possessed a tripartite knowledge, *e.g.* of the first: 'this is the sacred truth of *suffering*,' 'this sacred truth of *suffering* must be understood,' 'I have understood this sacred truth of *suffering*.'"

Thus having this three-fold, or tripartite, knowledge of each of the four sacred truths, the law is described as "a three-fold, twelve-part law."

This point is explained by M. Léon Feer in his *Études Bouddhiques*, 1st series, p. 267, where he is describing "the duodecimal evolution of the truths";⁴ in explanation of this phrase, he says that each of the four truths must be first of all *announced*, thus: "suffering exists"; secondly, *it must be understood*, thus: "It is necessary to know to the bottom the existence of suffering"; and thirdly, *it must be declared that this knowledge has been attained*, thus: "I have understood to the bottom the existence of suffering."

This, again, is the three-fold, or tripartite, division of the four truths, composing the law, first declared at Banâras by Buddha, after his enlightenment.

The text, therefore, of the *Si-yu-ki* asserts that Maitrêya, after he has attained Buddhahood, will, like other Buddhas, preach at Banâras this three-fold, or tripartite, law; and

¹ Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 129.

² *op. cit.* p. 129 n.

³ I. 'Misery always accompanies existence.' II. 'All existence results from passions and desires.' III. 'There is no escape from existence but destruction of desires.' IV. 'This must be accomplished.'

⁴ *i.e.* the four "sacred truths," see the preceding note.

so Aśvaghosha says : “ All the Mûnis who perfect wisdom must do so at Gayâ, and in the Kâśi country they must first turn the wheel of righteousness.”¹

It seems that the Sanskrit term corresponding to the Chinese *san hwui*, is *trikûṭaka*.² This is illustrated by one of the Bharhut sculptures; it will be found in General Cunningham’s work³ among the historical scenes, Plate xxviii. disc No. 1. It is the figure of a triangle and labelled “*Tikutiko chakamo*,” i.e. “the three-pointed wheel (of the law);”⁴ here *tikutiko* seems to correspond with *san hwui* and to refer to “the turning of the wheel of the law,” in the three-fold, tripartite way already described. General Cunningham indeed⁵ explains the sculpture as indicating the Nâgaloka under the *trikûṭa parvata*, which supports Mount Meru;⁶ the presence of the lions, however, he says, “does not favour this view;” nor does the inscription seem to bear it out, for even if *chakamo* might refer to a division of the ancient Indian universe, yet that division, viz. of the Nâgaloka, is not itself *three-pointed*, but situated beneath a mountain with three peaks, or points. I think, therefore, that the scene is intended to represent the turning of the wheel of the law, in a three-fold way. This will be further seen from a comparison of the Chinese symbol *hwui* with the Sanskrit *kûṭa* in another place; I refer to the well-known sūtra called *Ratnakûṭa*, or “Heaps of Gems.” In Chinese the title of this work is *Pâo-tsih*, “a multitude or mine (*âkara*) of jewels;”⁷ but this multitude consists of separate heaps, or piles, which in Chinese are called *hwui*. This may be seen by referring to the “Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka,”⁸ where on p. 9 this book is alluded to. It will be seen that each sūtra of the 49 contained in the collection

¹ *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, p. 171.

² *Kûṭa* means ‘a meeting point,’ and so does *hwui*; I think the idea in such compounds as *trikûṭaka* and *san hwui* is the three-fold or triple *point*. We still use the word ‘point’ in this sense; we say ‘the first point,’ ‘the second point,’ etc.

³ Stûpa of Bharhut, by Major-Gen. A. Cunningham.

⁴ Or, code of doctrine, see Childers’ *Pâli Dictionary*, s.v. Chakko.

⁵ *op. cit.* pp. 25, 83.

⁶ Spence Hardy’s *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 11, 44.

⁷ So Julien restores the symbols, ii. p. 385, n. 1.

⁸ B. Nanjio’s *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*.

is called by the name *hwui*, or *heap*. I think each of these *heaps* or *parts* is intended to be a separate portion of the entire collection. These portions (會) make up the whole work, called perhaps for that reason Ratnakûta.¹

II. 危然

There is a passage in the sixth book, and on the eleventh page.² It has been passed over in the French translation: but I think it is of importance, as it illustrates one of the Amarâvati sculptures, and is otherwise interesting. Hiuen Tsiang tells us, in the passage referred to, that within the eastern gate of Kapilavastu, on the left side of the road, was the place where Sarvârthasiddha, the prince, practised athletic exercises; and outside the gate was a Temple of Îśvaradêva. He then adds that in this temple was a stone figure of the god in a position of "rising and bending," or, "rising bendingly." Julien has translated the words thus: "There is in this temple a stone statue of the god of an imposing size."³ But the phrase *wei in*⁴ seems to me to mean "bendingly," or "in a bending position." It refers to the story of the prince being taken to the Temple when he was a child, and the image of the god rising to salute him. The observation as to his attitude is important; for when we turn to the 69th Plate, "Tree and Serpent Worship," we see the force of the phrase. The chief object there is a gigantic form "rising bendingly." The figure is saluting some persons carrying a cloth with the foot-impress of Buddha. This is Îśvaradêva saluting the infant as described in the *Si-yu-ki*. It is curious that the phrase employed by Hiuen Tsiang in relation to a scene at Kapilavastu should be so

¹ I would call attention to Julien's remarks on the right restoration of the symbol *tsih* 積, Jul. ii. 385 n. With respect to my remarks on the symbol 會 I wish to add that it may refer to the *cycles* of each Buddha's teaching, which also were three, viz. the *empty*, the *false*, the *medial*; thus, (1) all things are empty, *i.e.* non-existent. (2) all things, though empty, or unreal, have a false existence. (3) All things exist and do not exist.

² Jul. ii. p. 321.

³ Jul. ii. p. 321.

⁴ 危然.

accurately verified by a group found at Amarâvati ; it seems to show that this building was not only constructed with all the art of Bactria, but was also indebted to North India for some of the details of its sculptures.

III. 佛誠良田

There is a third passage in the *Si-yu-ki* which suggests an explanation of one of the Bharhut discs. I refer to the account relating to the purchase of the ground at Śrāvastî for the erection of a vihâra ; it occurs at the beginning of the 6th book.¹ The Prince Jêta seems to have repented of his agreement with Sudatta,² which was, "to give the land, if the merchant could cover it with gold pieces." When there was only a small space left, he came to the spot and begged Sudatta to discontinue his work, for "he would not give the site"; the scene is thus described by Aśvaghosha:³ "The householder, his heart rejoicing, forthwith began to spread the yellow gold ; then Jêta said, 'I will not give, why then spread you your gold?' The householder replied, 'Not give ! why then said you, "Fill it with yellow gold"?' And thus they differed and contended both, till they resorted to the magistrate."

This appears to me to be the meaning of the passage in the *Si-yu-ki*, "There was yet a little space not filled. The prince thereon asked him to desist, but he replied, 'The honest, fertile field of Buddha is the one in which we ought to sow good seed ;'"⁴ that is, the promise made should be truthfully kept, viz. of giving the land.

Now if this be the true meaning of the passage, I think the Barhut sculpture, Pl. xlv. No. 9, must refer to this incident. General Cunningham,⁵ in his remarks on the inscription *chitu-pâda-sila*, refers the scene to the history of a râja called Chêtiya, who told the first lie ; and then, he

¹ Jul. ii. p. 297.

² Anathapindada.

³ *Fo-sho-king-tsan-king*, p. 217, Beal's Translation.

⁴ The whole passage runs thus : 佛誠良田宜植善種.

⁵ *Bharhut Stûpa*, p. 94.

adds, "In the Bharhut sculpture perhaps the point of the story may have been the first occurrence of cheating, and the consequent punishment of the offender." This seems to be a likely explanation of the purpose of the scene and inscription; but may we not refer the actual plot, or incident, of the sculpture, to the attempt of Jêta to cheat the merchant, as recorded both by Hiuen Tsiang and Aśvaghosha? and the remark of General Cunningham, "that the small square pieces with marks on the top . . . are exactly the same as the coins used for paving the Jêtavana,"¹ confirms this explanation. I take the square space therefore, marked out like a draught-board, to indicate "the small space not yet filled," and the broken rock to signify the "broken promise" of the Prince Jêta, and his attempt to cheat the merchant, after having bargained to give the land.

IV. 至那提婆瞿咄羅

There is a curious story told towards the end of the the 12th Book of the *Si-yu-ki*² respecting a prince of Persia, who was affianced to a daughter of Han; the bride having arrived as far as Tush Kurghan,³ in the middle of the Tsu'ng ling, was visited by the Sun-god, and bore to him a child of supernatural power and beauty; "he was able to fly through the air, and control the winds and the snow. He extended his power and the renown of his laws far and wide, and the neighbouring people as well as those at a distance subscribed themselves his subjects." A palace was built for the princess at the top of a rocky peak, where, conjointly with her son, she conducted the affairs of the Empire.

We seem to have in this story a form of the Persian legend about Kai Kosrav.⁴ He was the son of the Persian Syâvaksh and of the daughter of the Turanian Afrâsyâb. His renown was also far spread, and he avenged the

¹ *Bharhut Stûpa*, p. 94.

³ K'ie-pan-to.

² Jul. iii. 211.

⁴ See S.B.E., vol. xxiii. p. 64 n. 1.

murder of his father by slaying his grandfather, Afrâsyâb, and overthrowing the Turanian kingdom.

The introduction of the "daughter of Han," may perhaps have originated in the ambiguous form of the province of *Chin*¹ and *Mâchin*, which Afrâsyâb gave his daughter as a dower. Mr. West, in his Pahlavi Texts,² tells us that the country of Sêni, which is Chînistân, was probably the territory of Samarkand. Here Syâvaksh dwelt in the town of Kangha, which was built on the top of a high mountain, and is called, in the Shâh Nâmah, Kang dez, the fortress of Kangha.

Chin being mistaken for *China*,³ led to the idea that the daughter of Afrâsyâb was a princess of Han.

V. 觀貨邏國

This intermingling of names suggests the inquiry whether the country of *Tu-ho-lo*, so constantly named by Hiuen Tsiang, and called the "old territory⁴ of the *Tu-ho-lo* country, or kingdom," may not be restored to Tûr, or Tûrya. The middle symbol *ho* represents the rough aspirate, we should thus get Tuhra or Tuχra, from which would come the Greek Tocharoi. At any rate, without going so far as a recent writer,⁵ who would find in the *Tu-ho-lo* people the Greek Teuchri, I see no reason why the Tochari, or the people of Tu-ho-lo, should be confused with any Turkish horde, or with the Yue-chi.⁶ They probably represent an old civilized Turanian people dwelling between the borders of Persia and the centre of the Ts'ung ling Mountains. This was just the territory of Afrâsyâb, until it was broken up by Kai Kosrav; it then became the prey of every invader and

¹ 至那.

² "But we must observe that the country of Sêni which is Chînistân (*Kînistân*) was probably the territory of Samarkand and may perhaps be connected with Mouut Kîno."—West's Pahlavi Texts, S.B.E., Part i. p. 59 n.

³ Compare Col. Yule's remark, *Wood's Oxus*, xxiv. n. 1.

⁴ 故地, *vid.* Jul. ii. 201 and *passim*.

⁵ G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu.

⁶ Mr. Kingsmill distinguishes the Tochari from the Yueh-ti, identifying the former with the Ta-hia (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XIV. p. 81).

lost its unity. So in the *Si-yu-ki*¹ Hiuen Tsiang describes the *Tu-ho-lo* country as extending 3000 li from Persia to the Ts'ung ling Mountains, and 1000 li from the iron-gates to the Hindu Kûsh; but he takes care to speak of it as the "old territory"; it had now been overrun by the *Tuh-kiue* or Turks proper, and was no longer an independent state.

VI. 月支 or 月氏

The Yue-chi are not named in the *Si-yu-ki*, and only once in the "Life of Hiuen Tsiang."²

The Chinese characters, however, for the Yue-chi and the Vrijjis, who lived at Vaiśâli, are the same.³ This circumstance alone would not be sufficient to warrant any conclusion as to their identity. But other considerations seem to support such an opinion. I have referred to these elsewhere;⁴ it will be enough therefore to name the sculptures at Sanchi (Pl. xxxviii. *Tree and Serpent Worship*), showing that the Vrijjis were a Scythian people; and also that the Lichchhavis or Litsabyis, who were the same as the Vrijjis, are stated by Hodgson and Foucaux to be Scythians.⁵

But if the Vrijjis were Scythians, and their name be phonetically represented in Chinese by the same symbols as the Yue-chi, who were also Scythians, it would follow that the Yue-chi and the Vrijjis were one people.

We have a description of the manners and customs of the Vrijjis, the people of Vaiśâli, in the Parinibbâna⁶ Sutta. This description shows that they were not a barbarous tribe like the later Yue-chi invaders (called Indo-Scyths) and the Yetha (*i.e.* Ephthalites), but were an independent, chivalrous, and proud people.

¹ Book I. Jul. i. p. 23.

² P. 19 of the original, p. 43, Jul. i.

³ Compare "Texts from the Buddhist Canon," p. 165, with "Buddhist Suttas," by Rhys Davids, S.B.E. vol. xi. p. 1, n. 1. Cf. also "Le Sutra en 42 Articles," by Léon Feer, p. 74, n. 6.

⁴ J.R.A.S. Vol. XIV. p. 39. I regret that in this paper the word *Vrijjis* and *Vajjis* should have been printed *Vriggis* and *Vaggis*. The paper (owing to its brevity) was not sent to me for correction.

⁵ Vid. paper referred to, J.R.A.S. Vol. XIV.

⁶ S.B.E. xi. pp. 2 sqq.

A similar account of them is found in the corresponding Sûtra in the Chinese collection,¹ and also in the Chinese version of Dhammapada.²

From these books we learn that Ajâtaśatru, King of Magadha, being about to equip an expedition against the Vrijjis, who were encroachers and strangers, had fortified the town of Paṭâliputra against their advance; before entering on the expedition, however, he sent to Buddha to acquaint him of his purpose, and to draw from him some opinion or statement as to the undertaking.

Accordingly the messengers came into the presence of Buddha, and explained the object of their mission; on this the Blessed One spoke as follows:³

“So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent public assemblies, so long they may be expected to prosper.

“So long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out their undertakings in concord; so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians as established in former days; so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words; so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction; so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed to fall into desuetude; so long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arahats among them, so that the Arahats from a distance may enter the realm and the Arahats therein may live at ease;—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper.”

From this extract we learn the character of the Vajjians and their government.

¹ Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 119.

² Texts from the Buddhist Canon, by Samuel Beal, pp. 165, 166.

³ S.B.E. xi. p. 3.

In the Buddhacharita by Aśvaghosha¹ we find some further particulars respecting these people :

“At this time the great men among the Lichchhavis, hearing that the lord of the world had entered their country and was resting in the Âmra gardens, went thither riding in their gaudy chariots with silken canopies and gorgeous robes, both blue and red, yellow and white, each one with his own cognizance ; accompanied by their body-guard surrounding them they went, others prepared the road in front, and with their heavenly crowns and flower-bespangled robes they rode richly dight with every kind of costly ornaments.”

In the Pâli translation² the account is as follows :

“Now the Lichchhavis of Vesâli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesâli and was staying at Ambapâli's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vesâli. Some of them were dark, dark in colour and wearing dark clothes and ornaments ; some of them were fair, fair in colour and wearing light clothes and ornaments ; some of them were red, ruddy in colour and wearing red clothes and ornaments ; some of them were white, pale in colour and wearing white clothes and ornaments.”³

These accounts of the Vrijjis, taken in connection with the Sanchi sculpture and the term Lichchhavi, tend to show that they were foreigners, and as Ajâtasâtru was fortifying his frontiers against them, probably they were invaders.

Assuming, then, that the Vrijjis were Yue-chi, we must suppose that one branch of these people had penetrated to the south about the same time that another tribe of the same family had proceeded eastward to Tangut. The centre or nidus of the race would be the region of the Massagetæ, to the eastward of the Jaxartes. We revert, therefore, to the

¹ S.B.E. xix. p. 257.

² S.B.E. xi. p. 31.

³ Compare the statement in the *Ching-i* respecting the bright-coloured garments worn by the Yue-ti. *Kingsmill*, J.R.A.S. XIV. p. 80 n. 4.

old theory of Rémusat and Klaproth, that the Yue-ti (or *chi*) were Getæ. M. V. de St.-Martin (*Les Huns Blancs*, p. 37, n. 1), indeed, says that this theory "pêche par sa base," because the Massagetæ are spoken of by Herodotus; whereas the Yue-chi had not arrived in Songaria from Tangut till about the year 128 B.C. But the old home of the Yue-chi was not in Tangut. They were strangers there, different in manners, language, and dress from Chinese and Turks. When they were driven thence by the Hiung-nu, they seem to have proceeded towards their ancient territory on the borders of the Jaxartes; they attacked the Ta-hia from the west,¹ and after this the Parthians; being defeated by these, they were driven south towards India; from this time they became known as Indo-Scyths or Gushans. The old sound of Yue 月 was "Get"; the Chinese symbols would thus correspond with the Greek form Γέται. I think the commotions which took place in Central Asia during the reigns of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, would quite explain an irruption of a tribe of the Getæ into India, where they were known as Vrijjis, and eastward into Tangut, where they became known to the Chinese.

The Ye-thas,² from Sung-Yun's account, were the most powerful of the four tribes (*i.e.* of the Turkish tribes then advancing westward), and remained idolaters and comparatively barbarous, down to the time when they were defeated at the hands of Khosru Naoshirwan,³ and finally, in 571 A.D., completely shattered by the invasion of the Turkish Khakan. They must not be confused with the Yue-chi; they were the Ephthalites of the Byzantine writers.

I cannot think, then, that Hiuen Tsiang, in referring to the "old territory" of Tu-ho-lo, in which now the Tuhkioue were dwelling, means the old territory of the Yue-chi, or of the Ye-tha, but the kingdom of Tu-ho-lo that spread at one time from Persia to Tush-Kurghan, and was broken up by the Persians, and finally overrun by Northern barbarous tribes.

¹ Kingsmill, *J.R.A.S.* XIV. p. 81. ² *Buddhist Pilgrims*, by S. Beal, p. 184.

³ Wood's *Oxus*, *Yule's Introd.* p. xxvii.

VII. 轉輪聖王

Frequent mention is made in the *Si-yu-ki* of the office of a holy Chakravartti king, to which Buddha would have been called if he had not become an ascetic.

“The general meaning of this term is well known; it signifies a universal monarch, a sovereign who exercises his supremacy over the entire earth (*sarvabhaumo rājâ*). It is a term equally familiar in Brahmanical books as in Buddhist writings; nevertheless, as it depends on certain cosmological imaginations, which under this special form have only been transmitted to us by the Buddhists, . . . it has every right to be considered and treated as specially Buddhistic.”

These are the words of M. S enart;¹ the cosmological theories of the Buddhists are, I believe, essentially different from those of the Brahmans, and derived from a different source. This has been frequently referred to, and I have called special attention to it elsewhere.²

The Buddhist theory of the thirty-three gods dwelling on Mount Sumeru in the Triyastrimshas heaven, refers to the year, the four quarters, and the twenty-eight days of the month.³ This differs from the Brahmanical interpretation. But it seems to me more primitive and rational. There was a period when Saturnus ruled the gods, and he as “Time” (*Kpovos*) was supreme over the divisions of the year. This was the golden age,⁴ and the reiterated accounts of the character of a Chakravartti’s dominion and government, found in Buddhist books, point to this golden age.

It has been noticed that from the word *annulus* still

¹ La legende du Buddha, p. 11.

² Abstract of Four Lectures, p. 146.

³ In the Commentary to the *Sheu lang S utra*, K. vi. fol. 8a. it is said that each of the “four Kings” (*Chaturmah r jas*) has 91 sons, and that these, collectively amounting to 364, look after the world throughout the year. But in the older accounts given by Jin Ch’au (*Catena*, etc. p. 73) it is said that each King has 28 generals; does not this refer to an older mythology, in which the lunar month of 28 days was followed? Compare the account of the 30 Izeds who preside over the month. S.B.E. xxiii. p. 1.

⁴ So Pausanias says: * ν  Ολυμπία ποιηθ ναι Κρόνω γαδν  πδ τ ων τ τε  νθρώπων ο   νομάζοντο χρυσο ν γ νος*.—Lib. v. p. 391, ed. Kuhnii. Compare *Martial* xii. Ep. 62.

surviving, there must have been a root *annus* 'a ring.' So Virgil says: "Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus."¹ So the ring, especially the rolling ring, or wheel, came to represent "Time," and would be a proper symbol or type of the lord of Time.² We find it so in a quarter scarcely anticipated. I refer to Grimm's "Teutonic Mythology,"³ where we read, "Who does not see that Sitivrat is the Sclavic name for Saturn?" and he goes on a few lines down, "I should prefer to give Sitivrat the subordinate meaning of Sito-vrat, 'sieve-turner,' so that it would almost be the same as Kolo-vrat 'wheel-turner,' and afford a solution of that wheel in Krodo's (Saturn's) hand: both wheel (kolo) and sieve (sito) move round, and an ancient spell rested on sieve-turning."

The wheel in Saturn's hand refers to an image of this god, in which he is represented as "standing on a great fish, with a pot of flowers in his right hand and a wheel erect in his left."⁴

It is sufficient to have a hint here given (although, as Grimm says, these coincidences are still meagre and insecure) that Saturn, as the lord of Time, was regarded as the wheel-roller. The Chakravarttin monarch also "makes the wheels of his chariot roll without obstacle athwart all lands,"⁵ and his was "a golden age of universal peace and prosperity." I think we have authority therefore for supposing that this was the origin of the myth revived, or preserved, in the Buddhist speculations respecting this fabulous sovereign.

There are one or two observations which I will venture to add to the above. Why is the Chakravartti monarch called "holy"?⁶ It seems to me, from the idea of perfect truthfulness involved in the idea of Sitivrat, which corresponds to Satyavrata, as it denotes one "who adheres to

¹ Virg. Georg. ii. 402.

² Compare Tennyson's words in the poem "The Golden Year:":

"Universal peace
Thro' all the circle of the golden year."

³ Edition by Stallybrass, vol. i. p. 249.

⁴ *op. cit.* p. 248.

⁵ Petersburg Sansk. Dict.

⁶ 聖.

truth." So Buddha (as we have seen above) "sowed in the field of truth," and "scorned to lie";¹ and so in the Introduction to the Pratimoksha it is laid down that an essential qualification for confession, was "the utterance of the truth;" and that no one could be a disciple of Buddha who framed a lie. Herodotus also tells us that the Persians (who worshipped the Sun especially) held it to be disgraceful, "to lie"; now all this, as it seems to me, was derived from the truthfulness of Time, considered in the abstract; and I think it a reasonable supposition that the origin of the myth of Saturn's dethronement and the confusion in heaven and the decay of the golden age, is to be found in the first discovery or rather realization of the apparent untrue movements of the Sun, and the disarrangement of time, as the equinoctial points advanced, and the seasons in consequence appeared to change.² In any case there is no difficulty in seeing why Buddha claimed to be of the holy race of "the wheel-turning kings," represented by Satyavrata, or Saturn, the veracious.

If the "golden year" was represented by a wheel, it would appear that the *Roman* Saturn "was furnished with a sickle³ and not with a wheel." Why so? Because they regarded the Moon rather than the Sun as the arbiter of time. So we read in Ovid⁴ that when the people seceded to the Sacred Hill, food failed them, and then

"Orta suburbanis quædam fuit Anna Bovillis,
 Pauper, sed mundæ sedulitatis anus.
 Illa, levi mitra canos redimita capillos,
 Fingebat tremula rustica liba manu.
 Atque ita per populum fumantia mane solebat
 Dividere: hæc populo copia grata fuit.
 Pace domi facta signum posuere Perennæ,
 Quod sibi defectis illa tulisset opem."

Was this figure (signum) of Anna Perenna, the *sickle*?

¹ Romantic Legend, *passim*.

² Compare Martial, Lib. xii. Ep. 62, "Antiqui, rex magne, poli, mundique prioris," referring to Saturn.

³ Grimm, *op. cit.* i. p. 248.

⁴ Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 667.

the symbol of the crescent moon and the type of progressive time?

With respect to the seven gems possessed by the Chakravartti sovereign, it may be they originally represented the seven days into which the week was, from remote time, divided. But I leave this as a mere possibility.¹

VIII. 鉛石 or 鉛鉛

There is frequent mention made in the *Si-yu-ki*² of a stone called *Yu-shih*, sometimes *thow shih*, which Julien translates by "brass"; but it appears to be "calamine stone." Calamine stone is the *cadmia* of Pliny, "fit et e lapide æroso quem vocant Cadmiam,"³ so called because Cadmus is supposed to have discovered its use in the composition of brass. Calamine stone is, I believe, a silicate of zinc, and from remote antiquity has been used in the manufacture of brass. Long before zinc was procured in its metallic form, this calamine stone was calcined and powdered, and, being mixed with grain copper, or copper clippings and charcoal, was exposed to great heat in crucibles, and so the brass was formed. In the *Si-yu-ki* the calamine stone is spoken of as brass—reminding us of the saying, "out of their hills they shall dig brass." But it is only by accommodation, or licence, that it is so named. The stone itself is the silicate of zinc spoken of. But why is it called calamine? The Chinese tell us it is found in the *Po-sse* country, and thence exported. By the *Po-sse* country we must understand Persia, because Hiuen Tsiang tells us so in the 11th book of the *Si-yu-ki*, and the 22nd page.

I should suppose, then, that it was called "Calamine stone" either because of its resemblance to the μέλι τὸ καλάμινον τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρι, "honey of a reed called sugar,"

¹ I am aware of M. Sénart's learned explanation of the Chakravartti and his insignia. Nothing that I have said is designed to interfere with his theory; I think, however, the earliest idea of the Universal monarch must be sought in the primitive conception of the 'golden year.'

² K. ix. ½⁹ with k. xi. ¾², and *vid.* Medhurst sub. 鉛.

³ Pliny, N.H. II. xxxiv. 2.

which was exported from Baragya;¹ or else from the name of the town Kalamina, which, according to Cunningham, was the capital of Indo-Scythia,² the same as Minnagara; and this last place the same writer seems to identify with Patala or Potala, the capital of lower Sindh.³

We come now to consider a probable origin of this word Kalamina. General Cunningham "feels inclined to derive it from Kara-Mina, the black Mina, to distinguish it from the older city of Min in Sakastene."⁴ He adds in a note that "Calamine may also be interpreted as Kilah-mina, or the "fort of Min," as Sir H. Rawlinson has shown that "the original Semitic word for a fort was *Kar*, which was corrupted very early to *kal* and *khal*, as in Khalasar, the Fort of Asshur, *Kalwādeh*, the Fort of Wad," etc.

Father Kircher quotes Steph. le Moyne, who says, "Calaminam existere tantum in Utopiâ et cerebro malé feriato."⁵ Kircher himself reads *Calurmina* for *Calamina*, and says that the word signifies "upon a stone," because the Malabars say that St. Thomas (who was martyred at Calamina, according to some accounts) was pierced by a Brahmin on a stone figured with crosses, which is still shown.⁶

But if we remember that Pótala, the Portus of the Indus (compare *Portus* on the Tiber, opposite Ostia, from being bishop of which place Hippolitus derived his title *Portuensis*), was from time immemorial the seat of the Ikshvâku sovereigns, of the Śâkyâ race, we may perhaps arrive at a natural derivation of the name Kalamina. It was a Greek form⁷ of the abode or town of the "Ikshus," the family of "the sweet sugar-cane" (*Calamus*). The first lines of "The Life of Buddha" (*Buddha-charita*) written by Aśvaghosha just at the beginning of our era, and who himself was a follower of Kanishka, are these:

¹ Muller, *Geog. Græc. Min.* I. Proleg. cviii.; Periplus, by McCrindle, p. 65.

² Arch. Survey, vol. ii. p. 45.

³ Compare Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, *Index*, p. 586, *s.v.* Patala, with p. 291 of the same work.

⁴ *Arch. Survey*, vol. ii. p. 60.

⁵ Hough's *Christianity in India*, p. 39, n. 3.

⁶ *op. cit.* p. 38.

⁷ Compare Pattalene, from Pattala, or Patala.

“A descendant of the sweet sugar-cane family,

“An invincible Śākya monarch, pure in mind, and of unspotted virtue, and therefore called Śuddhōdana, etc.”

The title of “sweet sugar-cane,” therefore, was still applied to the Sākyas in the time of Aśvaghosha.

Now it was just at this time that St. Thomas is supposed to have come to Calamina. He was commissioned to repair to this place to build a palace for Gondoforus. In the Saxon life of St. Thomas, which is ascribed to Elfric, the legendary account is: “The Saviour himself came to him from heaven and said, ‘A king of the Indians, who is called Gundoforus, will send his gerefā to Syria’s land to seek some labourer who is skilful in arts. I will soon send thee forth with him.’ Thomas answered, ‘Send me whither thou wilt except to the Indians.’ But on the command to go being repeated he assented: and when the regal officer came they went together to the ship, and reared their sail and proceeded with the wind; and they sailed forth then seven nights before they reached the shore; but it would be long to tell all the wonders he did there. They came next to the king in India, and Abannes boldly brought Thomas to the speech of the king, who said to him: ‘Canst thou build me a kingly mansion in the Roman manner?’ Thomas tried and succeeded, and had then liberty to preach, and baptized and constructed a church, and Migdonia the king’s sister believed what he taught.”—Cott. MS. A. 14, pp. 112–118.

The story in the Golden Legend differs somewhat from the above, but is to the same effect as regards the mission of St. Thomas to build a palace for Gondoforus.

With regard to Gondoforus or Yndopheres we read in von Sallet:

“At first nothing of this king existed but a mass of coins which were according to their style relegated to a tolerably late date soon after the last Azes-coins. Then the coins of ‘Abdagases, the brother’s son of Gyndepher(es),’ were added. Abdagases, according to Tacitus, was a Parthian dynast; therefore the Parthian descent of Yndopheres became

probable ; which, as well as the immediate contact of his boundaries with those of the Arsakedan realm, is satisfactorily proved by the pure Greek drachm of the Berlin Museum, coined exactly in the type and style of the Arsakedes, as discovered by me. Sanabaros must have produced his coins about 80 A.D., and Yndopheres had died at this date.”¹

Accounts seem to agree that St. Thomas, if he was ever in the East, laboured among the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Carmenians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians and Margians,² confining his sphere to N.W. India, or rather the borders of the Indus (at this time in possession of the Parthians). It was here we take it Calamina, the capital of the Ikshus, must be placed, and from them took its Greek name.

With regard to St. Thomas at Madras, the curious agreement of Bodhidharma's name, *Ta-mo*, who left that neighbourhood for China A.D. 516, would be sufficient to explain the stories about the Apostle having flourished in that neighbourhood, and having gone thence to China. This has been noticed by other writers ; M. Margrot, Bishop of Conon, writes thus : “ One Tamo, as notorious a rogue as ever visited China, who became chief of one of the subdivisions of the sect of Foe, which they call the sect of the contemplatives, has been mistaken by the missionaries for St. Thomas.”³

That Bodhidharma (Ta-mo) went to China, from South India, about the beginning of the sixth century, and became the first patriarch of the sect of Fo, in that country, admits of no question ; but this cannot affect the tradition recorded by Eusebius and other early writers respecting the Apostle St. Thomas in Parthia, or his death at Calamina.⁴

¹ Ind. Antiq. vol. ix. part cxi. p. 260.

² Compare Asseman. Bib. Orient. Tom. iii. part 2, p. 25, quoted by Hough, *op. cit.* p. 35 n.

³ Hough, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 94.

⁴ I will here merely add the names of some of these writers : Origenes (Lib. ii. in Genes.) ; Eusebius (Lib. iii. Histor. Ecl. cap. 1) ; Rufinus (Lib. i. cap. 9) ; Auctor libri Recognitionum (Lib. ix. c. 29) ; Socrates (Lib. i. cap. 15) ; aliique, Parthiam Thomæ obtigisse scribunt ; Persidem Fortunatus Parthiæ substituit (Lik. i. Carm. 1) Parthiam, Persidem et Indiam Thomæ assignat Hippolytus.

There is some ground, therefore, for the belief that Calamina, where tradition states St. Thomas was martyred, was a town of Parthia, bordering on the Indus.

A curious illustration of this point will be found in Josephus "against Apion," where, in Whiston's translation, he is made to say that Aristotle told Clearchus that there was in India a sect from whom the Jews derived their name or their character. "These Jews," he says, "are derived from the Indian philosophers named by the Indians *Calami*, by the Syrians *Judæi*."¹

The texts, indeed, agree in giving *Καλάνοι* for *Καλάμοι*, and I am quite unable to state from what text Whiston translated (or whether my copy, the ordinary edition by Howell of Liverpool, is defective), but I am quite prepared to agree with Lassen in the *Rhenish Museum* ("Indian Sects named by Greek Authors") that the use of the word *Kalanoi*² is the work of some sciolist, who had in his mind the name of Kalanus, who came to Alexander, and so coined the term of the Indian sect. I quite assent to that opinion, and I believe that the true reading should be *Kalamoi*. Were these Calami³ or Calani the holy tribe of the Ikshvâkus of Potala?

In proof that the Ikshvâkus of Potala were considered a holy or righteous tribe, I will only add two passages. In the *Si-yu-ki*⁴ we are told that four of the Śākya youths were banished by their clansmen from Kapilavastu, because they had withstood the marauding force of Virûdhaka; such an act of violence was unworthy of a tribe in which a succession of holy kings had appeared; they ought rather "patiently to

Loca prædicationis Sophronius apud Hieronymum sic recenset, 'Thomas Apostolus, quemadmodum traditum est nobis, Parthis et Medis et Persis et Carminis et Hyrcanis et Bactris et Margis prædicavit Evangelium Domini (Sophronius Cap. 8).' Given by the Rev. J. Hough, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 35 n.

¹ Against Apion, Whiston, p. 640.

² There is however a Sanskrit word *Kalana*, as well as *Kalama*, signifying 'a reed,' or 'cane.' Cf. the word *καλάμος* applied to St. John the Baptist. The query is whether the term *καλάμος*, like *καθάρος* among Christians, was applied to any one of a marked religious character.

³ The Sanskrit *Calama* means both "rice" and "a reed"; the Calamus of Ezekiel (xxvii. 19) is the Hebrew *Koneh*.

⁴ Jul. ii. p. 317.

have endured wrong, than bring disgrace upon their name by acting cruelly and revengefully.”

So again, in the account of the banishment of the four Śākya princes from Pôtala, it is said,¹ “When they had proceeded sixteen miles from Benares, a council was called. The princes said, ‘We have so large a retinue that there is no city in Jambudwipa that could withstand us; but if we were to seize on any kingdom by force, it would be unjust and contrary to the principles of the Okkáka (Ikshvâku) race: nor would it be consistent in us as princes to take that which belongs to another; we will therefore erect for ourselves a city in some unpeopled wild and reign in righteousness.’”

Such principles as these seem to connect the Calani or Calami, named by Aristotle, with the Ikshvâkus of Pôtala.

IX. 正覺 (*Samyak Sambuddhi*).

There are frequent allusions in the *Si-yu-ki*² to the condition of Samyak Sambuddhi, which constitutes the condition of enlightenment peculiar to a Buddha.

The corresponding phrase in Pâli is Sammâsambodhi, which Childers translates “perfect knowledge of the truth.”³ The Chinese symbol 正 also implies perfection.⁴ I do not profess to explain the radical force of *sami-anê*, or *sami-âé*; but there seems to be a similarity, at least a verbal one, between *Sambuddhi* and *συνειδήσις*. Perhaps this deserves some notice.

The *Si-yu-ki* states that Bodhisattva arrived at this condition of “perfect enlightenment” (*samyak sambuddhi*) under the sacred tree at Gayâ, in agreement with the general statement in other Buddhist books.

This condition of intellectual perfection is described thus in the *Buddha-charita*:

“That which behoves the world to learn, but through the

¹ Spence Hardy's *Man. of Bud.* pp. 131, 132.

² *Jul. ii.* pp. 309, 312, etc.

³ Pâli Dict. s.v. Sammâ.

⁴ It denotes the point of culmination also, a star, for instance, coming to the meridian.

world no learner found, I now myself and by myself have learned throughout, 'tis rightly called Sambôdhi." ¹

This is the statement of Buddha "the enlightened," to Upaka the student, who met him on his way to Banârâs. He had refused to argue, but self-reliant he stated his own independent superiority; he had reached himself, and by himself, enlightenment.

I can hardly say whether this is not Stoicism pure and simple. "Chrysippus, like other Stoics," says Dr. Lightfoot, "had no belief in argumentation, but welcomed the highest truths as intuitively apprehended." ²

Buddha also asserted he had reached the highest truth intuitively. "Self-taught in this profoundest doctrine, I have attained to that which man has not attained (intuitive truth)." ³

Again, Dr. Lightfoot observes: "The Stoic being a Pantheist, and having no distinct belief in a personal God, was not a prophet in the ordinary sense, but only as being the exponent of his own inner consciousness, which was his supreme authority." ⁴

Again, "The Stoic was essentially a philosopher of intuition." ⁵

I need not dwell on the points of agreement between the two systems; they may be summed up as embracing (1) a common belief in the supreme good, derived from the practice of virtue, (2) the self-reliance and assertion of conscience, and (3) the reality of intuitional apprehension of truth.

It is singular that this agreement of thought should be supplemented by two striking historical facts. 1st, Zeno was a child of the East, a native of Citium, a Phœnician colony of Cyprus, and called "the Phœnician." Dr. Lightfoot asserts that "Stoicism was in fact the earliest offspring of the union between the religious consciousness of the East and the intellectual culture of the West." ⁶

¹ *Fo-sho*, etc. v. 1206.

² Lightfoot, *Epist. to the Philippians*, Excursus ii. p. 276.

³ *Fo-sho*, p. 169, v. 1205. Compare n. 1, p. 170.

⁴ Lightfoot, *op. cit.* p. 276 n.

⁵ *op. cit.* p. 275.

⁶ *op. cit.* p. 273.

Again, the same writer says: "To Eastern affinities Stoicism was largely indebted for the features which distinguished it from the other schools of Greek philosophy. To this fact may be attributed the intense moral earnestness which was its most honourable characteristic."

Dr. Lightfoot attributes the Eastern affinities to contact with the Jews, or Jewish schools. I should be inclined, in the presence of such marked resemblances of detail, and even of verbal similarities, to believe that Zeno, the Phœnician, was indebted for his inspiration to the further East.

The second historical fact is this, that the Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon of the Edicts of Asoka¹ was the patron, if not disciple, of Zeno. Whilst residing at Athens he attended his lectures and earnestly invited him to his court. Was Antigonus entirely ignorant of the doctrine of Buddha, accepted and patronized by Asoka? At least it is strange that the same man named by Asoka in his edicts should be a follower of Zeno!

On all grounds I think the condition of Sambuddhi or Sambôdhi, is allied to the *συνειδήσις* of the Greek philosopher.

X. 一切義成

I may call attention to the Chinese rendering of the name *Sarvarthasiddha*, the secular appellation of the young prince who afterwards became the Buddha. This name is otherwise given as *Siddhârtha*, and it is rendered into English by Prof. Max Müller,² "he by whom the end is accomplished," and by Prof. Monier Williams as "one by whom all things are effected."³ I cannot say that either of these renderings agrees with the Chinese translation of the word. The translation as given in *Si-yu-ki* is *Yih-tsai-i-shing*,⁴ which is thus rendered by Dr. Eitel, "the realization of all the meanings, sc. which were attributed to the various miracles that happened at the moment when Śâkyamuni was born."⁵ I

¹ Edict xiii. *Corpus inscript. Indic.* p. 86.

² Chips, i. p. 217.

³ Sansk. Dict. s.v. *Sarva*.

⁴ 一切義成.

⁵ Handbook, s.v.

think, however, the key to the meaning of the child's name will be found in the explanation given in the Life of Buddha, which I have translated as "The Romantic History"; it is there stated that he was so called because of his perfect endowments and gifts. So that the Chinese phrase *Yih-tsai-i-shing* may be rendered "omni ratione perfectus"; the symbol *i* corresponds with *ratio*, and it need not be confined to its common signification of "reason" or "meaning"; in this way it denotes "perfection," both as to personal appearance and propitious circumstances. I should therefore simply translate Siddhârtha, by "the perfect" or "the perfectly accomplished," or "perfected with every excellency."

There is a curious illustration of this meaning of the word Siddhârtha in the *Si-yu-ki*. In the account given of a Master of Śâstras called Bhâvavivêka, in the 10th book,¹ it is stated that he was able by the recitation of some magic formula to enter a cave of an Asura, where he is now supposed to be, awaiting the arrival of Maitrêya. In the translation of Wong Pûh's life of Buddha,² there is an account of this proceeding of Bhâvavivêka; we find that he repeated a magic formula called *Kin-kong* (*i.e.* the *Diamond dhâraṇi*), before the door of an Asura cavern, and then knocking at the rock it opened. But there is an expression used before the account of his knocking, which is the difficulty—*chiu pih kae tseu*³ "enchanting a white mustard seed," he knocked at the face of the rock; does this mean he enchanted the seed and then threw it against the rock? or does it mean he repeated his magic sentences (*pirit*) to a mustard seed, *i.e.* perfectly (*ad unguem*)? It may mean, as Julien supposes, that the white mustard seed was enchanted,⁴ and I find, in confirmation of this, that, in the preface to the Liturgy of Kwan Yin, one of the directions for preparing the sacred precinct, or Maṇḍala, is to take some white mustard seeds, and

¹ Jul. iii. p. 115.

² Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc. Vol. XX. Part II. p. 210.

³ 呪白芥子.

⁴ Childers gives a compound *paritta-suttain*, 'charmed thread.'—Pâli Diet. s.v. *parittâ*.

then repeating the dhâraṇi to throw them, looking to the four quarters ;¹ but in either case what is the signification of the "white mustard seed" ?

This seems to be answered by turning to Childers' Pâli Dictionary, where we find the meanings of Siddhattho to be "white mustard: Gautama Buddha's name when a prince." I find this also to be a meaning of the Sanskrit Siddhârtha ; does it then imply "perfection," *i.e.* that when the mustard seed is used, the dhâraṇi are *perfectly* repeated, or is the white mustard seed used as a symbol or emblem of success? Siddhârtha? Anyhow, the virtue of the white mustard seed is so great, that in the case of Bhâva-vivêka, the rock opened and the cave was freely entered.

It is possible that we have here the explanation of "Open Sesame" in the tale of Ali Baba.

But to return to Siddhârtha, the prince. When his renown as "possessed of every perfection" spread to Persia, it may have laid the foundation for the legends about the *perfect* knight Arthur (Siddhârtha), and his round table (chakra?). The story of the holy grail, at least, seems to be connected with the history of the Pâtra,² and there are other particulars in the two legends which seem to be closely connected. Of these I will not speak here.

XI. 衆許摩訶帝經

It appears from the *Si-yu-ki*,³ that the majority of the Buddhists in the neighbourhood of the Sindhu province belonged to the school called Sammatiya ; this was the case at Fa-la-pi (Vallabhî), Mo-la-po (Mâlava), Ânandapura, Surâshtra, Pitâsilâ, Avaṇḍa, and other countries.

In the Life of Buddha according to the Sammatiya school,

¹ Compare Colebrooke, *Essays*, § iv. p. 93.

² With regard to this, I think Col. Yule was the first to point out the similarity of the story of the Pâtra and Holy Grail (Marco Polo, vol. ii. p. 266, 1st edition). In my *Report on the Buddhist Tripitaka* I called attention to the same circumstance, p. 114. I may now add that the Chinese equivalent for Pâtra, *Ying k'i* 'a proper measure dish,' seems to agree with grail (graduale).

³ Jul. iii. pp. 162, 180.

which I apprehend is the same as the *Chung-hu-mo-ho-ti-king*,¹ we have a lengthened account of the kings of Pôtala (the Ikshvâkus), and the descent of Śâkyâ; this we should expect in a work belonging to a school so largely diffused in the region of the Indus, whose chief port was Pôtala.

But there is an adventure recorded concerning the youthful *Siddhârtha* in this book, which I have not found anywhere else. It occurs on the 17th page of the 4th kiouen, where we find him encountering a fiery dragon in the Lumbinî garden. This poisonous beast dwelt in a cave near the river Lu-ho-ka (Ruhaka?), and by his noxious breath afflicted the people who were engaged in the attempt to remove a tree that had fallen across the stream and caused a drought. The young prince was summoned to assist them, and on his way through the garden the fiery dragon came forth from his den and disputed the way. On this the royal prince drew his sword and speedily killed him, whilst the poisonous vapour from his mouth spread around the spot. The dragon, because of his colour, was called Kâlanâya (Kia-lo-na-i) "the black worm."

This adventure with the dragon naturally brings to mind the legend of St. George and the Dragon.

In the first place St. George, according to one version of the legend, destroys a dragon who is guarding a spring of water, whilst the country is languishing for irrigation. "St. George, we are told, restores to the land the use of the spring by slaying the dragon."²

Secondly, the epithet "St. George the victorious" is quite parallel to the accepted title of Buddha (or Bodhisattva in his contest with Mâra) as *Jina*, "the conqueror" or "victorious"; this epithet is applied to all the Buddhas in virtue of their conquest over Mâra.

Thirdly, there is an agreement in the seven years' torture which the Saint underwent at the hands of Dacian, Emperor

¹ Mr. Nanjio (*Catalogue*, no. 859) gives another title to this Sûtra. But, in the first Chapter of the original, *Chung-hu* is made to represent *Sammata*, and I would suggest that *Mo-ho-ti* is *Mahatî* (as in *Mahatî kathâ*), or simply *Mahat Sûtra*.

² *Myths of the Middle Ages*, by S. Baring-Gould, p. 311.

of the Persians, "who was stirred up by the Devil," and the seven years' suffering of Bodhisattva ere he became a Jina by overcoming Mâra; "for seven years Mâra (the devil) pursued the Bodhisattva up to the last vain attack he made upon him under the tree;"¹ here we have "*satta vassâni*," seven years, expressly named, and during all this time he was pursued by Mâra.

But the veneration paid by the Turks to St. George indicates a non-Christian element in the tradition. "The Mussulmans say that El Khouder (Al Khedr) is not dead, but flies round and round the world, and that chapels are built wherever he appears."² This sounds very much like a Buddhist myth;³ it occurs also in the Arthurian legend;⁴ the dish of Buddha, moreover, flies here and there, and shrines were raised to it.

Al Khedr, the companion of Moses (according to the Mussulmans) is alluded to in the Coran (Surat lxxvi. 21), and elsewhere. He is believed to have been Phinehas, whose soul passed into Elias and thence into the "sacred rider" Girgis, or Jergis (St. George), after whom the bay of Beyrout is named, where tradition says he met the dragon.

The term "sacred rider" would very appositely belong to Bodhisattva mounted on his steed Kantaka. By referring to the beautiful central disc found on Plate xlix. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1st edition,⁵ this will be readily allowed. His sacred character as he rode forth is evidenced by the graceful light about his head, whilst round him angels (dêvas) cluster, and support the horse's hoofs. This scene, it is well known, has given name to the history of Buddha called Abhinishkramana, and in the translation of that work from the Chinese,⁶ it has been placed on the cover of the book as the key to the whole story. The scene is found elsewhere, and I believe it forms part of the Lahore collec-

¹ Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 420.

² Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 274.

³ Each Tathâgata has a successor awaiting (in heaven) his time "to come." Tathâgata therefore never dies.

⁴ "Arthur is come again; he cannot die."—Tennyson, *Morte d'Arthur*.

⁵ Also Pl. lix.

⁶ The Romantic Legend of Buddha.

tion.¹ I will give Aśvaghosha's account of this scene:² "The devas then gave spiritual strength; and unperceived the horse, equipped, came round with even pace; a gallant steed, with all his jewelled trappings for a rider. High-maned, with flowing tail, broad-backed, short-haired and eared, with belly like the deer's, head like the king of parrots, wide forehead, rounded claw-shaped nostrils; breath like the dragon's, with breast and shoulders square, true and sufficient marks of his high breed. The royal prince, stroking the horse's neck, and rubbing down his body, said: 'My royal father ever rode on thee, and found thee brave in fight and fearless of the foe; now I desire to rely on thee alike, to carry me far off,'" etc. The account then proceeds: "Having thus exhorted him, he bestrode his horse; grasping the reins, he sallied forth; the man, like the bright sun, the horse like the white floating cloud; . . . four spirits held the horse's feet; . . . thus man and horse went forward strong of heart, now lost to sight like streaming stars, but ere the eastern quarter flushed with light they had advanced three yojanas."

This scene, so famous and widespread, if applied to St. George, would well account for his name, "the sacred rider."

The story of Yambûshâdh related in the book of Nabathæan Agriculture, written by Kuthâmi, the Babylonian, and translated by Ibn Wa'hshiya al Kasdani, who lived apparently at Bagdad about A.D. 900, is curiously parallel with the history of St. George, so much so that Mr. Baring-Gould says that the legends about Tammuz (with whom Yambûshâdh is associated) is but a heathen form of the history of St. George.³ But who then was Yambûshâdh? Kuthâmi says: "I believe in the story of Yambûshâdh, and when they read it and weep, I weep along with them, and the reason is this, that the time of Yambûshâdh is nearer to our own

¹ So "sacred" was the group considered that at one time (by a stretch of fancy) it was confounded with the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem. See Dr. Leitner's Lecture on "Græco-Buddhistic Sculptures" (quoted in *The Hour*, Feb. 27th, 1874).

² S.B.E. xix. p. 56.

³ Baring-Gould, *op. cit.* pp. 283, 284.

than the time of Tammuz, and his story therefore is more certain and worthy of belief.”¹

And then he observes : “The contemporaries of Yambûshâdh assert that all the sekâ'im of the gods and all the images lamented over Yambûshâdh after his death, just as the angels and the sekâ'im lamented over Tammuz.” So that, whoever Yambûshâdh was,² one reason why St. George is associated with him seems to be on account of the weeping of the gods at his death. But this is also a particular connected with Buddha ; was it not rather borrowed from his history and referred to St. George ?

³“The sun and moon withdrew their shining ; the peaceful streams on every side were torrent swollen : the sturdy forests shook like aspen leaves, whilst flowers and leaves untimely fell around, like scattered rain.

“The flying dragons, carried on pitchy clouds, wept down their tears ; the four kings and their associates moved by pity, forgot their works of charity.

“The pure devas came from heaven to earth, etc.”

And so all accounts describe the circumstances of the Nirvâna.

Lastly, it is perhaps worth remarking that the story of St. George and the dragon first appeared in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. It is to this legend we owe the revival of the story of St. Thomas and King Gondoforus, and the death of the Christian martyr at Calamina.

If the account of the Apostle's death was derived from traditions surviving at Potala⁴ (Tatta), or the neighbourhood, we must also remember that it was in this neighbourhood the legendary history of Bodhisattva contained in the work named at the head of this section was widely circulated, and in this work is the account of the battle of the prince and the dragon, and the deliverance of the land from drought.

¹ *op. cit.* p. 280.

² Yambûshâdh was one of the three wise men (Ssâgrit, Yambûshâdh and Qutâmâ), who wrote a work on Nabathæan agriculture, he is supposed to have lived some 7000 years ago. It is an old Chaldæan name.—Dr. Malan (a private communication).

³ *Fo-sho*, etc. S.B.E. xix. p. 308.

⁴ Calamina (?).

XII. 摩王 (*Mâra*).

There is much said in the *Si-yu-ki* about *Mâra*, the Tempter. The question is one of interest, what was the Buddhist conception of this "author of evil"? In any case he was not the lord of the "under world," but rather the prince of the "upper world." There are apparently two representations of him in the Sanchi sculptures: the first in pl. xxx.,¹ where he is represented as placed above the Trâyas-trinshas heaven, in which they are celebrating the festival of the *chudamâni*; supported by his wives (or daughters), he is regarding with dismay the determined purpose of the Bodhisattva to reach the condition of a Buddha. Secondly in pl. xxvi. fig. 1, where he is exhibited, with his five female attendants, as in the former plate, approaching Buddha for the purpose of dissuading him from continuing in the world "a kalpa."

There is no sign in these plates of the idea of a degraded form of being; he was prince of the world of desire, the ruler of the *Kâma-loka*, the personification of lust, of sin and death, the arch-enemy of all goodness, residing with legions of subordinates in the heaven *Parinirmita Viśavartin*,² situated on the top of the *Kâma-loka*; he is also called "the wicked one"³ (*Pisûna*), or "sinful love"; another name for him is "the murderer."⁴

One of his chief attributes is the power of fascination. He fascinated *Ânanda* so that he failed to ask Buddha to remain in the world a *Kalpa*. And he endeavoured to fascinate the Bodhisattva himself with thoughts of worldly power, and sensual love, but failed.

There is a curious passage in the *Si-yu-ki*, in the 7th book, p. 55,⁵ which seems to exhibit his character in this light, and which may perhaps help to explain the origin of the phrase "*night-mare*."

¹ 1st edition.

² Eitel, *Handbook*, s.v. *Mâra*.

³ 波旬.

⁵ Beal's translation.

⁴ 殺者.

“To the east of the ‘deer forest’ 2 or 3 li, we come to a *stūpa* by the side of which is a dry pool about 80 paces in circuit, one name of which is ‘saving life,’¹ another name is ‘ardent master.’ The old traditions explain it thus: Many hundred years ago there was a solitary sage (*a sorrowful or obscure master*) who built by the side of this pool a hut to live in, away from the world. He practised the arts of magic, and by the extremest exercise of his spiritual power he could change broken fragments of bricks into precious stones, and could also metamorphose both men and animals into other shapes, but he was not yet able to ride upon the winds and the clouds, and to follow the R̥ishis in mounting upwards. By inspecting figures and names that had come down from of old, he further sought into the secret arts of the R̥ishis. From these he learned the following: ‘The spirit-R̥ishis are they who possess the art of lengthening life.’² If you wish to acquire this knowledge, first of all you must fix your mind on this—viz. to build up an altar enclosure 10 feet round; then command an “ardent master” (*a hero*), faithful and brave, and with clear intent, to hold in his hand a long sword and take his seat at the corner of the altar, to cover his breath, and remain silent from evening till dawn.³ He who seeks to be a R̥ishi must sit in the middle of the altar, and, grasping a long knife, must repeat the magic formulæ and keep watch (*seeing and hearing*). At morning light, attaining the condition of a R̥ishi, the sharp knife he holds will change into a sword of diamond (*a gem-sword*), and he will mount into the air and march through space, and rule over the band of R̥ishis. Waving the sword he holds, everything he wishes will be accomplished, and he will know neither decay nor old age,

¹ There is no expression for ‘pool,’ as in the French translation.

² The magic art of lengthening life, or of a long life. The ‘elixir of life’ and the art of transmuting metals had been sought after in the East long before the Arabs introduced the study of alchemy into Europe. The philosopher’s stone is the *tan sha* of the Chinese, *i.e.* the red bisulphuret of mercury, or cinnabar. See an article on *Tauism* in the *Trans. of the China Branch of the R.A.S.*, part v. 1855, article iv., by Dr. Edkins, p. 87.

³ We may compare with this the ceremonies observed anciently on conferring the dignity of knighthood, especially the vigil before the altar. (Ingulphus, quoted by Mr. Thoms in his *Book of the Court*, p. 138.)

nor disease nor death.’¹ The man having thus obtained the method (*of becoming a Rishi*), went in search of such an ‘ardent master.’ Diligently he searched for many years, but as yet he found not the object of his desires. At length, in a certain town, he encountered a man piteously wailing as he went along the way. The solitary master seeing his marks (*the marks on his person*),² was rejoiced at heart, and forthwith approaching him, he inquired, ‘Why do you go thus lamenting, and why are you so distressed?’ He said, ‘I was a poor and needy man, and had to labour hard to support myself. A certain master seeing this, and knowing me to be entirely trustworthy, used me (*engaged me for his work*) during five years, promising to pay me well for my pains. On this I patiently wrought in spite of weariness and difficulties. Just as the five years were done, one morning for some little fault I was cruelly whipped and driven away without a farthing. For this cause I am sad at heart and afflicted. Oh, who will pity me?’

“The solitary master ordered him to accompany him, and coming to his cabin (*wood hut*), by his magic power he caused to appear some choice food, and ordered him to enter the pool and wash. Then he clothed him in new garments, and giving him 500 gold pieces, he dismissed him, saying, ‘When this is done, come and ask for more without fear.’³ After this he frequently bestowed on him more gifts, and in secret did him other good, so that his heart was filled with gratitude. Then the ‘ardent master’ was ready to lay down his life in return for all the kindness he had received. Knowing this, the other said to him, ‘I am in need of an enthusiastic person.’⁴ During a succession of years I sought for one, till I was fortunate enough to meet with you,

¹ The account of this magic gem-sword may be compared with the ‘great brand, Excalibur,’ of King Arthur:

‘But ere he dipt the surface, rose an arm
Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,
And caught him by the hilt, and brandished him
Three times.’

—Tennyson.

² *Siang*, the marks indicating his noble character.

³ *Wu-wai* may also mean ‘seek it not elsewhere.’ Julien translates it “do not despise me.”

⁴ ‘A brave champion.’—Julien.

possessed of rare beauty and a becoming presence, different from others.¹ Now, therefore, I pray you, during one night (*to watch*) without speaking a word.'

"The champion said, 'I am ready to die for you, much more to sit with my breath covered.'² Whereupon he constructed an altar and undertook the rules for becoming a Rishi, according to the prescribed form. Sitting down, he awaited the night. At the approach of night each attended to his particular duties. The 'solitary master' recited his magic prayers; the champion held his sharp sword in his hand. About dawn suddenly he uttered a short cry, and at the same time fire descended from heaven, and flames and smoke arose on every side like clouds. The 'solitary master' at once drew the champion into the lake,³ and having saved him from his danger, he said, 'I bound you to silence; why then did you cry out?'

"The champion said, 'After receiving your orders, towards the middle of the night, darkly, as in a dream, the scene changed, and I saw rise before me all my past history. My master⁴ in his own person came to me, and in consolatory words addressed me; overcome with gratitude, I yet restrained myself and spoke not. Then that other man came before me; towering with rage, he slew me, and I received my ghostly body⁵ (*I wandered as a shade or shadowy body*). I beheld myself dead, and I sighed with pain, but yet I vowed through endless ages not to speak, in gratitude to you. Next I saw myself destined to be born in a great

¹ So I translate the passage, but it may be 'your beauty (or figure) corresponds to the ideal portrait I had formed of it.' So Julien translates; but *fi yau ta* would more naturally be rendered 'unlike that of any other.'

² From this it seems that the portion relating to 'holding the breath' is omitted in the previous sentence.

³ That is, to escape the fire.

⁴ That is, 'my lord or master whom I now serve'—the solitary master or Rishi. It cannot be my old master, the one who treated him so cruelly (as Julien construes it), for he comes on the scene in the next sentence. The symbols *sih sse* are not to be taken with *chu*, as though it were 'my old master'; but with *kin*, as I have translated it, 'there arose before me the former events of my life.'

⁵ This ghostly body or shade (*chung yin shan*) corresponds with the εἶδωλον of the Greeks—

Ψυχὴ καὶ εἶδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἐνὶ πάμπαν.—*Iliad*, xxiii. 104.

Brâhman's house in Southern India, and I felt my time come to be conceived and to be brought forth. Though all along enduring anguish, yet from gratitude to you no sound escaped me. After awhile I entered on my studies, took the cap (*of manhood*), and I married; my parents dead, I had a child. Each day I thought of all your kindness, and endured in silence, uttering no word. My household connections and clan relatives all seeing this were filled with shame. For more than sixty years and five I lived. At length my wife addressed me, "You must speak; if not, I slay your son!" And then I thought, "I can beget no other child, for I am old and feeble; this is my only tender son." It was to stop my wife from killing him I raised the cry.'

"The 'solitary master' said, 'All was my fault; 'twas the fascination of the devil.'¹ The champion, moved with gratitude, and sad because the thing had failed, fretted himself and died. Because he escaped the calamity of fire, the lake is called 'Saving the Life,' and because he died overpowered by gratitude, it has its other name, 'The Champion's Lake.'"

P.S. After this paper was written and corrected, I was enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Vaux, to compare my remarks on the Yue-chi with the investigations of M. Specht (*Journ. Asiatique, Série viii. Tome ii. pp. 319 seq.*). I am gratified to find his opinion bears me out, so far as the Ye-tha are concerned. I wish to call attention to the Mæso-Gothic words *maiþa* (greater) and *minniþa* (less), and to suggest that we have here the origin of the names *Massagetæ*, and the Mins, the *ta* Yue-chi (great Yue-chi) and the *siau* Yue-chi (little Yue-chi). I wish also, in reference to the name Al-Khedr, or Khûder, to point out the curious coincidence between this Arabic name for St.

¹ Or Mâra: it is plain that this weird story, taken in connection with the dream, the inability to move or speak, and the actual reference of it all to Mâra, is but an account of "the enthusiastic hero's" suffering from "nightmare."

George, and the Chinese 瞿曇, the common mode of representing the Sanskrit Gôtama, *i.e.* Buddha. The first symbol is phonetically equivalent to *Khu* or *Kiu*, the second, although generally equal to *Tan*, is in numerous cases used for *dhar* (as in *dharma*). So that the sound of the two would be *Kiu dhar*, *i.e.* Khûder, or St. George.

68° 45'

69°

26° 10'

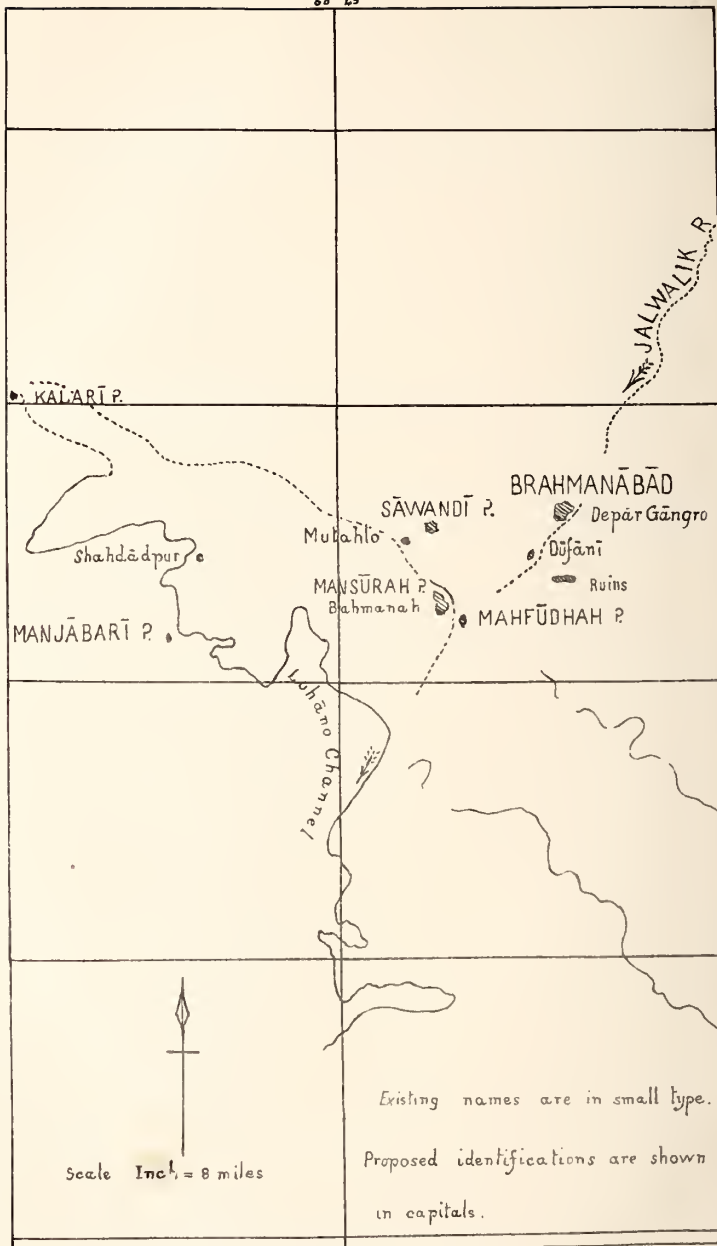
26°

25° 50'

26° 10'

25° 50'

69°



Scale 1 inch = 8 miles

Existing names are in small type.
 Proposed identifications are shown
 in capitals.

ART. XIII.—*On the Sites of Brahmanábád and Mansúrah in Sindh ; with Notices of others of less note in their Vicinity.*

By Major-General M. R. HAIG, M.R.A.S.

NOTWITHSTANDING the labours of the various authorities who have from time to time written upon the ancient topography of the lower Indus Valley, the subject remains in much need of further investigation. Attempts to identify places mentioned by the historians of Alexander's Expedition, by the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, the geographer Ptolemy, the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang, the historians of the Arab conquest, and by later writers, have not usually been attended with the happiest results. Nor, when the difficulties which beset investigation are considered, is it at all surprising that this should be so. It is hard enough to have to contend with the vagueness, inconsistencies and contradictions of old writers; but these are as nothing compared with the obstacles which the physical characteristics of the country itself oppose to the inquirer. For ages the Indus has been pushing its bed across the valley from east to west, generally by the gradual process of erosion, which effectually wipes out every trace of town and village on its banks; but, at times also, by a more or less sudden shifting of its waters into entirely new channels, leaving large tracts of country to go to waste, and forcing the inhabitants of many a populous place to abandon their old homes, and follow the river in search of new settlements. In course of time the forsaken channels are, in some parts wholly, in others partially, filled up by the action of the dust-laden winds that prevail for many months during the hot season, so as to leave but the vaguest traces of a former river-bed; or, perhaps, the retiring stream will leave behind

it vast quantities of drift-sand which is swept by the high winds over the surrounding country, completely burying the sites of the abandoned towns, and transforming the once fertile fields into a blank waste of sand-hills where the explorer may search in vain for any record of the past.

Having had, as an inquirer, experience of the difficulties here described, and knowing the errors which even eminent authorities have not been able to avoid, I am bound, in attempting to throw some additional light on a very interesting portion of the ancient topography of Sindh, to admit that I am very far from feeling any undue confidence in the soundness of my conclusions. The most I can hope for is that the views submitted in this paper may attract the compliment of criticism, and so give rise to further and more satisfactory investigation.

Brahmanábád was probably one of the oldest cities in India; and, whether or not there is sufficient ground for regarding it as "the city of the Brahmans," which played its part in the events of Alexander's Expedition, the *Harmatelia* of Diodorus, as Gen. Cunningham thinks,¹ there can be little doubt that it was then in existence. The fame of great antiquity attached to it at the time of the Arab conquest, and the historian Biládhúrí, writing a thousand years ago, calls it "Brahmanábád-al-a'tíqah," "Brahmanábád the ancient."

The neighbouring fortress of Mansúrah was but short-lived in comparison, but it possesses historical interest from the fact of its having been the Arab capital, and, so far as we know, the first important stronghold built by Muslims in India.

Sir Henry Elliot's identification of Brahmanábád with the modern Haidarábád was unfortunate. There is really nothing to support it, and the evidence against it is overwhelming and conclusive. It was an unlucky circumstance that, several identifications being to some extent dependent on that of Nerún, Sir Henry fell into a mistake regarding this place. No fact is more certain than that the present fort of Haidarábád occupies the site of Nerún, and Sir Henry

¹ Ancient Geography of India, p. 268.

would have had no difficulty in admitting it, but for one obstacle that seemed insurmountable. Nerún was certainly west of the river, and Haidarábád is unquestionably east of it. He was not aware that the Indus had changed its course about the middle of last century, from the east to the west of Haidarábád.¹

By others it has been supposed that the question of the site of Brahmanábád was settled by the labours of the late Mr. Bellasis, of the Bombay Civil Service, who, in 1854 and subsequent years, carried out some excavations in the ruins situated in the Shahdádpur Parganah, which go by the name of Brahmanábád. The result of his operations was to lead Mr. Bellasis to believe that these ruins were indeed the remains of the ancient city. His published accounts of the matter, as well as those of Col. Sykes, are extremely interesting, if not entirely convincing.² Here it will be sufficient to say that a large number of coins found in the ruins were submitted to Mr. Thomas, who, from an examination of them, formed the opinion that the identification of the ruined site with Brahmanábád was questionable.³ This opinion is confirmed by the results of my own study of the question and observation of the locality.

In one of his interesting papers on Sindh, published in the first volume of this Society's Journal, Captain McMurdo, after describing the situation of Brahmanábád, says (p. 232), "Bhamana⁴ was afterwards called Dibal Kángara." I have not been able to discover his authority for this statement, but I conclude it was some local history which I have not been fortunate enough to meet with. If his statement is correct, the site of Brahmanábád is at once ascertained. Not "Dibal Kángara," but "Depál Gángrah" is to be read. Capt. McMurdo found it written *ديبال كانگرد*, and, naturally enough, trans-

¹ See History of India, vol. i. Appendix, *s.v.* Brahmanábád and Nerún.

² Mr. Bellasis, in *Journal Bomb. As. Soc.* vol. v. pp. 413, 467. Col. Sykes in *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 21st, 28th, 1857.

³ See Thomas's *Prinsep*, vol. ii. pp. 119-124.

⁴ Bhamana, Bhámabanah, Bhámbar-wáh, Bhaman-wáh, Bhamanwási are variants of the name of the old city. Bahmanah is the name in vogue among Sindhís.

literated it as above.¹ The place is frequently mentioned in the local histories, and it must have been of some little importance, as it gave its name to the Parganah—or part of the Parganah—which in recent times has been called Shahdád-pur, from a town founded by Mír Shahdád, one of the first chiefs of the Talpur family. Depál Gángrah was probably some petty Rájput chief. Nothing is known of him, but his name survives under the modified form of Depar (دپير) Gángro, and it pertains to a ruinous site of considerable area, and apparently of great antiquity, the crumbling remnants of houses, walls and bastions having been worn down nearly to the level of the surrounding country. Here, then, if Captain McMurdo's authority may be trusted, is the site of Brahmanábád, and if so, then the ruins now bearing that name are almost certainly those of the Arab capital, Mansúrah. For convenience sake I shall so far assume these identifications to be made out as to name each site in accordance with them in the further discussion of the question. The exact positions are

Brahmanábád 25° 56' N. 68° 54' E.

Mansúrah 25° 53' N. 68° 49' E.

Mansúrah is ten miles E. by S. from Shahdád-pur, and Brahmanábád is six miles and a half N.E. from Mansúrah, both measurements being in a direct line. The distance between the two sites is thus in agreement with that stated by Biládhúrí, namely, two farsakhs. General Cunningham considers the O-fan-cha of Hiouen Thsang to be Brahmanábád, and Pi-ta-si-lo to be Nerún. According to the Pilgrim the distance between the two places was 300 li, or 50 miles, O-fan-cha bearing N.E. The Brahmanábád of this article is 49 miles, in a direct line, N.E. from Haidarábád. Abu-l-fida quotes a writer named Muhalabi to the effect that Mansúrah was fifteen farsakhs from Nerún. The Mansúrah of this article is a little under forty-four miles in a direct line from Haidarábád. Idrísí says that Mansúrah was “rather more than three days' journey” from Nerún, but he

¹ He took great pains to collect local histories and acquire correct information, but never was in Sindh, and doubtless never heard of a place which in modern times has sunk into obscurity.

puts the distance from Nerún to Debal at three days, and Ibn Haukal, from personal observation, states that Nerún was nearer to Mansúrah than to Debal. At the present day, by the most direct route, viâ Nasrpur, English officials do the distance in three journeys, averaging sixteen to seventeen miles. Thus, as regards distance between given points, the proposed identifications are quite consistent with the data supplied by old writers. Further evidence may be derived from the Chach Namah, a chronicle which treats of events prior to the founding of Mansúrah.

After relating the capture of the fort of Dhalíl, the last of the strong places taken by the Arab army before reaching Brahmanábád, the historian says: "Some relate that when Dhalíl was captured, Muhammad Kásim called for Núbah, son of Dháran, and, after giving him strict injunctions, entrusted to him the charge of the business of the boats, along the bank of the river, from that point to a place called Dúhátí, and from that place to Brahmanábád there was a space of one farsang."¹

There is no place in the neighbourhood of Brahmanábád called Dúhátí, but there *is* a township named Dúfání, and this I have no doubt is the name intended. A glance at the two names written in Persian shows how easily one might be substituted for the other by a copyist, *دوفانیه* for *دوہاتیہ*, in consequence of the dot of the *ف* in the latter word having been placed too close—perhaps joined—to the *ل*, and an extra dot given to the penultimate letter. The township of Dúfání is two miles and a half S.W. from Brahmanábád, and by writers who never employ a fraction this distance would be called a farsang. Now the Arabs were advancing from south to north, and while it would be intelligible that the commander should assign to one of his officers the duty of watching the communication by river up to Dúfání, if that place were *short* of—that is, south of—Brahmanábád,

¹ I have translated this from the copy belonging to the India Office Library. Sir H. Elliot's copy appears to have been defective at this place, and his translation would make it appear that *Dhalíl* was a farsang from Brahmanábád, while the general tenor of the narrative shows that it was at some distance from that place. See his *Hist.*, vol. i. p. 176.

it would have been a useless and absurd proceeding on his part if Dúfání had been some way *beyond* the great fortress, held, as we are told it was, by a strong garrison. Dúfání is four miles N.W. of the place popularly supposed to be the site of Brahmanábád, but which I believe to be that of Mansúrah.

Another piece of indirect evidence from the Chach Námah. It states that when the Arab army left Brahmanábád, its first march was to a place called Mathal (متهل). We are told that it was advancing towards the capital, Alor, by way of the districts of the Sahtá and Samá, that is, through the modern Parganah of Naushahra, in which the Sahtá have had their home from time immemorial. This lies N.W. from Brahmanábád, but it would doubtless be an object to strike the main stream, then flowing in the Luháno (see sketch-map), as soon as possible, consequently the first two marches would be nearly due westward. Now, a little short of seven miles west by south from Brahmanábád, there is a township called Mutahlo (in Persian written متهله), which is most probably the place referred to. The march would be a short one, but this is just what we should expect in the case of an army breaking ground after a detention of many months at Brahmanábád. On the other hand, if the site I assume to be that of Mansúrah is really that of Brahmanábád, the march would be little more than two miles (Mutahlo is two miles and a quarter N.W. from Mansúrah), and so short a move is highly improbable.

From the account given by the Chach Námah it appears that Brahmanábád was on the west side of a stream called the Jalwáli. It is stated that "Muhannad Kásim marched from Dhalíl, and halted on the bank of the river Jalwáli (نهر جلوالی) on the east of Brahmanábád," whence he sent to summon the town. Most probably this was a stream coming from the branch of the Indus now known as the "Eastern Nárah." Portions of a channel which left the Eastern Nárah about twenty-one miles N.E. from Brahmanábád, and took a south-westerly course, are yet to be seen between Brahmanábád and Mansúrah. These I conjecture to be the remains of the Jalwáli channel.

Here we may inquire what led to the ruin of Brahmanábád? All that we know is that when Biládhúrí wrote his "Futuh-us-Sindh"—perhaps about 870 to 880 A.D.—Brahmanábád was in ruins, for so he says shortly, and without a word as to the cause of such a calamity. The Arabs, it must be remembered, destroyed none of the places which they captured. Each fortress, as it was taken, received an Arab governor and garrison, and became a centre of civil administration of the kind understood by Arabs, that is to say, a place for the reception of the tribute due from the surrounding district. Brahmanábád was thus treated, but the complete submission of the people on their first experience of Arab prowess was of no long duration, and within two years the native prince, Jesíyah (or Jai Sinh), son of Dáhir, had re-occupied the town and expelled the foreigners. This prince soon afterwards became a Muslim, and he appears to have been allowed by the Khalifah to retain some kind of regal authority, but he was eventually killed in an action with the forces of the Arab governor, who evidently could not brook a rival. The prince's brother was a little later treacherously murdered by the same governor, and with him the native dynasty seems to have ended.¹ But the struggle

¹ Biládhúrí calls this prince Sasah (صصه), which is the Arabic transliteration of Chach. He must have been so named after his famous grandfather, the founder of the Brahman dynasty. According to Ibn Khallikan, he was the inventor of Chess (Elliot, Hist. vol. i. p. 409). Sir Henry Elliot had evidently forgotten what Biládhúrí shows to have been the fact, that there was really a "Chach son of Dáhir," as stated by Ibn Khallikan, and he thought that it must have been Chach, the first Brahman prince, who invented the game. On this point I may observe that, whoever invented the game of Chess, prince Dáhir, if we may credit the Chach Námah, certainly played it, and was much too fond of it. In that chronicle we are told that when the Arabs were preparing to cross the Indus to attack him, Dáhir manifested the utmost indifference to the peril of his situation, so that at last a "Samaní" made bold to remonstrate, and roundly charged him with spending his whole time in hunting and Chess when the enemy were almost at the gates. The passage is not among the extracts translated by Sir H. Elliot. It is as follows:

سمنی بنزدیک داهر آمد و گفت ای شاد تراهم روز بصید واجب
مشغول می بینم و در شطرنج و نرد بازی مانند و لشکر عرب رسید
و بردل تو نزول کردند

Among the relics exhumed by Mr. Bellasis from the ruins of the so-called Brahmanábád was a set of ivory chess-men.

for national independence continued, and it would seem that Brahmanábád was never recovered by the Arabs, who, during the reign of the Khalífah Hisham (723-742 A.D.), had to construct, first, the fortress which they named "Al-Mah-fúdhah," and, afterwards, the more celebrated "Mansúrah," as places of refuge in the midst of the rebellious Sindhians. From this time nothing more is heard of Brahmanábád. Its name, linked to that of the neighbouring Arab fortress, long survived the ruins of the ancient city, and even at last extinguished the proud title given by the conquerors to their capital. Bahmanah-Mansúrah in process of time became Bahmanah only, and at this day no native of Sindh has any notion where Mansúrah stood: very few are aware that such a place ever existed.

What had happened between the founding of Mansúrah and the period at which Biládhurí wrote—an interval of about 150 years—to bring about the ruin of Brahmanábád? The stale fiction of wicked prince Dalú Rái and the earthquake has been current for centuries, and has amply satisfied all popular curiosity on the subject. If it were thought worth while to examine a story of such suspicious appearance, it would suffice to observe that an earthquake violent enough to have totally wrecked Brahmanábád must have done as much for Mansúrah. A more prosaic and much more probable cause may be suggested, namely, the failure of the stream on which the city stood. This would do the work of desolation quite as effectually, though less cruelly than it would be done by an earthquake. A similar catastrophe befell Alor, the capital, and there is no reason to seek further for an explanation of the ruin of Brahmanábád. Both calamities, indeed, may have happened simultaneously, in consequence of a sudden change in the course of the Indus above Alor, resulting in the main body of water being forced some distance westward, and the Nárah and Alor channels being left dry.

Let us now turn to Mansúrah. Biládhurí says this city was built by A'mrú, a son of Muhammad Kásim, the conqueror of Sindh. Its site is described as "on this (the west)

side of the *buhairah*” (دون البحيرة). A little before it has been said that Mahfúdhah was built on the “far side of the *buhairah*” (وراء البحيرة). “Buhairah” is properly “a lake,” but there is no appearance of a lake having ever existed in the surrounding country, and it is probable that what was intended was some old river-channel containing standing water, a common enough feature in Sindh landscapes. Now, at Mutahlo (close to Mansúrah) there was, according to the Chach Námah, “a delightful piece of water (آبگیر) called a ‘*dhandh*,’” on the banks of which the Arabs encamped. *Dhandh* is the Sindhí word for such a pool as I have above described, and it seems probable that Biládhurí and the Chach Námah refer to the same piece of water. On the bank of this Mansúrah was built, and at a later period the hollow was no doubt connected with the river (in the Luháno channel) by means of a canal, for the Arab Geographers describe Mansúrah as encircled by a canal (Khalíj) from the Mihrán, so as to make the land in which it stood an island. Of this canal there is now no trace, except at Mansúrah itself, where, on the north side of the ruined fortress, the channel is plainly distinguished. Standing at the north-west angle of the fortifications, one can just see that the channel came from the direction of Mutahlo, though at this point the trace northward gradually fades and disappears.

The old fortress itself is in a better state of preservation than would be expected, considering that its abandonment dates back several hundreds of years. The curtain and bastions are clearly traceable in their entire extent, rising to a height of thirty to forty feet above the level of the surrounding country. There appears to have been an inner citadel, and the whole interior area is a mass of brick heaps, the remains of dwellings which must have held a large population. To the south-east of the fortress, at the distance of about a mile, are the remains of a smaller stronghold, which may have been the Al-Mahfúdhah which was the predecessor of Mansúrah. The country to the north and east of these sites, for a distance of a mile and a half, is

covered with the ruins of small forts and dwellings.¹ Here no doubt, in those unquiet times, many thousands of traders and peasantry gathered for safety, under the shadow of the great fortress. Of the later history of Mansúrah little is known, and of the cause of its abandonment nothing. It appears to have been at the height of its prosperity in the tenth century, when it was visited by Másúdi, Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal. From the commencement of Arab dominion in Sindh, that country, separated by so many leagues of sea, and such vast deserts, from the central power of Islám, became a convenient refuge for the rebellious and the unorthodox subjects of the Khalífah. In the early part of the eleventh century, when Mahmúd passed through Sindh on his return from the Somnáth expedition, a Karmatí was ruler in Mansúrah, and was deposed by the strictly orthodox Ghaznavide. This is among the latest authentic particulars we have of the Arab capital. If Mír M'asúm, the historian of Sindh, is correct in his statement that the rule of the Súmrah chiefs in lower Sindh dates from the reign of Mahmúd's son 'Abd-ur-Rashíd (1049-1051 A.D.), Mansúrah can, by this time, have no longer had a title to be regarded as the capital. The events, indeed, of the reigns of Mahmúd and his successors caused the political current which had hitherto flowed from 'Irák to set in strongly from the north, and Bhakar, which the restless river had now encircled with its waters, and made a position of great natural strength, supplanted the Arab fortress. By 1203 A.D., when Násir-ud-dín Kubáchah took possession of Sindh, Mansúrah had become a place of secondary importance, and was perhaps merely the principal town of a small surrounding district. Its final abandonment I should conjecture to have been occasioned by the drying-up of the Luháno channel, the date of which event is unknown. The failure of this channel would render it quite impossible for a large population to occupy any longer the position of Mansúrah and its

¹ It is possible that Al-Mahfúdhah occupied a position opposite the northern face of Mansúrah. It seems to have been a mere temporary place of refuge, and was doubtless small and poorly fortified.

environs. At the present day, though this part of the country is well fertilized by inundation-canals, the supply of water is very scanty during half the year, and, as a consequence, the tract is but thinly populated. It is popularly believed that the fortress was destroyed by an earthquake, and, indeed, Mr. Bellasis, during his excavations, found evidence of such a catastrophe. It is not unlikely that portions of the town may have been destroyed in this way. The fortifications cannot have suffered materially, their present condition appearing to be rather the result of the wear and tear of time than the consequence of a convulsion of nature. An earthquake may indeed have caused the shifting of the Indus from the Luháno to a new channel. A similar occurrence took place in 1819, when the earthquake, the central force of which was experienced with such terrible results in Kach, occasioned the abandonment of the branch of the Indus running by Sháhbandar. The injury caused by earthquake is in time repaired, but the deprivation of water is irremediable, and in such a case a population has no choice between perishing and migrating. I think, then, that the drying up of the Luháno channel was the effectual cause of the ruin of Mansúr.

The mention of earthquake recalls the legend of Dalú Rai. The name of this semi-mythical prince cleaves to nearly every ruined site in Sindh, and a "mound of Dalú Rái" is met at every turn in the neighbourhood of Brahmanábád and Mansúrah. It is said that after his sins had brought about the ruin of Alor, he transferred his residence and his vices to Brahmanábád, and eventually caused the destruction of his second capital. The earthquake, as we know, is a terribly stale ingredient in the legends of ruined towns, though here there may be a slight foundation of fact for that part of the story. But the character of Dalú Rái seems to me susceptible of rehabilitation. That such a prince lived, and acquired wide-spread fame, good or bad, cannot be doubted. It is a misfortune that he is unknown to authentic history. Some conjecture that he lived in the early days of Arab rule; others would put him so late as the time of 'Ala-

ud-dín Khaljí of Delhi (end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century). What is certain is that the common stories about him are of Muslim origin, and I am disposed to infer that Dalú Rái headed some of the popular risings against the Muslim rulers, and to conjecture that in the obloquy which has been heaped on his name, we may perhaps have a measure of the prince's patriotism and success. Such a treatment of history would be quite in accordance with the methods of Muslim chroniclers, with whom the credit of Islám is the first consideration, and the interests of truth of secondary importance, and it is allowable, I think, to interpret the legend of Dalú Rai in the light afforded by our knowledge of these tendencies.

Leaving the twilight of legend and conjecture, I may pass on to the mention of another identification of some interest, which I think offers fair ground for acceptance. I refer to the site of Sáwandí. This place is mentioned in the legends of the "Mujmal-al-tawárikh," as having been built by the King of Kashmír during an expedition to Sindh. The legend is full of absurdities, but we may perhaps safely infer from it the antiquity of Sáwandí. It is twice mentioned in the Chach Námah. On the first occasion it is stated that after the capture of Brahmanábád (about the middle of the seventh century), Chach paid a visit to a Buddhist devotee of great reputation, who lived a little way from that town. The devotee, after declining the prince's offer of high dignity in the State, went on to observe: "As your mind is inclined to charitable deeds and the promotion of beneficent works, there is the temple and monastery of Sáwandasí—an ancient place of worship—in which for some time a breach has appeared due to the wear of time. It ought to be repaired," etc. We may suppose that the buildings in which the devotee was interested were somewhere in the neighbourhood of his residence, and therefore not far from Brahmanábád. Now the Mathal which I have identified with Mutahlo is described as being "in the environs of Sáwandí," and near Mutahlo (about a mile east of it), there is a mound, perhaps a square mile in area, evidently the site of some long ruined

town. This I take to be the site of Sávandí, and I would suggest that Sávandí may be the *O-fan-cha* of Hiouen Thsang, which Stanislas Julien renders by *Avanḍa*. As the pilgrim cared for nothing but what was Buddhist, he would be more likely to visit a town containing at least one ancient temple and monastery, than one abounding with Brahman abominations.¹ The distance from Pi-ta-shi-lo—if that represents Nerún—suits quite well. In a direct line it is forty-five miles, but, as the pilgrim travelled, it would be over fifty miles. At the conquest Sávandí received an Arab Governor. Nothing more is said of it.

In the accompanying sketch-map, the line which I conjecture the Mansúrah canal (Khalíj) to have taken is shown to leave the Luháno channel about twenty miles N.W. from Mansuráh. At this point there is a township called Kalro, which extends for a few miles east and west of the Luháno. Idrísí says that at one day's distance from Mansúrah, at a place called Kálarí, the river sent off a branch to Mansúrah. This place may have been in the township above mentioned, but the names given by the old geographers are evidently terribly corrupted, and identifications based on them can hardly be satisfactory.

One other place in this neighbourhood I mention for the purpose of pointing out a mistake made by others regarding it. This is Manjábarí. I am not able to identify this place with any existing site; but we have two indications from the Arab geographers which will guide us to its situation approximately. Ibn Haukal says it was west of the Mihrán, and opposite to Mansúr, at the point where travellers to the latter city from Debal crossed the river (Elliot, vol. i. p. 37). Idrísí says the distance from Sharúsán (Sehwan) to Manhábarí (Manjábarí) was three days' journey (ibid. pp. 79, 80). A point opposite to Mansúrah is about sixty to sixty-four miles from Sehwan, so there can be no doubt that the site may be fixed within a short distance of accuracy. But Idrísí goes on to say that Manhábarí is

¹ General Cunningham, it will be remembered, considers *O-fan-cha* to be Brahmanábád.

only two days from Debal, whereas, by his own statement of the distance from Sehwan to Manhábari, the latter could not have been less than five or six days from Debal. The fact is, as will be seen by comparing the account of the different geographers, there were two places of this name, or, at least, nearly similar in name, and the geographers got confused about them. There was the town above described, and another (sometimes called Manhátar), two days *west* of Debal, on the road to Makrán. Idrísí himself says: "In going from Debal to Firabuz (in Makrán) the road passes by Manhábari." This settles the question, but General Cunningham, misled by the confusion of the geographers, has identified Manhábari with Thatha, and he considers, too, that it was probably the Indo-Scythian capital Minnagar. If he were again examining the question, he would doubtless admit that this identification cannot stand.

I have only further to point out that in the sketch-map there will be noticed the traces of a channel taking a south-easterly course, that apparently came from Mansúrah. I have not myself seen this remnant of an old branch of the river, but it is shown in the Survey-maps. Al-Birúní says that at Mansúrah the Indus divided into two branches, one of which went east (south-east) to the borders of Kach. This is not consistent with the accounts of the older geographers, but there is no doubt that the latter gave a very imperfect description of the river, as they make no mention of a great eastern branch, which, nevertheless, we know existed. Indeed, several ancient channels taking this direction are still traceable from middle and lower Sindh to the Ran of Kach, and a portion of one of these is shown in the map a few miles south of the old channel to which I have been referring, and which I think may have been an affluent of the eastern branch described by Al-Birúní.

ART. XIV.—*Antar and the Slave Daji. A Bedoueen Legend.*

By ST. CLAIR BADDELEY, M.R.A.S.

SHAS, eldest-born of Zuhayr King of Abs,
 Had eight-score slaves to tend his camel-herds.
 Many were valour-trying and loyal men :
 But, for sheer iron sinew, past them all,
 Daji, their prince's favourite,—even as a snake
 By coil on coil is throned the jungle's lord,—
 So mastered them by force or venomous words,
 (By which he fawned on his oft-angered Liege
 For fresh rewards), that none of those eight-score
 Ventured his frown :—a slave being tyrant worse,
 Above his abject fellows once upraised,
 Than throne-born despot : wherefore, too, a man,
 Of those two rules, the royaller tyranny
 Doth easier brave !

Now fell it on a day
 That all the most forlorn of both the tribes
 Coming together,—orphans, aged, and poor,
 Urged a scant drove to water at the pool :
 And lingering, gossipped at the water-side
 The while their camels drank.

Then, like such shade
 As ends the noontide singing in a grove,
 Bidding each bird sit closer on its nest,
 This Daji came to drive their beasts aloof
 Lording the troubled puddles with a curse,
 Even for his Prince's cattle. But thereat
 A grisled hag, tottering, all-bent, drew nigh,
 Then suppliantly made timid-voiced request :—

“ Good master Daji, let my wretches drink !
 These few mean things are my whole maintenance :
 Pity their leanness : Aye, look you what necks !
 Some scarce will live the night ! ”

Straight fury-like,
 He screamed lewd words, abused her,—wished her dead ;
 Till she like some old wing-clipt owl crept off,
 Shedding some silent wrath in tears. Anon,
 Yet feebler than herself, like blasted corn
 Blackened by storms or blight, a sickly crone
 Leaned up before him, saying :—“ O master, see
 I am as Time’s worst target ; look at me :
 I have had husbands, children, pleasant days,
 Till all like summer’s leaves were stripped from me ;
 So, saving those poor fleeces, life is bare.
 Ah, let not tears like these be turned to frost,
 Let the sheep drink ! O master, let them drink :
 For on their milk I live.”

Then he, seeing men
 Staring agape, to mark what he would do,
 Whirling enraged upon her where she stood,
 Struck her, throwing her down upon her back,
 Revealing her : and all those fawners laughed ;
 While he, well-pleased, outlaughed them : as some gust
 Of evil-working wind that dulls the sound
 Of merrier raindrops !—Antar urging by,
 Swift as the levin, with one roar of rage
 Rushed on the coward, under-gripped his thigh,
 His iron right hand eating at his throat,—
 Then lifting him as he had been a babe,
 Dashed him down hard on the unyielding clay,
 Massing his length and bulk ; straight called aloud,—
 (Gazing once more at him,—to seal the deed),—
 “ Dregs of the land ! base carrion ! vermin, all,
 Shameless as yonder wretch, whose worthless flesh
 May jackals ravin,—Allah warp your bones !
 Have Abs and Adnan friended with sick Fear
 And ta’en the infection fiercelier for their health,

Since marking age beset by dastard hands
 None bares a blade?—none quivers at his heart,
 Viewing this cowardice?" But all they, there,
 Seeing the tyrant dead, yet fearing sore
 Prince Shas for very wrath would wipe them out,
 Shouted upon him: "Antar, none can save thee!
 See: thou hast slain our Prince's favourite slave,—
 Higher in grace with him than any here:—
 The very wind-vane of our master's moods,
 Whereby each one of us foreknew the day.
 Exalted Daji stiffens in the dust.
 Death to his murderer! Come; who, Antar, slays,
 Will surely earn reward!"

So some with stones,
 Others with staves, and other some with goads,
 Aimed at him standing, lionwise, at bay,
 Pressing toward him in great number, fierce,
 Till he,—as when a ship first weds the sea,
 The last with-holding stock being knocked away,
 Rushes with joy amid the merry waves,—
 Sprang to their midst, cleaving this way and that,
 Fleaming their clumsy shoulders:—all the air
 Athunder with vile oaths of pain and groans,
 As he forth-went! Yet, creeping up anew,
 Noting him single, like base craven wolves
 A rallied herd gave mouth, and urged at him,
 Till many a gashing hurt bedyed his front;
 While down his cheek a crimson freshet flowed
 Like a red vein dividing some smooth marl,
 Dabbling his thirsty lips. Yet heeding not,—
 Nay, rather glorying at the sight of Death,—
 (Even as a storm that lightens till its end)—
 Knowing heroic cause, he strook around,
 Misted in drifting dust; till nearing them
 Prince Hatem, wondering at the moil, scarce seen,
 Cried at his brother's slaves: bidding them, "Hold!
 Now, by the Shrine, what do ye? Tell me that!
 I heard right-quaintly cries; then one loud roar

As of some chieftain rushing on his foes ;
 And here I do behold ye carrion-curs
 Baiting a single warrior, worth ye all !—
 Accursed ones ! what mean ye, not to fear
 The womens' bitter taunt and raged contempt ?—
 Venting your braggart sinews on one man ?—
 Away, ye mongrels, lest we leave your limbs
 Mounded along this plain before to-night,
 Destroying ye !”

Then summoning Antar there,
 Bade him shew forth the case, and how it fell
 That he became the targe for all their blows !—
 So Antar told him how he slew that slave,
 Daji, the favourite one,—withal the cause :—
 Seeing a woman and one full of years,
 Albeit poor, affronted ; then thrown down,
 Turned to a railing-stock for imping fools,—
 And said : “I dashed him senseless and he died !
 But I defend my bones from such as these
 Unworthy kites that hope to drink my blood :
 For all they praised the deed, in cringing fear
 Laughing when he laughed ; and now he is dead,
 They look for recompense by killing me !
 I tell thee, gentle Prince, that Persia's Lord,
 Even at these hands, should lose him for such deed !”—
 Then Hatem looking on him, like the sun
 That beams all-smilingly thro' threatening clouds,
 Knew him a hero.—Antar then bent down
 To kiss the golden stirrup ; then the Prince,
 “I will protect thee now from all neath Heaven !”—

Antar and Hatem wandered toward the tents
 Unharm'd ; withal, their hearts in morning-rise
 Of friendship unentreated, then came Shas
 Scowling enraged, shaking a dazzling brand
 Which flourished o'er the crimson-falling sun
 That lay along the desert,—tall, astride
 An Asian courser housed in wroughten gold

And swiftness fled than the star that falls,
 So marking Antar, would have slain him there,
 An Hatem had not wheeled his charger round
 Perilling his life to stay the mad assault,
 Begging his desperate brother for what cause
 Such gust of anger swept him on a day
 That held the honour of their sire, the King,
 And eased with quiet rest the sorriest jade
 In the whole camp.

To him in turn then, Shas,
 Uttering windy words,—“ Away with him,
 Accurséd slave ! Nay, scant me not in wrath ;
 For no appeal avails thee,—but his blood !
 Yea, my whole heart is hungry for his death
 Who slew my favourite Daji—even but now !—
 Well-nigh must I have seen him in the act ?—
 You, ask ? , I come to take his life :—my due !
 Think not to save him, brother ! ”—

But the Prince,
 Veering his charger, turned with his, and said :—
 “ His life and mine are threaded like two beads,
 Equal, upon a string : cut that : fall both !
 Liefer my Life be forfeit than my Friend !
 Touch him who dares : his Providence—my Sword !
 Yet this fair light that glows on it—our Peace !
 (For the wan moon just looked along the steel.)—
 Better it took no life : least *thine* of all ! ”—
 But Shas unrecking, rushed in cureless rage
 Toward his brother, till both swords flew bare
 Toying for Death ; when Zuhayr, Sire and King
 Scenting the air of conflict as he passed,
 Matched both of them for womanish quarrellers
 Making them both abashed,—one, sore ashamed,—
 Seeing 'twas no true battle !—Then the King,
 Hearing the case from Hatem :—“ Antar's life
 To me, as to thy brother, is worth half
 Of the best tribe we rule : so, mark us well ;—
 This night, for quittance, twenty slaves are yours

For this slain One !” But Shas rode wild away !—
Then gravely at Antar gazed the parleying King :—
“ And You,—how fell it that you shamed my Son ?—
Why did you slay his lackey ?”—Bending then,
In knightliest meekness, like a sapling-tree
Under a summer-wind, yet nathëless
Fired with his purpose, Antar told the King,
Showing him all, till Zuhayr cried, “ Enough ! ”
Then turning to his escort, spoke him fair,
Esteeming Him the champion of the weak,
Beloved of God and man :—“ Aye, good Shedad,
Beside your son, in this wide land the best
Are as mere spindrift on his flood of fame.
Fear not for him ! He but adds praise to thee !
His glory, e’en Time’s finger shall not raise ;
But it shall bloom as Chivalry’s full rose !
His name shall be the challenge of the Waste.”
Thus spake the King. But Antar stole aside,
Tender as maiden whom a flower too sweet
Seems to affront with over-fragrancy !
So from the air of Envy he went home.
Zuhayr and Hatem from that self-same day
Counted their golden calendar of love,—
Even from that deed ! While—as he passed the tents,
Women and girls, both old and young, came out
Swelling a merry descant in his praise :
But through it all one only voice was sweet,
Only one cared-for,—his delight,—his Hope !—
And that was Ablä’s voice,—the voice of Love !

ART. XV.—*Observations upon the Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia.* By THEO. G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

IN the following pages I propose to go a little into a subject of great interest, whether we look at it from an antiquarian, or from a scientific point of view—namely, the question of the ancient non-Semitic languages of Mesopotamia and the people by whom they were spoken. To this subject I have given a great deal of attention, and have, by examination of the documents left to us by the Assyrians and Babylonians, their successors, found out many interesting and important facts, which will, I hope, not only prove to be of interest, but also of value to those who make comparative philology their study.

We have not, it is true, any direct evidence as to the primitive home of these ancient nations, but there are documents which allow us to infer a great deal, and with probable certainty. The most important of these documents is, perhaps, that referring to the cardinal points, which, while showing how these differ from the cardinal points of our own time, give us also an idea of the direction of the migration of this people.

The passages referring to this are as follows :

Šáru šútu mât Élamti, šáru íltanu mât Akkadi, šáru šadú mât Su-edin u mât Gutí, šáru Aħarru mât Martu.

Ínni Sin mât Akkadi, šumēli Sin mât Élamti, éli Sin mât Martu, árki Sin mât Su-edin u mât Gutí.

‘The south is Elam, the north is Akkad, the east is Su-edin and Gutí, the west is Martu.

‘The right of the moon is Akkad, the left of the moon is Elam, the front of the moon is Martu, the back of the moon is Su-edin and Gutí.’

From this it is clear that all the cardinal points were (at least in early times) exactly between what they are now, the north being shifted westwards, the south eastwards, etc. But besides this, the paragraph referring to the moon speaks of the right hand as the north, the left as the south, the front as the west, and the back as the east, the names of the countries given for these corresponding with the indications given for the cardinal points. The west, or, rather, the south-west, is called the front, and the migrations of the people must therefore have been from north-east to south-west. This corresponds therefore to what we find in Gen. xi. 2, where, speaking of the Tower of Babel, it is said that as they travelled from the east, they came to a plain, and there raised the Tower, afterwards so celebrated.

Now, as I have shown elsewhere, the Cuneiform style of writing was in use in early times in Cappadocia, and the country around seems to have borne the name of Cush. This I supposed (whether rightly or wrongly time will, perhaps, show) to have been the home of the Akkadian race, who, breaking off from the main body, travelled towards the east, and became the Kassites or Cossaeans of the later writers. These people, after settling there for some time, afterwards sent out colonies which settled in Southern Babylonia, to get to which country they would have to travel in a south-easterly (with them in an easterly) direction. Here they remained, and their language underwent considerable changes, and ultimately developed into the two dialects designated by many Assyriologists by the names Sumerian and Akkadian. Many of the Kassite nouns end in *aš*, and it is an interesting fact that part of Babylonia bears a name having this termination—namely Karduniaš, where *-iaš* is the Kassite word for ‘country.’ I cannot believe, in the face of these facts, that Prof. Fried. Delitzsch is right in regarding Kassite as a language totally unconnected with Sumerian and Akkadian; on the contrary, it seems to be the fact that they are closely allied, Sumerian being the direct descendant of Kassite or Cossaeans.

Besides these three tongues—Sumerian, Akkadian, and

Kassite—traces are found of other languages, distinguished by the names Su, Suġ, Mar, and Nim—Mar being probably Phœnician, and Nim Elamite. Su and Suġ were probably spoken in the north-east. There was also another tongue called Lulubite. The following are the words for ‘god,’ ‘goddess,’ ‘Rimmon,’ and ‘the Sun-god’ in these tongues :

| | GOD. | GODDESS. |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Sum. | <i>Dimmir.</i> | Akk. seems to have been <i>Dardu</i> , |
| Akk. | <i>Dingir</i> or <i>Digir.</i> | <i>Kanuku</i> , <i>Iltu</i> , and <i>Ištaru</i> |
| | <i>Kadmu.</i> | (same word as <i>Istar</i>). |
| | <i>Ġilibu.</i> | |
| Su | <i>Ene</i> (connected with the Akk. <i>Eni</i> ‘lord’). | |
| Nim or Elamite } | <i>Nab.</i> | <i>Kirir</i> and <i>Usan.</i> |
| Mar | <i>Malahu.</i> | <i>Aštaru</i> (clearly the same as <i>Ištaru</i>). |
| Lulubite | <i>Kiuru.</i> | |
| Kassite | <i>Mašju</i> or <i>Bašju</i> | |

THE GOD RIMMON.

THE SUN-GOD.

| | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Sum. | <i>Mur.</i> | |
| Akk. | <i>Mer.</i> | <i>Bara</i> , <i>Utu</i> , etc. |
| Su | <i>Těš-sub.</i> | |
| Nim or Elamite } | <i>Kun-zibami.</i> | |
| Mar | <i>Addu</i> and <i>Dadu.</i> | |
| Kassite | <i>Buriahš.</i> | <i>Saj</i> , <i>Suriahš.</i> |
| Suġ | <i>Adgi.</i> | |

Of comparisons between the Kassite and the dialect of Akkadian (called Sumerian), between which Prof. Fried. Delitzsch strongly denies that there is any connection, may be quoted the words *eme*, meaning in both Sumerian and Kassite ‘to go forth’; the Sum. *mulu* and the Kassite *mali*

'man'; the Sum. *Gula* and the Kassite *Ġali* or *Ġala* 'the goddess Gula,' also the adjective 'great'; the Sum. *mer* and the Kassite *jamer* 'foot'; the Kassite *meriaš* 'earth,' evidently composed of *mer* 'foot' (as in Sum.) and *iaš* 'ground' (compare the German *Fussboden*), with some others. Of course it is only natural that the words for the deity in each language should differ greatly, as each nationality would regard its own patron deity as the great God, and this would become the word for the supreme deity in the tongue.

So much, at present, for the other tongues. Enough has been said to show what a deeply interesting field of research would be open to us if we had more documents to aid us in our researches, and what deeply interesting philological and ethnographical questions would be solved. Perhaps, on the resumption of excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, more documents may be found, but until then we must, I suppose, be content with such facts as have been preserved to us hitherto.

It is not my intention to discuss here the question which has been raised during the last few years, as to the name by which the two chief languages ought to be called, and I have therefore thought best to head my observations as above, rather than seem to incline to any particular view. Of course one thing is pretty certain, and that is, that the northern part of Babylonia was called Akkad, and the southern part Sumer. Whether, however, Sumerian or Akkadian was the standard language, or whether we are to understand a time-distinction rather than a place-distinction, I am unable to say with certainty. It may have been one or the other, or it may (and this is, perhaps, the most likely) have been both. At some future time, and in the light of the new texts which, it is to be hoped, future excavations in the East, on the sites of the ancient cities of Babylonia and Assyria, will bring forth to us, I hope to be able to discuss this interesting question.

The early languages or dialects of the early Babylonians were at least two, the time at which they were respectively spoken, and the place where, being, as above remarked,

unknown. With regard to the tongues themselves, this much may be said, that whilst we can, to a certain extent, understand and explain the texts in which they are used, and even make compositions in these tongues,¹ yet no one would, I think, be bold enough to translate one of those texts without an Assyrian (or Babylonian) translation—indeed the difficulty is so great, that many students are frightened by the magnitude of the task which they would have to set themselves if they studied them, whilst others (but these are in the minority indeed), not wishing to give themselves the trouble of explaining all the difficulties, boldly maintain that they are cryptographies—puzzles which the ancient Babylonians, having nothing better to do, set themselves to while away the time, and wrote long explanatory lists with distorted and unrecognizable forms of Semitic Babylonian words with dialectic variants, sound-laws, and a grammar, quite different from those of their mother-tongue.

The principal difficulties of the language are the large number of meanings which every sign or group of signs could have, and the large number of verbal prefixes (or suffixes). To this also may be added the large number of homophones, which, whilst giving difficulties to the modern student only in a limited degree (he having the characters to guide him), must often have made the spoken language difficult to understand, unless guided by some special intonation in the speaker's voice, or some faint echo of the lost consonant, which would have made the word distinguishable; for these early Mesopotamian tongues were largely affected by phonetic decay, hence the large number of homophones.

The language, as presented to us in the syllabaries, bilingual-lists, etc., consists, for the greater part, of words of one syllable, expressed by a character formed of wedges in various positions, each character having as a rule more than one meaning. These various meanings do certainly, as a rule, coincide to a great extent, but they also often widely differ. The following extracts from the syllabaries and bilingual tablets will make this clear :

¹ See the "Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung," Heft 1, Jan. 1884.

A VARIOUSLY-SOUNDED CHARACTER, HAVING MEANINGS MORE OR LESS CONNECTED.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|----|----|------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>kú</i> | 𐎶 | <i>nadú</i> | 'to set.' |
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>tú</i> | 𐎶 | <i>ṣubātu</i> | 'clothing.' |
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>zú</i> | 𐎶 | <i>kému</i> | 'cloth.' |
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>uš</i> | 𐎶 | <i>ṭemu</i> | 'command.' |
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>še</i> | 𐎶 | <i>ana</i> | 'to;' |
| | | | | | | 𐎶 | <i>ina</i> | 'in.' |
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>gun</i> | 𐎶 | <i>našúša'eni</i> | 'to raise, of the eyes.' |
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>dur</i> | 𐎶 | <i>ášābu</i> | 'to sit, to dwell.' |
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>gi</i> | 𐎶 | <i>rubú</i> | 'prince.' |











A VARIOUSLY-SOUNDED CHARACTER, HAVING UNCONNECTED MEANINGS.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|---|----|------------|----|-------------|------------|
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>kuš</i> | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>nāhu</i> | 'to rest.' |
| 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>sur</i> | 𐎶𐎶 | <i>ézzu</i> | 'strong.' |

In the first of the examples here given all the meanings agree more or less. From the chief meaning 'to set' or 'place,' comes the idea of 'clothing,' that is, that which is put on, and from this also comes the word for cloth. A 'command,' also, is a thing which may be imposed on a person, and the meanings 'to' and 'in' also come from the idea of setting or placing. The expression 'to raise, of the eyes,' would, perhaps, be better rendered by 'to direct, of the eyes,' and would correspond to the English expression 'to set eyes upon.' The meaning of 'prince' probably comes, in Akkadian, from the idea of a person set up over the people, the word *gi* being probably from *gin* 'to set,' 'to be or make firm.' The meaning of 'to sit' or 'dwell' (*dur*)¹ may also be connected.





Now in the majority of the cases here explained, the character 𐎶, here given in its late Assyrian form, appears in early Babylonian texts as 𐎶 and 𐎶, the former when used for the word 'to,' the latter in the signification of

¹ Or *tur*.











'prince,' whilst yet a third form, , expresses the meaning of 'to sit.' Are we to regard these as being all variant forms of the same character, or as different characters afterwards assimilated, in consequence of their likeness to each other? The former may, indeed, be the case, but I am inclined to regard the latter as the more likely, partly from the natural tendency of such forms to become confused, and partly from the fact, that , meaning 'to,' coincides in form with the character which, in later Assyrian, is written as , just as, in the latest Babylonian,  has to do duty for the characters written , , and  in the earlier style, and , , and  in Assyrian. Thus are we to explain what may be called the "unconnected polyphony" of the greater part of the wedge-formed characters of the Assyrians and Babylonians.

As has been already remarked, Akkadian and Sumerian were greatly affected by phonetic decay, the result being that an enormous number of homophones were developed out of roots originally quite distinct. As, however, in those grammatical forms where a vowel-ending is required, the lost consonant is restored, it was probably so in all cases, even where that consonant is not written.¹ As an example of that extensive polyphony, I give a list of words indicated, by the Assyrians and Babylonians, as having the same pronunciation :

LIST OF HOMOPHONES OF THE SYLLABLE *Gé*, WITH THE ORIGINAL FORM OF THE WORD WHERE KNOWN.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>gé</i>  | <i>ēššu</i> 'new.' |
| <i>gé</i>  | <i>kanû</i> 'reed' (full form <i>gēn</i> , for <i>gan</i>). |
| <i>gé</i>  | <i>kitu ša kanî</i> 'root(?) of a reed' (full form <i>get</i>). |
| <i>gé</i>  | <i>miḫiltu</i> 'battle.' |

¹ An exception must be made, however, for the roots ending with the letter *l*, which seems to have been always either left out, or softened, as in French.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>gê</i>  | <i>magāru</i> 'to obey' (full form <i>gen</i>). |
| <i>gê</i>  | <i>mūšu</i> 'night' (full form <i>gig</i>). |
| <i>gê</i>  | <i>murṣu</i> 'sick' (full form <i>gig</i>). |
| <i>gê</i>  | <i>kima</i> 'like' (full form <i>geme</i> or <i>ḳeme</i>). |
| <i>gê</i>  | in  <i>gê-nun</i> , <i>kinunu</i> 'fire.' |
| <i>gê</i>  | in  <i>za-gê</i> , <i>éllu</i> 'bright' (full form <i>gin</i>). |
| <i>gê</i>  | <i>šiklu</i> 'a shekel' (full form <i>gin</i>). |
| <i>gê</i>  | <i>išten</i> 'one' (full form <i>giš</i> ¹). |

Of course, in most cases, the position of the word in the sentence gave the sense plainly enough, and also in the compound words there could be no mistake as to the meaning. The words, also, having *g* or *n* as end-sound of the full form, probably retained an echo of these consonants, *g* being pronounced as in the German ending *-ig*, and *n* as a nasal.

Now we have seen, from the examples quoted above, that the method of writing used by the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia was by means of characters formed of wedges in various positions; that many of these characters got confused by carelessness of writing, thus, to a great extent, creating the polyphony which exists to so great a degree. We have seen, also, that at the time when the Babylonians wrote down the Akkadian or Sumerian pronunciation of the characters, the words had become worn down to such an extent, as to make a very large number of homophones, but that it is possible that these homophones were only alike in sound to a certain extent. As we now know, therefore, with what kind of language we have to deal, and by what means the words were expressed, with this introduction (which, though short, has, I trust, been enough to explain the nature of the case), we may go more deeply into the language itself.

As shown by the two lists of words given above, Akkadian

¹ See my paper upon the Akkadian numerals, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. iv. p. 111-116.

is essentially monosyllabic, the words having been brought to this state by phonetic decay, exactly as in English. The concrete noun is the simple root. As soon, however, as a suffix, either to express the plural, or a case, is added, the root takes the vowel *a* (𐎠𐎣 *dingir* 'god,' 𐎠𐎣𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *dingi-ra-ni* 'his god'), and any lost consonant is, as a rule, restored (𐎠𐎵 *a*, 'father,' 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *a-da-a-ni*, 'his father').

Even the form with the lengthening *a*, however, seems to be shortened from an original root-ending *ag*, which is still attached to a few words. This fact, indeed, is almost certain. The word 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *á-zag* 'fever,' was borrowed by the Assyrians, and they, as was their wont, added the Assyrian case-endings, and in doing so, changed the end-sounded *g* into *k*, making the word 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *asakku*, and the Akkadian 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *a-sir-ra* even, becomes in Assyrian 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *a-šur-rak-ku*, and in this latter word, not only is lost *g* restored as *k*, but it is even, as in the case of *asakku*, doubled. It is almost certain, from these examples, that the Assyrian words were borrowed at an exceedingly early period, before the Akkadian language had quite gained the form in which we now find it.

Akkadian (for by this term it will be well, perhaps, to distinguish the standard tongue) and its dialect were languages poor in words, but being essentially monosyllabic, it made up for this defect by compounding largely, and very many of its expressions are most interesting, as the following examples will show.

VERBAL COMPOUNDS.

𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *igi-šum* 'to see,' 'to regard,' literally 'to give eye,' from 𐎠𐎵 *igi* 'eye,' and 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *šum* 'to give.'

𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *gu-dê* 'to prophesy,' literally 'to pour forth words,' from 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *gu* 'word,' and 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *dê* 'to pour forth.'

𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 *giš-tug* 'to hear,' literally 'to make ear,' from 𐎠𐎵 *giš* 'ear,' or 'attention,' and 𐎠𐎵 *tug* 'to have' or 'make.'

𒌦 𒌶 𒀭 𒄩 *šu-gar-gi* 'to revenge,' literally 'to bring back a benefit-making,' from 𒌦 *šu* 'hand' or 'benefit,' 𒌶 *gar* 'to make,' and 𒀭 𒄩 *gi* 'to return.'

𒄩 𒀭 𒄩 *gab-ri* 'to oppose,' literally 'to set the breast,' from 𒄩 *gab* 'breast,' and 𒀭 𒄩 *ri* 'to set.'

In all verbal compounds, of which there was a large number, the two parts were separated by the various prefixes. Thus 'he opposed' is 𒄩 𒀭 𒄩 𒌦 𒀭 𒄩 *GAB-inman-ri*; 'he regarded' is 𒀭 𒄩 𒀭 𒄩 𒌦 𒀭 𒄩 *IGI-inman-šum*, and so on for all the rest.

NOUN-COMPOUNDS.

These are formed in almost the same way as the verbal compounds:—

𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 (for 𒌦 𒀭 𒌦 𒌦, transposed from 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒀭 𒌦) *lu-gal* 'king,' literally 'great man,' from 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 *lu* 'man,' and 𒌦 𒀭 *gal* 'great.'

𒀭 𒌦 *ki-tur* 'seat,' literally 'place of sitting,' from 𒀭 *ki* 'place,' and 𒌦 *tur* 'to sit.'

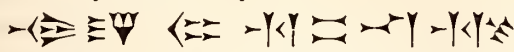
𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *gubba-igi* 'attendant,' literally 'he who stands before,' from 𒀭 𒀭 *gub* 'to stand,' and 𒀭 𒀭 *igi* 'eye,' 'face.'

𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *giš-uru* 'beam,' literally 'supporting (?) wood,' from 𒀭 𒀭 *giš* 'wood,' and 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *uru*.

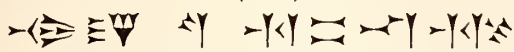
𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 *aralli* 'Hades.' This example is not quite the same as those given above, as the word *aralli* is not, strictly speaking, the pronunciation of the group. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 is pronounced *é*, and means 'house,' 𒀭 𒀭 *kur* means 'land,' and 𒀭 *bat* means 'to die.' The meaning of the characters is therefore 'house of the land of the dead.' *Aralli* seems to be for *uru-galli* 'the great city,'—a very significant name for Hades.

Examples of other compounds met with may also be noticed, and these last, though rather rare, are not by any means among the least interesting, as they show the extreme

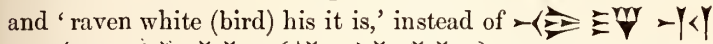
flexibility of the two tongues which we are now considering. This class of compounds expresses the subject, predicate, and object, in a very curious way:—



*Bur - mi (D.S.) bi - na - nam*¹



*Bur - babbar (D.S.) bi - na - nam*²

meaning respectively 'his raven is black,' and 'his raven is white.' The literal meaning is 'raven black (bird) his it is,' and 'raven white (bird) his it is,' instead of  *bura-bi (D.S.) mi-na-nam (babbara-na-nam)* 'raven his black it is (white it is).'

NUMERALS.

The Numerals are formed from different roots as far as five, and after that the first series is repeated and added to the word for 5. They are as follows:

- 1 *aš* (*aša*), *gê* (for *geš*), and *deš*.
- 2 *min*.
- 3 *ešše*.
- 4 *šimu*.
- 5 *iá*.
- 6 *áš* (*ášša*) 5+1 *á-aša* for *iá-aša*.
- 7 *imina* 5+2 *i-mina* for *iá-mina*.
- 8 *ússa* 5+3 *i-ešše* for *iá-ešše*.
- 9 *išimu* 5+4 *i-šimu* for *iá-šimu*.

The tens now begin a different series, and their derivation is not easy to determine:

- 10 *gu*, *ga*, *ú*, *á*.
- 20 *ban*, *nin*, *nis*, *susana* ($\frac{2}{3}$).
- 30 *ba*, *ušu*, *éš* (for *ú-ešše* and *á-ešše* respectively, for *gu-esse* or *ga-ešše* 10 × 3).
- 40 *nimin* (20 × 2), *šanabi*.
- 50 *ninnu*, *kingusilla*.
- 60 *šuš* (dialectic *muš*).

¹ Assy.: *Érib-šu šalimumma* 'his raven (is) black also.'

² Assy.: *Érib-šu pišúmma* 'his raven (is) white also.'

THE METHOD OF EXPRESSING THE CASES, ETC., IN
ARKADIAN AND ITS DIALECT.

Akkadian was a tongue of singular mobility. A phrase could be expressed in the shortest, tersest way, leaving out not only the verb 'to be,' the postfixes marking case, but even also the plural suffix, as in the phrase:

} 'the sons of

the abyss are seven,' where the sign of the plural is left out after , the particle 'of' after , and the verb 'to be' is understood; or it could be provided with whole rows of prefixes and suffixes, as in the following:

LU - GIŠGAL - *lu* DU - DINGIR - *ra* - *na* SU - *ni* - *ta*

gi - *ni* - *ip* - *ta* - Ê BAR - *ra* - *ni* - *ta*

gi - *ri* - *ip* - Ê - *ne*

'may it depart from the body of the man, the son of his god; may it go forth from his body.'

In the above phrase almost all the needful pronouns, suffixes, lengthenings, etc., are inserted. The first word, which is rendered in the Assyrian translation by the word *amēlu* 'man,' means here more citizen, *lu-gišgal* seeming to mean 'man of an enclosure,' 'townsman,' *lu* is the lengthening. *Du* 'son' here in the genitive of position, as in *du-abzu* above 'son of the abyss.' *Dingira-na* 'of his god.' In this group the *an* 'heaven' or *dingir* 'god,' is followed by the phonetic complement *ra* carrying the vowel-lengthening *a*, indicating that the pronunciation of is here *dingir*. *-na* is the possessive pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. *Su-ni-ta* 'from his body'—*lit.* 'body his from,' *su* being the word for 'body,' *-ni* the 3rd pers. sing. poss. pronoun, another form

of *-na*, and *ta* the postposition 'from.' *ġinipta-é* 'may it depart from it' is a verbal group, composed of *ġi*, the precative prefix, *ni*, the verbal prefix of the 3rd pers. sing.; *ip* 'it,' a pronoun in the accusative; *ta* 'from,' the postposition, and *é*, the verb 'to go forth.' *Baránita* 'from his body' the word for 'body' or 'side' with lengthening, *bara*, the possessive pronoun *-ni*, and the postposition *ta* 'from.' *ġirip-é-ne* 'may it go forth,' is a verbal group like the former, consisting of the precative prefix *ġi-*, the particle *-ri-*, the exact meaning of which I do not know, the accusative pronoun *-ip-* or *-ib-*, the verb *é* 'to go forth,' and the ending *-ne*.

The two examples printed above I have given in order to show the two extremes to which the Akkadian language could go in the matter of poverty or richness of those grammatical forms which we of the west consider so needful for clear expression, and also as specimens of the language. Almost every mean between these two extremes of redundancy and barrenness is to be met with, especially in the verb. I shall now try to give an explanation of several of these forms, together with an analysis of the same, but first I must say, that as the subject is, as before remarked, one of extreme difficulty, and one of which an explanation, from a scientifically analytical standpoint, is now for the first time made, although I believe that I have found out the true explanation in many points, yet there must needs be a few, which future researches will show to be wrong, but for any shortcomings in this respect I beg for that indulgence which I would readily accord to another.

THE VERBAL ROOT, WITH AND WITHOUT THE LENGTHENING.

The infinitive of the verb is the simple root, such as is found in the bilingual-lists, as 𒀭𒀬 BAD=*pētû* 'to open,' 𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦 URU=*našāru* 'to protect,' 𒀭𒀬𒀭𒀬 SIM=*šahālu* 'to cry out.'

The simple verb-root, however, could be used by itself, without the lengthening, in the singular, to express various forms of the finite verb.

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 *nigin-na-meš* (*nigināmeš*) = *šaidu sunu*
 'they are caught, enclosed, hunted.'

4. Translated in Assyrian by the Imperative or Pre-
 cative :—

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 *šu-luġ-ġi* (*šuluġi*) = *mišī* 'wash!'

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *šu-luġ-ġa* (*šuluġa*) = *limsû* 'may they wash.'

With the negative the simple root, with lengthening,
 seems to give the idea of will or needfulness :—

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 *nu-bal-e=lâ êteki, lâ nabalkuti, or lâ*
mušpilu 'it shall not be crossed,' 'it shall not be
 trespassed upon,' 'it shall not be defiled.'

THE VERBAL PREFIXED- AND SUFFIXED-PARTICLES.

As a rule, however, Akkadian and its dialect add a large
 number of prefixes (sometimes, however, used as suffixes),
 to express the various persons and moods, often including,
 also, the relation of case.

The following is a list of the verbal prefixes, gathered
 wholly from the connected texts :

Prefixes.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| ab- (ap-) ¹ | |
| an- ² | |
| al- | } precative |
| im- | |
| um- | |
| i- | |
| u- | |
| ba- | |
| mu- | |
| na- | |
| ni-, ne- | |
| nam- | |
| na- | } negative ³ |
| nu- | |
| la- | |
| ra- | |

¹ Also *eb-* or *ep*, *ib* or *ip*, *ub* or *up*.

² Also *en-*, *in-*, and *un-*.

³ The lists give also *lu* and *li*.

Infixes.

| | |
|------|-------|
| -ab- | -tan- |
| -an- | -dan- |
| -e- | -gan- |
| -ba- | -ra- |
| -da- | -ši- |
| -di- | -mi- |
| -ta- | -me- |

Suffixes.

| | |
|--------|-------|
| -ab | -meš |
| -ib | -ne |
| -am | -ene |
| -âmu | -enna |
| -ba | -da |
| -banib | -ša |
| -neš | |

Many of the above pronouns, as well as the verbal and nominal suffixes, and the separable pronouns, seem to be formed from the verb *men* 'to be.'

Akkadian possessed two of these verbs, the one (that mentioned above) used exclusively as an auxiliary, the other used almost exclusively as an independent verb. This latter was the verb *gal* (in the dialect *mal*).

Both these verbs had given to the language a noun—from *men* 'to be' comes the word *umun* (with prefixed *u*) meaning 'lord,' shortened sometimes to *ûn* (*umun*=*uwun*, *u'un*, *ûn*). From the root *gal* comes the Akkadian rarely-used *gal* 'man,' which passed over into Assyrian under the form of *kalû* (also exceedingly rare). The dialectic form of this word *gal* is *mulu*, of rather frequent occurrence.

It is from these roots that most of the verbal prefixes and particles are formed. From *men* we get the imperative prefix *umu-*, and the many forms of the other pronouns (*un-*, *in-*, *an-*, *inni-*, *ni-*, etc.). From *gal* comes evidently the prefix *al* (by loss of the initial *g*), which, prefixed to the verbs, makes those forms translated by the Assyrian participle or permanent tense; and from this *gal* comes also, perhaps, the *ga* (*ga*,


gi, ju, or á) expressing the precative (may he do . . .), and that particle *-ga-* which, inserted between the two pronouns, subject and object, of a verb, seems to express a kind of passive.

Many of these inserted particles, namely *da, di, ta, ra,* and *ši,* seem to be merely forms of the nominal postfixes *da* 'with,' *ta* 'in,' 'from,' *ra* 'in,' 'to,' and *šu* or *še* 'to,' and it is probable that many more of this kind exist.


These particles are of course compounded, and form the numerous and puzzling strings of prefixes of which an example has already been given.


The most commonly used is *in- an- or un-*, which is generally added to the word to express the third person singular. Examples are:—


 *in-PALPAL-e* = *ittanablakat* 'he revolts.'


 *in-GIGI-ene* = *išabbitu*, 'they herd together.'


 *an-LAL-e* 'he weighs.'

 *an-AGA-e* = *imandad* 'he measures.'


 *an-ša-eš* = *épša* 'they made.'


 *in-PA(D)*¹ 'he has invoked.'


 *in-DIB-ba*¹ 'he took.'


 *in-sā*¹ 'he proclaimed.'


ni- is probably another form of this same pronoun:—


 *ni-GAL* = *ibašši* 'he is.'


 *ni-AG-ga* } = *imdud* 'he measured.'


 *ni-AGA-e* }

 *ni-AG-ga-e* = *imaddad* 'he measures.'

 *ni-AG-ga-e-meš* = *imaddadu* 'they measure.'

 *ni-LAL-e-meš* = *išakkalu* 'they weigh.'

 *ni-GAL-la* = *šaknu* 'he made.'

 *ni-PAL-e* = *ibbalakkitu* 'he revolted.'

¹ From the case-tablets—originals written while the tongue was still living.

To *in-*, expressing the object, might be added the particle *ga* (part, evidently, of the verb 'to be'), seeming to give the verb to which it is added a passive meaning. *in* is, as before, changed into *an* :

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *ingan-zu* = *iltamad* 'he learnt' (= 'he was made to know').

Still more common is the compound *inda-* (*unda-*, *anda-*). The particle *da* seems to give the idea of association, and is perhaps the same as the postfix *-da* 'with.' The following are examples :

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *unda-GI* = *utâr* 'he returns.'

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *inda-GAL* = *ibaššî* 'he is.'

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *GAB-inda-RI-a* = *imhuru* 'he opposed.'

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *unda-RI-a* = *irmû-šu* 'he set him.'

The group of prefixes *innan* is very common, and expresses, according to the lists, the subject of the verb with the accusative. This was formerly explained as the prefix *in* with the infix *nan*, but this explanation is wrong. The accusative is expressed by *inna* (a lengthened form of *in*) with *an* (for *in*), so that *innan-lal*, for instance, means 'it he weighed.' The following are examples :

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 ¹ *innan-LAL* = *iškulšu* 'he weighed it.'

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 <<< *innan-LAL-eš* = *iškulūšu* 'they weighed it.'

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *innan-LAL-e* = *išakkalšu* 'he weighs it.'

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *innan-LAL-ene* = *išakkalūšu* 'they weigh it.'

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 ¹ *innan-LAL-meš* 'they weighed it.'

The case-tablets give us also forms in which the subject is not expressed :

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *inna-LAL* '(he) weighed it.'

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *inna-LAL-meš* '(they) weighed it.'

¹ From the case-tablets—originals written while the language was still living.

The prefix *in*, changed to *en*, enters largely into the formation of what is known as the Precative Mood.

The ordinary prefix expressing the Precative is *gi* or *je*, or with vowel-harmony *ja* or *ju*. The stronger form *ga-* is also found, as well as the still more weakened *â-*.

The prefix *gi* is expressed by the character 𒄎 meaning 'to be.' It is found with this meaning in the phrase 𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎 * *gan-gan-dam*, in Assyrian *šibta išakkan* 'he made a profit' or 'revenue,' literally 'he caused a profit to be,' the reduplication here seeming to indicate the causative sense. The word *gan* is the fuller form of the verb 'to be.'

𒄎𒄎 is also used, with the lengthening 𒄎𒄎 *a*, to express the particles 'either . . . or,' in Assyrian *lû*¹:

𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 , etc.

utug giul gi-a, a-lâ giul gi-a, gidim giul gi-a, etc.

'an *utug*² evil be it, an *alû*² evil be it, a *gidim*² evil be it,' etc.

in better English 'whether it be an evil *utug*, or an evil *alû*, or an evil *gidim*,' etc. (in Assyrian: *lû utukku limnu, lû alû limnu, lû êdimmu limnu*, etc.)

As a verbal prefix 𒄎𒄎 is generally followed by the syllable 𒄎𒄎 *en*, which is either the same as the prefix *an-*, *in-*, or *un-*, or else a kind of phonetic complement, restoring the lost ending of the verb *gan* 'to be.' The former explanation is, however, the more probable. The following examples will illustrate this form:

𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 *gi-en-GUB-ba* = *lûkân* 'may it be placed.'

𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 *gi-en-GI-GI* = *lûtir* 'may he turn.'

𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 𒄎𒄎 *gi-en-GAB-a* = *lûppatir* 'may it be loosened.'

¹ This word in Assyrio-Babylonian seems to be weakened from a root meaning 'to be able,' and is prefixed to verbal forms, as *lû* or *li*.

² Names of demons.

𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒀭𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠 *gi-en-GUB-bu-uš* = *lúkân*¹ 'may they be placed.'

𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒀭𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *gi-en-da-an-GAL* = *lúnašî* 'may he raise with.'²

𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒀭𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *gi-en-ši-in-GI-GI* = *litûru* 'may he turn.'³

𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *ga-ba-an-GUB-ba* = *lúkân* 'may he fix it.'

𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *ga-ba-an-ZI-ZI* = *lissuh* (?) 'may he remove it.'

𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *NAM-ga-ba-ra-TAR-ru-da* OR
𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *NAM-ga-ba-da-*
an-TAR-ru-de = *liruru-šu* 'may he curse him.'⁴

𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *ga-ba-ra-an-GA-GA* = *liškun* OR
lûpakid 'may he make,' or 'may he appoint to him.'

𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *ju-mu-ra-ab-SUM-mu*⁵ = *liddin-ka*
'may he give to thee.'

𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *ju-mu-ra-ab-BI* = *lîkbi-ka* 'may he speak to thee.'

The prefixes *in* and *inna* are the most common forms of the third person. The most common form of the second person is *e*, to find which we must first go to the imperative.

The imperative proper is expressed by the syllable 𒄠𒄠𒄠 *ab*, placed usually at the end. The meaning of this particle is probably 'thou,' and seems to be another form of the syllable 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *ib*, explained in the wrongly-named "five-column syllabary," by *atta* 'thou.' It may not be amiss to reproduce here the passages containing this explanation:

¹ The plural is not expressed—perhaps more correctly—in the Assyrian translation.

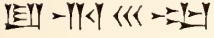

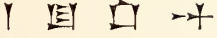

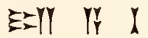


² The full phrase is *šu-na ĵendangal* 'may he raise it with his hand.'

³ The verbal form here implies motion towards a given point.



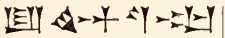




⁴ Literally, 'fate may him-to decide,' and 'fate may him-with he decide,' that is, 'may he decide the fate against him,' from 𒄠𒄠𒄠𒄠 *nam-tar* 'to decide fate.'

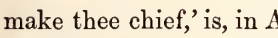
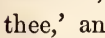


⁵ For *ju-mu-E-ra-ab-sum-mu* 'may (he) thee-to it give.'

PARAGRAPH 6.

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| |  |  |  |
| | <i>lu - ri - ěš - ka</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>ana- ku</i> |
| | |  |  |
| | | <i>li</i> | <i>ra - a-šu</i> |
| | |  |  |
| | | <i>ib</i> | <i>at - ta</i> |
| | | | ‘I (at the beginning).’ |
| | | | ‘to be chief (?)’ |
| | | | ‘thou (at the end).’ |

PARAGRAPH 8.

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |
| <i>ib</i> | <i>ar</i> | <i>lu - ' - ud - ka</i> | <i>ib</i> | <i>at - ta</i> |
| | | |  |  |
| | | | <i>ar</i> | <i>na - a-du</i> |
| | | | | ‘Thou (at the beginning).’ |
| | | | | ‘to be glorious.’ |

From these we learn that the Assyrian *lūrēš-ka* ‘let me make thee chief,’ is, in Akkadian, or its dialect  *ra-LI-ib* ‘I exalt thee,’ and that the Akkadian (or dialectic) *ib-AR*, is, in Assyrian, *lū’ud-ka* ‘may I glorify thee,’ and that the non-Semitic equivalent  is composed of *ib* ‘thou’ (more properly ‘thee’) and *AR* ‘to glorify’—literally ‘thee glorifying.’ The characters  and  mean ‘placed above’ and ‘placed below’ respectively, and refer to the position of the pronouns *ra* and *ib*—‘above’ being the beginning of the word, and ‘below’ the end. We see from this that the particle *ib* denotes the 2nd person, and *ab* is probably another form of this pronoun, used to express the imperative.

EXAMPLES OF THE IMPERATIVE IN *-ab*.

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 SI-SA-*ab*=šúšir 'cause to direct!'

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 BAR-*ra-ab*=purus 'decide!'

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 GAB-*mu-un-ra-ab*=šukun 'place thou (there)!'

Ab is sometimes prefixed, as in

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *ab*-TUŠ-ša-TUŠ-ša=*nûh*, *nûh* 'rest, rest!' where the single prefix *ab* refers to the reduplicate verb, and is translated in Assyrian by the imperative twice repeated.

In some cases the *b* seems to have fallen away, leaving only the vowel *a*, as in the following examples:

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 DU-*na*=âlik 'go!' (for DU-*na-ab*).

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 LAG-LAG-*ga*=ûbbib 'be pure!' (for LAG-LAG-*ga-ab*).

Another, and rarer form of the imperative has *ba*-, evidently another form of *-ab*, prefixed, as in the word 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *ba*-NU=*nîl* 'lie thou down!'

The most usual form, translated by the imperative in the texts, prefixes the syllables *u-me-ni-*, *u-mu-e-ni-*, or *u-mu-un-*. The following are examples of these very interesting forms:

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *u-me-ni*-BUR=*pušur-ma* 'loose also!'

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *u-me-ni*-GAB=*pušur-ma* 'free also!'

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *šu-u-me-ni*-TI=*lîkî-ma* 'take also!'

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *u-me-ni*-šAR=*rukus-ma* 'bind also!'

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *u-mu-e-ni*-ši-in-GI=*tîr-ma* 'turn also!'

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *u-mu-e-ni*-šIT 'repeat also!'

𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *u-mu-un*-DUB=*tubuk-ma* 'pour out also!'

Now as, from a fragment of a bilingual text in triple lines, the pronunciation of 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎠 *mu-un-na*-šUB¹

¹ Or RU.

Literally, in Akkadian, 'I there it place' (as the line is broken, the pronoun 'thee' was probably otherwise expressed in the lost part), and 'I there it pour,' the particle *-ra-* being probably equal to the French 'y.' From the extract from the so-called five-column syllabary, given above (p. 321) *ara-* could be explained as a shorter form of *ra=anaku* 'I,' but the above explanation is preferable.

In these observations and notes upon the languages of the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia I have only been able to give the broad outlines of that part of the accidence which is not generally treated of. It was, at first, my intention to make these observations much more complete, but want of time and not over-good health have prevented this. Enough, however, has I trust been given, to enable the student of philology to see what these tongues really were like, and to prove that they were certainly not cryptographies, as some scholars maintain. Many of the explanations which I have given will probably have to be abandoned when we know more about these interesting tongues, but the study is not by any means an easy one, and I therefore beg the reader's indulgence. At some future time, after a thorough examination of all the material we have, I hope to return to the subject, and to give as full a grammar of these languages as is possible, with a critical analysis of all the grammatical forms.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XVI.—*On the Origin of the Indian Alphabet.* By R. N. CUST, Esq., Honorary Secretary R.A.S.

THIS subject was first mooted by Sir William Jones in the Asiatic Researches. Some of the most distinguished Scholars have at different times expressed opinions, totally irreconcilable with each other. New direct or indirect fragments of evidence have been contributed, sometimes narrowing, sometimes widening, the arena of the controversy. Last year Mr. Isaac Taylor summarised the facts of the case in his Book on "The Alphabet." I myself contributed a paper on the subject to the Indian Section of the Sixth Oriental Congress at Leyden, in September 1883, which led to a lively discussion, occupying the best part of two days of the Session. In January of this year I again brought the subject before this Society, and I now place the whole case before the Members of the Society in the pages of our Journal.

Let us first deal with facts, and then pass on to theories. The Indian Alphabet is a marvellous and magnificent phenomenon quite unrivalled in the world. History is absolutely silent as to its origin, and development. Legendary accounts are also wanting. The earliest specimens of it have a well-ascertained date, and Inscriptions are found in excellent preservation in many parts of India, from the extreme Northern frontier of Pesháwar to the Island of Ceylon. I have seen some of these and passed my hands over them, and, being actually *in situ*, not shut up within the modern walls of a foreign Museum, they make a deeper impression upon the mind even than the venerable stone of Thera at Athens, or the Assyrian and Egyptian Inscriptions, all of which can boast of a much greater

antiquity. But this Alphabet represents a symmetrical combination of symbols, designed by skilled Grammarians to indicate various shades of sounds, and is grouped in scientific order. The hand of a Brahmanical Scholar, dealing with a highly-polished Language, is detected here. No such refinement was necessary for the Vernaculars. This Alphabet became the Mother of a magnificent family spread over the whole of India, Nearer, and Further, Ceylon, the Indian Archipelago, and the Central Asiatic Plateau as far as Mongolia. In these two particulars the Indian Alphabet has no parallel, but enquiry is for the present restricted to the question, How did the Indians in the Centuries preceding the Christian era get this Alphabet and at what approximate period?

But other facts require to be noticed. I quote Prof. Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 497. There is not one single allusion in the thousand Vedic Hymns to anything connected with writing. Such indeed is also the case, with the exception of one doubtful passage, with the Homeric Poems. To this silence the Hebrew Scriptures present a great contrast, as in the Book of Exodus the art of writing is unmistakably alluded to, and the same three consonants used which represent to this day the idea to countless Millions in Asia. Throughout the whole Brahmana period, there is no mention of writing materials, whether paper, bark, or skins. In the Sútra period, although the art of writing began to be known, the whole literature of India was preserved by oral tradition only: more than this, Kumáрила's remark, that the knowledge of the Veda is worthless, if it has been learnt from writing, amounts to condemning its use after it is known to exist. However, the use of the word "Patila," or "Chapter," for the Sútra, a word never used in the Brahmana, lets in a side light: its meaning is a "covering," "the surrounding skin or membrane": hence it is used for a tree, and is an analogue of "liber" and "biblos," and means "book," presupposing the existence of the art of writing. Again, in 1878, in Macmillan's Magazine, Max Müller states, that there is no

really written alphabetic literature much earlier than the Fifth Century before the Christian era : all poetry and legends must have been handed down orally previously. An Alphabet may have been used for Monumental purposes, but there is a great difference betwixt this and the use of it for art, pleasure and literature.

Prof. Roth of Tübingen at the Leyden Congress stated his firm conviction, the result of prolonged Vedic studies, that it was impossible to sustain the theory that the vast collections of Vedic Hymns could have depended for existence on oral transmission : he considered it a *sine quâ non*, that writing was known, and that, in fact, a *Pratisákya*, or Vedic Grammar, could not have been composed by any one who had not written texts before him. He gave, however, no hint as to the date of the first writing.

Another kind of evidence is derived from the writings of independent Authors. The historians of the Greeks, who came into contact with the people of India after the invasion of Alexander the Great 327 B.C., have left conflicting testimony : Strabo quotes Megasthenes, who states, that the laws were unwritten, that the Indians were ignorant of writing, and in all the business of life trusted to memory, not even requiring seals for their pledges or deposits. He also quotes Nearchus to prove that the Indians wrote letters on cotton that had been well beaten together, and that they had milestones with Inscriptions upon them indicating resting places and distances. Quintus Curtius mentions that they wrote on the soft rind of trees, a custom which is confirmed by an allusion in the play of *Sakuntala*. In the *Lalita Vistara* it is recorded that the young Sakya was taught to write. The value of this quotation of course depends on the date assigned to that work. The case seems to be that the art of writing was known for public and private convenience, but that the learned classes abstained from using it for literary purposes.

We have a significant fact also from a Hebrew writer : Xerxes, King of Persia (the same who was defeated at Salamis, B.C. 480), who was well acquainted with the

Greek character used by his Ionian subjects, and the Persian Cuneiform alphabetic character, used by himself, and his Father Darius, ordered his scribes to write to the authorities of the different Provinces of his Empire from India to Ethiopia, *unto every Province according to the writing thereof*, and unto every people after their own language. This evidences a plurality of forms of script, of which practical notice was taken, and India is specially alluded to. The Hebrew character, which must have been the old Hebrew character, not the later square character, is also mentioned. The name of India at that period is inseparably connected with the River Indus. Was the character used by Xerxes for the letter to India one of the Asóka Alphabets? It is of importance to recollect that the Greeks at the time of Alexander the Great were a highly literary nation. Herodotus knew very well how different Egyptian Hieroglyphics were from the Greek Alphabet, in which he wrote his own notes: yet in the allusion made by Greek writers to forms of writing in India, we find no hint that it was different in kind from the Greek. Clearly, therefore, it was alphabetic, for a system of Ideographs, or a Syllabary with its wealth of forms, would have struck with surprise the Greek as much as it would a modern traveller.

Such are the facts: all that remains consists of theories, inductions, arguments based on analogies, ingenious combinations based on historical data, and Palæographical minutiae. It may be stated that the Archæological Survey of India is drawing to a close, and the Archæological Survey of Arabia and Mesopotamia has not yet commenced.

Before I commence an analysis of the discordant theories, I would place on paper certain general arguments, as to the *possibility* and *probability* of the Indian Alphabet having been derived from the West of Asia, and being the offshoot of one of the branches, or directly of the parent tree, of the great Phenician Alphabet.

I. There has existed from time immemorial commercial intercourse, by land, across Persia and Afghanistan, and, by

sea, by the Persian Gulf, and Red Sea, betwixt Western Asia, and India in its fullest extent.

II. In Western Asia there has existed from a very remote date before the Christian era an Alphabet of a very complete and highly elaborated character, the oldest specimen of which is the Moabite Stone, to which a date of 800 B.C. is attributed.

III. That from this Phenician Alphabet at a remote period the Greek and Roman Alphabets were derived.

The derivation of the Indian Alphabet from the Phenician is therefore *possible*.

Let us consider whether it is *probable*.

I. The copious Indian literature, so garrulous, so faithfully reflecting the introspective and egotistic character of the Indian mind, so ready to supply a mythical origin to every fact or event, even to the descent of the River Ganges, or to the origin of the rocky ridges, which connect Ceylon with India, is absolutely silent as to the origin of the Alphabet, which is used in conserving that literature. Indian authors have certainly made use of alphabetic writing for more than two thousand years, and have treated upon every possible subject, physical and metaphysical, yet no account has been handed down by them of the origin of the marvellous vehicle of thought, which lay under their hands, and which they have elaborated to a degree unparalleled in any other country. Had it been invented in India, it would have been attributed to the God Ganésa, just as the invention of the Cuneiform character was attributed to the God Nebo.

II. An Alphabet cannot spring into existence in full development from the brains of any people, nor is it the result of a compact at any given period. Where such Alphabets have been constructed in modern times in England, or North America, in Africa, or China, the process has only been that of adapting new symbols to the old Phenician method. It may safely be laid down that an alphabetic system is the outcome of a long use of ideographic and syllabic symbols. A nation capable from its own self-consciousness of carving upon rocks alphabetic Inscriptions

would assuredly have left traces of the same tendency on the same enduring tablets in ideographic and syllabic symbols. Now in India from the Himálaya to Cape Comorin no trace of such a non-alphabetic Inscription, found so frequently, and in such diverse forms in Western Asia, and North Africa, has been found.

III. The resemblance of the Indian Alphabets to those that have taken root in Western Asia, Africa, and Europe, all of which are unquestionably of Phenician origin, is so striking that it is difficult even to entertain the idea of a separate origin. No speculator has been hardy enough to suggest that the Western lands are indebted to India for their Alphabet as well as for their Numerals. In the single instance of the Ethiopic Alphabet this idea was indeed once mooted, but is now definitely abandoned. The resemblance exists, and must be accounted for; for there is no necessity pre-existent in the human mind of one, and one only, method of representing sounds by symbols: at any rate, we have totally distinct and independent ideographic and syllabic systems in different parts of the world, which might, uninfluenced by contact with the Phenician method, have developed into totally independent alphabetic systems, but this phenomenon has not been proved.

A consideration of the above points leads to the conviction, that the separate and independent origin of the Indian Alphabet is highly improbable, or in other words that a common origin is exceedingly *probable*. The importance of these *a priori* arguments of *possibility* and *probability* lies in this that it throws upon the opponent of the solution now suggested the necessity of explaining away the remarkable facts or reasonable inductions above stated.

Of the Indian Alphabets there are two varieties, known generally as the North and South Asóka, though many others named have been supplied or suggested. Now these two Alphabets, though independent, and dissimilar, have many resemblances: though morphologically different, yet they are identical in structure: they adopt a contrary direction of writing: in usage they slightly overlap each

other: coins are found bearing Inscriptions of both: the Edicts of Asóka were contemporaneously published in both in nearly the same language: the North Asóka died out in the first Century after the Christian era, and was absolutely sterile: the South Asóka, as stated above, is the happy Mother of scores, with all human probability of an eternal existence: in both the necessities of the language, to which they were handmaids, compelled the use of the cerebral letters, a characteristic shared by no other known Alphabet. The North Asóka is by unanimous consent affiliated to the Iranian branch of the Phenician Alphabet. Now this decision as regards the one Alphabet has an important bearing on the other, for a great many difficulties common to both, but surmounted in the one case, cannot be urged against the same solution for the other.

The theories with regard to the origin of the South Asóka divide themselves into two categories:

I. Those which assert an indigenous origin.

II. Those which assert a foreign importation.

It is worthy of remark that the authorities, who press either theory, totally disagree with each other: in this controversy each theorist stands on a separate pinnacle of his own private judgment, with but a small substratum of proof, manipulated by his own clever handling, and hanging together by his own ingenious plastering.

Let us consider the first category: the champions of this view are Mr. Edward Thomas of H.M. Indian Civil Service, Bábu Rajendra Lala Mitra of Calcutta, the late Professor Goldstücker, the late Professor Christian Lassen of Bonn, General Cunningham, Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, the late Professor John Dowson, and Pandit Shamaji Krishnavarma of Gujarát.

Thomas is distinguished as a Numismatist and Palæographer. He remarks in his Edition of Mr. James Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 48 (1858), that the South Asóka Alphabet bears every impress of indigenous organisation and local maturation under the special needs of the language, which it was designed to convey: at p. 144 of the same book he alludes

to the independently perfected Alphabet of India. He quotes with apparent approbation a passage from M. St. Hilaire (Journ. des Savants 1857), that he could better understand the theory that the Semites received at third or fourth hand an Alphabet of Indian origin, and adapted it to their requirements by cutting it in half and mutilating it, than the theory of the Indians receiving a shapeless and confused Alphabet such as the Phenician, and elaborating it to the state of perfection in which we find it.

In the Numismatic Chronicle of 1863, n.s. No. III. Thomas treats of the Bactrian or North Asóka Alphabet, but he turns aside for an instant to express very decided opinions on the subject of the South Asóka. He remarks that this Alphabet possesses in an eminent degree the merit of simplicity combined with extended distinctive capabilities, and remarkable facility of lection: it is formed from a very limited number of literal elements, and its construction exhibits not only a definite purpose throughout, but indicates a high order of intellectual culture on the part of the designers, who discriminated by appropriate letters gradations of sounds often inappreciable to European ears, and seldom susceptible of correct utterance by European organs of speech. It clearly constituted an *independently*-devised and *locally*-matured scheme of writing, adapted with singular facility for the exhibition of the language of the country, and as such competent to express all needed in the ancient vernaculars equally as in its but little changed, though more cursive and elaborately combined, forms, it suffices for the present day for all the demands of the multifarious dialects. He then goes on to say that the North Asóka, unlike the South, has no pretence whatever to an *indigenous* origin: and was superseded and extinguished by its more flexible and congruous associate of *indigenous* growth. It is worthy of remark that Thomas was aware, when he penned the above, of the arguments of Max Müller and Professor Weber quoted in this paper, yet he is surprised that the Indian Alphabet could be deemed an emanation from a Phenician Stock, when we have in full contemporaneous development

a series of letters adapted to Indian wants, which not only declare their derivation in their own forms, but show how inconceivable a series of transmutations must have been gone through in the other instance to produce so innately dissimilar a set of characters from one and the same source.

At a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1866 (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s. Vol. V. p. 420), Thomas propounded the theory, I. that the Arians had never invented an Alphabet, but were always indebted to the nationality, among whom they settled, for their knowledge of writing; II. that the South Asóka was obviously originated to meet the requirements of the Dravidian languages. This expression of opinion was communicated to the Bengal Asiatic Society, and the subject was discussed there in 1866 and 1867, *vide Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxxv. p. 138, and vol. xxxvi. p. 33. In 1871, Thomas, in his paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s. Vol. V. p. 422, brought up the topic again, and affirms his theory in a long argumentative note based upon an examination of the different letters of the Alphabet. In 1874-75, he remarks in a Note to Mr. Burgess's Report on the Survey of Western India for 1874-75, p. 46, that his inference regarding the Turanian, or quasi-Dravidian, origin of the South Asóka does not imply a copying or imitation of any given Tamil (query Dravidian) Alphabet, and far less of the modern form now current: his object in giving the Romanized letters of that Alphabet was merely to show what letters were required, and what were not required to express one group of Dravidian languages. In a private letter to my address in 1879 he remarks that the more he advances in knowledge, the more confirmed is he in the universality of the primitive Scythian element, its predominance in Indian Alphabets, and its vitality in Indian speech. Again in 1884, understanding that my attention was turned to the subject, he assures me that he has not modified his opinion at all with regard to the origin of the Indian Alphabet.

The theory of Thomas was twice discussed at meetings of the Bengal Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and on the second

occasion Rajendra Lala Mitra, a Sanskritist distinguished as the author of many works on Archæology, read a note, which he had prepared in the interval betwixt the first and second discussions. He directly traverses Thomas' argument, that no Arian Nation had ever invented an Alphabet by the remark that the Arian race migrated from their cradle at different times, and under different intellectual circumstances. The Indians were the latest, and it is neither inconsistent nor illogical, to suppose that they were more advanced than their predecessors in culture, and might possibly have composed an alphabet. And even supposing, as is probable, that they came to India before they had discovered the art of writing, there was nothing to prevent a highly intellectual race from doing so in their adopted country. There is not in his opinion a scintilla of evidence to show that the Non-Arians had a written literature at the time, when the Arians entered the country, or for some time afterwards. There is neither Inscription, nor Tradition, to support this theory. The history of the Non-Arians, apart from the Arians, is a blank, and all that we know of them from the writings of the Arians is that they were the reverse of a literary race. He then reviews the arguments of other authorities, and asserts that the Alphabet called the South Asóka existed long before the time of that Sovereign. The different shapes under which the letters of the different Edicts appear, can only be accounted for according to him by a long usage, engendering local peculiarities. He then enters at length into technical arguments.

Goldstücker in the Preface to his *Manava-kalpa-sutra*, p. 15 (1861), cannot imagine the possibility of a people so civilized as they appear to have been at the time of the Mantra, a period anterior to that of the Sútra and Brahmana, being unacquainted with the art of writing, though no mention of this art is made in the hymns to the Gods: according to Lassen (*Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 1007), Prof. Goldstücker went so far as to maintain that the Rishi themselves committed to paper their own hymns as they composed them at that remote period.

Christian Lassen of Bonn in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* 2nd Edition, i. p. 1006 (1867), stood up for the indigenous origin of the South Asóka Alphabet, and, with reference to Weber's comparison of the Phœnician and Indian characters, he asserts that, when the letters are brought into close comparison, they are not found to possess the same phonetic value in both systems, and that the number of those, which do agree in sound and shape, is so very small that no safe hypothesis could be built upon them.

Cunningham is distinguished as an Archæologist, and a Palæographer. He has had unrivalled opportunities of local inquiry, and familiarity with the Indian subject. He has published several remarkable works. In his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 54 (1877), he states without reserve his conclusion that the South Asóka Alphabet is of purely Indian origin, just as much as the Egyptian Hieroglyphics were the purely local invention of the people of Egypt. He works out an ingenious scheme to account for the indigenous origin of the Asóka Alphabet from ideographs representing different members of the human frame. The Indians could not, according to his view, have borrowed the Egyptian ideographs, as there was no correspondence betwixt the symbols, nor could they have borrowed even the idea of the Egyptian system of alphabetic symbols without borrowing the Egyptian system of Numerals at the same time, which we know that they did not. He admits that the difficulty in his theory is the non-existence of any traces of Inscriptions in the early stages of ideographs, and he accounts for this partially by the incomplete Survey of India, which may still contain unrevealed Monuments with specimens of archaic writing. He alludes to one very uncertain item of evidence in the Harapa stone, which however as yet proves nothing. It is fortunate in my opinion that one Author has been hardy enough to adopt this extreme theory, as it shows that this point of view has not been overlooked.

Dowson was a Sanskritist and Palæographer: he contributed a paper to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIII. p. 102 (1881), but he was too ill to read it: so

I read it for him, and he died very soon after. He states, that though he agrees in the conclusions of Thomas and Cunningham, he is unable to accept their arguments. His own are derived from a close study of Sanskrit writings: he considers that the peculiarities of the Súra are such that their production and transmission was almost impossible without the use of letters: that as the Vedic teachers instructed their pupils in the rules of Sandhi, or Euphonic changes, it was incredible that the study could have been conducted with reference to sounds only without names for the sounds, and symbols to represent them: he admits that there is no proof of this. He is strongly of opinion that Pánini knew about writing, and that his date is from 600 B.C. to 400 B.C.: this leads him to the conclusion that the art of writing was practised by the Hindús five or six Centuries before the Christian era. He remarks that the North Asóka, though confessedly Semitic, has developed features such as a compound consonant, and adjoined medial vowels, to suit the requirements of a Sanskritic language, and there must have been some older Indian Alphabet, to which it was assimilated: of this however there is no proof. He does not think it credible that the Hindús, who were such masters of language, and who invented Numerals, could not invent their own Alphabet. He states the theory that neither in the North nor South Asóka have we the real original Indian Alphabet, as both are applied to a language passing into the second stage of decadence: of this again he gives no proof, except that such an Alphabet in his opinion ought to have existed. He admits that the cerebral letters are the special feature of an Indian language, and doubts not that their existence is owing to the influence of the language of the Non-Arian tribes, who were found in the country by the Arian invaders, but he scouts the idea, implied by Thomas, that the Indian Alphabet was of Dravidian origin. He admits that the art of writing was known in the West of Asia long before there is evidence of its existence in India: but according to him the fame of the art of conveying ideas by material symbols must have

penetrated to India through the channels of commerce, and the *idea* of an alphabet must have reached India from without, though the practical application of the idea came from the Indians, and at a considerable period after the Arians had settled in the country. Such is Dowson's theory: to me it seems that, if things happened in the way in which he surmises, allusion to the adoption, and adaptation of this wonderful art would surely have appeared in Hindú writings: it may be true that no Arian race ever did *invent* an alphabet, and the operation suggested by Dowson can scarcely be called an invention in the proper sense, but only an adaptation of an *idea*, of which there exist several analogues in Asia, Africa and America. If the symbols, however, were entirely new, whence came the remarkable resemblance to the Semitic Alphabets in certain particulars? At any rate the Indians have beyond doubt scientifically developed their Alphabet to an extent quite unparalleled elsewhere.

In September 1883, at the Sixth Oriental Congress at Leyden, Shamaji Krishnavarma of Gujarát, a Sanskritist and graduate of the University of Oxford, and a Member of Baliol College, in the discussion which followed the reading of my paper in the Arian Section, read a note in reply, which is published in extenso in the Report of that Congress. He drew attention to certain expressions, words, and phrases, the use of which in the ancient literature of India proves that the art of writing must have existed from a very remote period. He maintains that certain works could not have been composed, if the art had not existed. Himself an Indian, and a Pandit, with a well-trained memory, he asks how could such an enormous literature as that of India have existed without the aid of writing. He admits that his ancestors had a preference for oral teaching, and that his contemporaries have it still, but he cited certain quotations to show that the art dates back to the most remote epoch.

None of the distinguished advocates of the independent origin of the Indian Alphabet appear to me to have considered sufficiently, if at all, this remarkable fact, that the formation of a pure alphabetic system, free from any traces

of Syllabary, or Ideograph, is a unique and exceptional invention, of which we find no instance except the Phenician in the history of the Human Race. It is not a simple conception, nor a necessary outcome of Human intelligence: the Chinese have never reached it, nor are likely to reach it. There are some things which it is hard to believe could have been invented twice: at any rate, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, and with opportunities of contact open, it is easier to believe that one nation derived it from the other.

Let us now consider the second category, that the Indian Alphabet was a *bonâ fide* foreign importation of *symbols* as well as *idea*. As might be expected, there is here a great variety of opinions.

First came the theory of a Greek origin. James Prinsep in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. vi. p. 219 (1837), hazards the opinion "that the oldest Greek was nothing more than Sanskrit turned topsy-turvy:" that illustrious Scholar could only write according to the light of his own period, and the wonder is, that he saw so many things clearly and rightly: his argument was "that so constant and close a conformity of the alphabetical Symbols of two distant nations could not exist without affording a demonstration of a common origin." In the volume of the same Journal for 1838 he sets out the "Greek resemblances" in detail. It does seem strange that he should not have thought of the even in his time well-known derivation of the Greek from the Phenician Alphabet, which is disclosed by the very names of the letters, and made his comparisons of the earliest form of the Indian Alphabet with the earliest form of the Mother Alphabet of the West. Dr. Otfried Müller followed Prinsep, and in 1838 suggested that the Greeks took their Alphabet to India in the time of Alexander the Great.

The theory of a Phenician origin requires more serious consideration. Jones had suggested in the Asiatic Researches a Semitic origin; he was followed by Professor Kopp in his *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit* (1821). Professor Lepsius in his treatise on Alphabets (1835) states

that he had no doubt that all the Indian Alphabets could be derived from the Semitic. Dr. Stephenson, in a paper on the Grammatical Structure of Vernacular Languages in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, vol. iii. p. 75 (1849), anticipated in a remarkable way the fact, that all the Alphabets of the world come from the same source, and that all Indian Alphabets come from the Phenician, or from the Egyptian: if it was a guess, it was a lucky one. Dr. Geisler in his *Studia Palæographica* (1859) not only derives the South Asóka Alphabet from the Semitic, but also the old Persian Cuneiform Alphabet of Darius. Weber in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxi. (1856), was the first not only to take up the subject of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, but to subject the question to a serious and minute discussion. He has a few weeks ago in a private letter called my attention to an opinion expressed by Prof. Benfey of Gottingen in an Encyclopædia published at Leipzig, p. 254 (1840), that both the conjectures of a Greek origin of the Indian Alphabet, and an Indian origin of the Greek Alphabet, are unnatural, but that it is not impossible that the Phenicians, to whom the Greeks owe their Alphabet, and whom we find about 1000 B.C. in commercial intercourse with India, made this important present also to the Indians: for thus by the intermediation of a common mother the resemblance of the Greek and Indian Alphabets, which is very striking as regards certain letters, is sufficiently explained. For the very peculiar development and systematization of the Alphabet in India would require a space of time equal to that between 1000 B.C. and 250 B.C., the age of the oldest Inscription. Weber tells me that he had either never read this opinion, or entirely forgotten it, for he does not allude to it in his Essay in 1856, and only by chance came across it, the book being rare, when he was preparing to reply to my letter. I wrote to him because I felt that betwixt 1856, and the present time great advance had been made in Palæographic study, and many discoveries made, notably the Moabite Stone, and numerous other groups of Semitic Inscriptions, and I wished to know whether he maintained

the same opinion. His opinion was then and is still that the Indians borrowed their Alphabet from the Phenicians at nearly the same time as the Greeks borrowed theirs from the same source, about the period betwixt the eighth and tenth century before Christ. A long time was required to develop the Indian Alphabet from the few Phenician Symbols, and so great has been the expansion that the Alphabet, as it exists, may be almost spoken of as an Indian invention. In his Essay Weber shows the manner in which the original Phenician Symbol was altered and changed to meet the necessities of the Indian language with its rich vocabularies, and he went into detail to meet the expressed wishes of his friends: he expresses the opinion that, though subsequent modifications might be suggested, the general result could with difficulty be combated.

In the Sequel of this Essay he discusses the resemblances between the Indian and Himyaritic characters, and explains them, as regards the consonants by the common Semitic origin of both Alphabets: as regards the vowels he assumes it as probable that the principle of the Himyaritic vowel-marks, not the marks themselves, was borrowed from the South Aśoka Alphabet. In doing so he sweeps away the opinion of Kopp, who found Masoretic influences, and of Gesenius, who found Greek influences, and he supports the opinion expressed by Lepsius (in 1836): the latter laid great stress on the name "Masnad" given to the Alphabet. Weber thinks that the reason why the Ethiopic Alphabet adopts the special mode of vowel notation, is the great wealth of Vowels in their Language, which is its distinguishing feature among all Semitic Languages, and that this being the feature of the Indian Languages also led to the same results. With regard to the period of the introduction of writing into India, Weber in his History of Indian Literature (1852) cannot admit the idea of such an art existing in the Veda or Brahmana period, and he attributes the great variety of texts held by different schools to their oral handing down: he quotes a remark made by Dr. Burnell in his "South Indian Palæography," that

in the North of India, the cradle of Indian literature, no indigenous materials for writing existed before the introduction of manufactured paper, and this fact I can confirm from a long and intimate knowledge of Northern India from the Indus to the Karamnasa River.

Prof. Henry Kern, of Leyden, who has made a close study of the Asóka Inscriptions, was good enough to send me his opinion by letter: he is quite positive that the Alphabet was not indigenous in India, and was derived from the Phœnician, but the peculiar channel by which the art was conveyed to India is quite uncertain. He is of opinion that the origin of the South Asóka Alphabet does not date from any remote period, for in the days of King Asóka it was used in various parts of North India and the Dakhan with insignificant variations. If it had been in use in India for many Centuries, more pronounced differences would be expected; as indeed the later history of the Indian Alphabet evidences. Allowing three Centuries as the period during which the writing might remain unchanged from its first use, 600 B.C. might be assumed as the date of the arrival of some Semitic Alphabet into India. This line of argument seems to me to take no notice of the fact, that the Asóka Inscriptions, though in different parts of India, were issued by the Ruling Power and probably in the Court character of the Empire, or the Province, just as the Nágari is used at this day in Public offices all over North India, in supercession of the numerous local varieties of script, which are used by the people.

Kern proceeds to remark that he cannot agree with the theory of M. Halévy (which will be described further on), that the discrepancies betwixt the North and South Asóka Alphabets, and the striking resemblance betwixt certain of the South Asóka and the Greek letters, could be explained by supposing that some of the letters of the South Asóka Alphabet had been remodelled under Greek influences. And his reason for non-agreement was the fact that the supposed influences must have operated precisely in those parts of India, to which the Greeks never penetrated, and no trace of

this influence is visible in the North Asóka Alphabet, which was used in countries where the Greeks had long exercised influence. He considers that the peculiar manner of denoting the vowels was an Indian invention, because in no other Language except the Old Persian is the short vowel *A* so predominant, that the framer of an Alphabet suited to the wants of the case would feel tempted to consider the short *A* as something to be understood. In fact, Kern thinks that the missing link betwixt the South Asóka and the Phenician has not yet been found, and that we cannot therefore state with confidence what the channel of communication was.

Prof. Bühler of Vienna, who during a long residence in India had turned his attention most particularly to the Inscriptions of India, which he has illustrated in the pages of the Journal of the German Oriental Society (1884), has expressed his opinion in a Memorandum printed in Vol. XIV. New Series of this Journal, as part of the late Sir Clive Bayley's paper on the Genealogy of Modern Numerals. He is of opinion that the South Asóka Alphabet comes before us a fully developed system about 300 B.C., and that it was even then an *old* institution in India, and that it owed its development to the grammatical schools of the Brahmans. He bases his theory on the fact of the enormous extent of territory over which it is found; that it must have been known among the higher and lower classes, as Asóka hoped to improve the morals of his subjects by his official Inscriptions: that the execution of the Inscriptions is excellent: that the Andhra Alphabet of the Caves is a sister-alphabet of the South Asóka, not a daughter, pointing to the existence of a common mother at some still earlier date. To this I reply that King Asóka may have published his official Edicts in his own official characters in every part of his dominions without the necessity of that character being localized in these parts, or being understood by the people. Inscriptions are found in many parts of Asia, and in Egypt, in situations, where apparently the object of their being placed there was not that

they should be read or understood, but for the self-glorification of the Sovereign who erected it.

Bühler shows that it must have been the Brahmanical Grammarians, who developed this Alphabet, as no other class would have invented five or six different signs for nasal sounds, three sibilants, and a careful distinction betwixt short and long vowels. Now this argument does not exclude the possibility of a Phœnician origin, subject to a Brahmanical development, to suit a fine polished school language. But the number of nasals and sibilants are required for the Sanskrit Grammarian, and nobody else, for the Prakrit Language, in which alone Inscriptions are found, has thrown off this extreme discrimination of sounds. But this leads us to the conclusion, according to Bühler, that they must have been *long in use* before the time when we first find them: and, as we shall see below, this opinion is of the utmost importance in determining by what channel the Phœnician Alphabet found its way to India. He remarks that the inference as to a very early cultivation of the art of writing in India, *at a time much anterior to 300 B.C.*, is strengthened by the consideration of the North Asóka, which was clearly worked up by the same class of people, who fashioned the South Asóka: take for instance the system of vowel notation and of compound letters.

The late Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, in a letter to the "Academy," Jan. 9, 1877, accepting the fact that India derived its Alphabet from the Phœnician, starts the idea, that this Alphabet might have found its way to the Peninsula through the Island of Ceylon: if, as he assumes, the Arab traders were the introducers, this course in his opinion would be the likely one. Mr. Rhys Davids, late of the Ceylon Civil Service, drew attention to this opinion at the Leyden Congress in the discussion which followed my paper, and puts the case still more distinctly: viz. that the Ceylon forms of the South Asóka Alphabet were so different in several cases from those used in the Indian Inscriptions, that an independent origin was inferred for the Ceylon Alphabet, if not the greater honour of being the

channel of transmission to India of that Alphabet. When Goldschmidt died, his work was completed by Dr. E. Müller, who in his Report on the Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, p. 24 (1883), remarks, that the art of writing seems not to have been known in Ceylon so early as in India, for not only are there no Inscriptions, which can be assigned to the date of King Asóka, but nothing older than the first Century before the Christian era. As we cannot argue beyond our evidence, Goldschmidt's theory cannot be seriously entertained.

The name of M. Emile Senart of Paris must ever be connected with the Inscriptions of King Asóka, in consequence of the elaborate revision, which he has made of the text and translation in the pages of the Journal of the French Asiatic Society (1880-1883). An expression in Isaac Taylor's "Alphabet," page 304 (1883), implies that Senart still attributed the peculiarities of the South Asóka Alphabet to Greek influences. As I could trace nothing in his published works to elucidate this point, I wrote to Senart, and asked him, whether he still held that view, and whether he would favour me with an abstract of the argument on which he based that view: he courteously replied by return of post, that it was an entire mistake to attribute such views to him, and that he purposed to discuss the subject of the origin of the Asóka Alphabet in the Epilogue to his Essays on the Inscriptions themselves. He however informed me of his conviction that the Asóka Alphabet was undoubtedly of Semitic origin. If there were any indications of Greek influence, they were restricted to æsthetic influences, which contributed to the regular and monumental appearance which they presented. As to the particular channel by which this Semitic Alphabet found its way to India, Senart was unable to pronounce any opinion: but to him it seemed impossible that the Aramean germ could have found its way to the South Asóka by the same road which was traversed to the North Asóka. On the other hand, he could accept the theory of an origin from South Arabia.

The late Dr. Burnell, of H.M. Indian Civil Service, in 1874 published his Elements of South Indian Palæography,

which marks an Epoch in the Science. His conclusions are important.

I. That the art of writing was little, if at all, known in India before the third Century before the Christian era, and that there is not the least trace of the development in India of an original and independent system ; it followed, therefore, that the art was introduced by foreigners, or at least borrowed from foreign countries.

II. That the original source was the Semitic alphabet, but that the immediate source was uncertain, there being three possible channels, the Phenician, the Himyaritic, and the Aramean : he discusses each separately.

As regards the first possibility, he lays it down as his opinion that all Phenician communications must have ceased five hundred years before the date fixed by him as the earliest date of writing in India. If, then, the art had arrived at that remote period, it would have been perfected and been in common use, which was not the case. It was difficult, according to him, to understand how the form of the letters could be retained with so little modification for such a long period, for the changes of the characters of a date subsequent to the Inscriptions of King Asóka were very rapid and marked. He further notices that all the South Asóka Inscriptions are in the same character, from which fact he deduces that the art of writing possibly spread over North India from Gújarát, the place where, in his opinion, it was first used. In the course of a very few centuries subsequently the characters used in Gújarát and Orissa, in both of which Provinces exist Asóka Inscriptions which are practically identical, became totally different, as is notoriously the case at the present day.

As regards the second possibility, that the South Asóka Alphabet was the offspring of the Himyaritic Alphabet in South Arabia, the great difficulty in Burnell's mind was to show that the South Arabians were in a position to furnish India with the elements of an Alphabet as early as the fourth Century before Christ. He admits that this Alphabet is written boustrophédon, which gets over the difficulty of

the different direction of the South Asóka Alphabet from its presumed Semitic original. He remarks that the Himyaritic Alphabet did not mark the vowels, but he admits that the Ethiopic Alphabet, its admitted derivative, *did* mark them. He leaves the case open, subject to further discoveries of lapidary Inscriptions in a country which is still virgin soil.

As regards the third possibility, that the South Asóka Alphabet is derived from an Aramaic type used in Persia, Burnell is more sanguine. He brushes away the idea that it can be traced back to the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabary, or the old Persian Cuneiform Alphabet, but he calls attention to the cursive Aramean character, which had long been in use in Mesopotamia, and which, at a much later period, in the form of Pahlavi, became the official character of Persia. He quotes Professor Sayce to show that tablets exist, written in Cuneiform characters with Aramean docketts, as old as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (745 B.C.). His difficulty, both in the first Edition of his Book (1874) and the second (1878), was that the South Asóka Alphabet (as well as the North Asóka and the Vatteluttu) had a peculiar method of indicating vowels in the body of the word, and that this method, though closely resembling the method of vowel-points in Semitic Alphabets, could not be evidenced as existing at a date earlier than the date at which it clearly was in use in India. In 1882, while suffering under that malady which proved fatal, he addressed a letter to the "Academy" to announce the discovery by Professor Sayce in the British Museum of a Cuneiform contract tablet, which precisely satisfied his requirements: it had a docket by one of the parties in a hitherto unknown character, which appeared to Burnell, after examination, to resemble closely the South Asóka Alphabet, with vowels marked as in the Indian Alphabet. This document could be attributed to the date of Artaxerxes II., who fought against Xenophon at the battle of Cunaxa (401 B.C.), a date earlier than that of any Indian Inscription, and the Language is *not* Indian. Every line written by Burnell is precious: he died at the age of forty-

two: had he lived longer, the world would have known more.

Let us now consider the opinions of other writers on the subject of the three possibilities of Burnell.

I. The Phenician origin. We have seen above that several writers have approved of this theory. Isaac Taylor in "The Alphabet," page 312, vol. ii. (1883), supports Burnell's objections: he states that the trade of India with Phenicia ceased 800 B.C., that only one character is found to exist in 250 B.C. so many Centuries later, that the art of writing was not practised in India till 600 B.C., and that there is no appreciable resemblance between the Asóka and early Phenician type, say the Moabite Stone. Now in my opinion none of these arguments are conclusive. It is not clear from History that the intercourse of India with Phenicia did cease so early, nor does the official character used by King Asóka for his edicts in the different Provinces of his vast dominions exclude the possibility of the existence of many other varieties of script in use by the people. The English Government issues its official orders in the Nágari character in Upper India, but it is notorious that very many varieties of script of the Indian type exist in the different Provinces in use by Bankers, and Accountants. Many Sanskrit scholars of note insist from internal evidence upon a much earlier introduction into India of the art of writing, as the *sine quá non* of the existence of its literature. Lastly we cannot rest much on resemblance, when we know historically, and beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Arabic Shikastah, the Mongolian, the Greek, and the Roman Alphabet all descended from the Phenician.

Bayley, of H.M.'s Indian Civil Service, had long interested himself in this question: so far back as 1867 he took part in the discussion which arose in the Bengal Asiatic Society upon Thomas' theory above described. When I brought the subject before the Royal Asiatic Society in Jan. 1884, he made some remarks, with the following abstract of which he has favoured me. After combating the assertion that the Phenician intercourse with India ceased before the destruc-

tion of Tyre by Alexander the Great, he remarks that Indian writing had certainly an antiquity greater than this latter date, that in his opinion the Nana Ghát (in West India) Inscriptions were of considerably greater antiquity than the Asóka Edicts, and not impossibly may be referred to the middle of the Fourth Century B.C. But even these represent the Alphabet already equipped with the full array of aspirated and cerebral letters, and distinctive marks for long vowels. Probably even this alteration was derived from the North Asóka, as the signs, which form the aspirated letters, seem to be imitated from that alphabet, and have in the South Asóka no inherent meaning, while in the North Asóka they represent the letter H. The simple Alphabet therefore on which the South Asóka was based must have been known to the Indians very long before the Fourth Century B.C.

The Phenicians were in contact with India at least as early as the time of Solomon, and they certainly possessed an Alphabet at that time, with which the Indians may have been acquainted. Some of the Indian letters seem clearly to be derived from the Archaic form of the Phenician Alphabet: others from later types: many probably from the branch from which the Sassanian Alphabet eventually descended. As the Indians borrowed from an extraneous source, they would naturally, until their own Alphabet took its final shape, appropriate any more concurrent, or cursive form, which later improvement of the original presented. The change of direction of the South Asóka Alphabet may be attributed to the occasional use of the Boustrophedon method by early Phenicians, and to the nature of the material on which the Indians originally wrote. The latter was a substitute for the fine clay, on which the tablets of the Western Asiatics were written, and not being available in India was replaced by the use of tablets of wood smeared with a mixture of clay and cowdung, as is still used largely in the Village Schools of North and West India. This would account for the name given in the oldest Indian Inscriptions to writing: viz.

“lipi,” which (as Burnell pointed out, though he rejected the inference) seems to come from the root “lip” “to smear.” It may be observed that at the present day the use of the root is almost exclusively confined to “smearing with clay cowdung.” On such a material it would be far easier to write that portion of the boustrophédon method which proceeded from left to right, as in the opposite method the hand would obliterate what was written on the surface of the moist material. The former therefore in the end would be eventually adopted to the exclusion of the other, and with it the reversed mode of writing the Phenician characters, which would be further modified by the necessity of epigraphic purposes. I deeply regret that, while these pages were passing through the Press, this accomplished Scholar and amiable man has been lost to his friends.

As regards the second possibility, it was M. Lenormant who first seriously put forward the theory that the South Asóka was derived from the Himyaritic. It is sad to think that the bright light of his genius has been extinguished in a premature death. In his Essay on the Phenician Alphabet (1872), which is an unfinished work, he makes the bold assertion or happy guess at page 150, vol. i. that the South Asóka sprung from the Himyaritic, and in his Sixth Table in the appendix to the first volume he gives the Indo-Homerite Branch, under which the Ethiopic, and the whole Family of Indian Scripts are ranged, but he either never worked out, or at any rate never published the details of his proofs. In my own Essay on the Phenician Alphabet published in 1876 in the Calcutta Review, and reprinted in my collected volume of Linguistic and Oriental Essays (1880), I followed Lenormant, and at page 355 of the latter work I give the Indo-Arabian stem, and remark on the new feature which this stem of scripts discloses in the fact that the notation of vowels is formed by conventional appendages to the symbol used for the consonant, and to such an extent that in consequence of this appendage in many cases the appearance of the consonant is modified. As it was not part of my plan in a brief Essay on the whole

Phenician Alphabet to go into the proofs of a single stem, and as to me the theory was entirely new, at page 364 I remarked that the question of this affiliation was still an open one, and that the nomenclature of this stem, assuming this fact, is premature, and can only be accepted with reserve. Isaac Taylor in "The Alphabet," 1883, p. 314, lays claim to the credit of having worked out the proofs not supplied by Lenormant, and he is satisfied that his theory is correct, and that Burnell is mistaken. His argument is as follows :

The transmission of the Semitic alphabet could only have been effected through some nation which was in commercial or political contact with India prior to the expedition of Alexander. Then, as now, India had intercourse with the Western world through two channels, by land and by sea. Her Northern Alphabet plainly came to her through the Khaibar Pass; her Southern Alphabet, that of the Inscriptions on the western coast, as manifestly must have come by sea. Now, from the tenth to the third century B.C. Yemen was the great central mart in which Indian products were exchanged for the merchandize of the West. For a prolonged period this lucrative traffic was in the hands of the Sabeans, and was the main source of their proverbial opulence. The trade between Egypt and Yemen began as early as 2300 B.C., that between Yemen and India was established not later than 1000 B.C. Even in the time of the Ptolemies the Indian trade was not direct, but passed through the hands of the Sabeans, who possessed extensive commerce and large vessels. Their ports were frequented by trading vessels from all parts; from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the coast of Africa, and especially from the mouth of the Indus. From the Periplus we learn that Aden was a great entrepôt of this commerce, while at the beginning of the second century B.C. the island of Socotra was the centre of exchange for Indian products. There was therefore ample opportunity for the transmission to India of the Sabean Alphabet, which must have branched off from the Phenician stem at some time not later than the sixth century B.C.

It is to this very period that the origin of the Indian Alphabet must be assigned. A very superficial examination will suffice to show that the Asóka Alphabet, though it offers hardly any appreciable resemblance to any of the Northern Semitic Alphabets, agreed in a very remarkable way with the general type of the Alphabets of the Southern Semitic family. The common characteristics of the Indian and Southern Semitic Alphabets are their monumental style, the direction of the writing, the vocalization, and the retention of the primitive looped and zigzag forms. The general aspect of the Sabean Inscriptions agrees so remarkably with those of the Asóka that the resemblance cannot fail to strike the most careless observer. In both Alphabets the letters are symmetrically constructed out of combinations of straight lines and arcs of circles. Hence the writing is rigid, regular, and monumental, all slanting and cursive forms being absolutely excluded. The Sabean Inscriptions are written from left to right as well as from right to left. No importance, however, can be attached to the remarkable agreement between the Ethiopic and Indian systems of vocalic notation, since the Ethiopic Alphabet is later in date than the other.

Strengthened by the above arguments, I brought forward this solution of the problem distinctly at the Leyden Congress in 1883 in my paper on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, and although a long discussion followed, in which many distinguished men took part, I cannot flatter myself that a single one supported my views. I stated the case as follows:

The South Asóka Alphabet was imported from Arabia, and was derived by the Red Sea, from the Himyaritic development of the Phenician Alphabet. Unquestionably the continuous existence of a commerce between Yemen and South India can be asserted from a very remote period, quite sufficient to meet all requirements. This channel of conveying the knowledge of the Alphabet was possible. It is shown further that the Himyaritic Alphabet branched off from the Phenician not later than the sixth century before Christ, and it is to about this date that the origin of the

Indian Alphabet is assigned, as the result of a careful chain of reasoning. It is suggestive that there exists in the extreme south of the peninsula of India a third Alphabet, confessedly independent of the South Asóka, the Vatteluttu, which, though nearly entirely superseded by later Alphabets, has left marked traces of its peculiarities in the Tamil character. Now this Alphabet, though differing from the South Asóka, and only adapted to the sound of a Dravidian language, shares with the Asóka certain Semitic resemblances, and must have been a foreign importation; and in this case there can be no question that it must have been imported by sea from countries which already possessed Alphabets, for there exists no possible presumption of its invention at home or importation by land from abroad.

Passing from general considerations to a particular comparison of the original letters of the South Asóka with the Himyaritic, I stated that the style of both is strikingly monumental; the direction of the writing of the South Asóka is from left to right, and we find that Himyaritic is written in the boustrophédon manner either way, and as a fact its admitted descendant, the Ethiopic, adopted the same direction as the Asóka. It is noteworthy that to the same Alphabet of Arabia the honour is thus ascribed of giving a vehicle of speech to India and Ethiopia. The mode of noting the vowels in the Ethiopic and the Asóka have a special resemblance, and although the Ethiopic came into existence at a much later date, yet its possession of these peculiarities, and its undoubted parentage, add to the probability of the South Asóka, which possesses the same features, having come, though at an earlier date, from the same stock. The objections are that in India culture, religion, and the arts of civilization have always proceeded from the North to the South. As a general rule this may be the case, but the casual introduction of a special art from a foreign country must be an exception. In modern times the art of printing has spread from the South to the North, being an import from the West, just as it is urged that more than 2000 years earlier the art of writing found its way.

I admitted however that a more serious objection was that up to this time no Himyaritic Inscription of a date sufficiently early had been found. Late in time, compared to the Inscriptions of Western Asia and North Africa, as the South Asóka Inscriptions confessedly were, the oldest of the Himyaritic was considerably later. If such an Archæological Survey of South Arabia, as has now taken place in India, were possible, earlier Inscriptions might be found, as the Himyaritic Alphabet is elaborate and refined, and the culture of Yemen is of remote antiquity. As it is, the intercomparison of existing specimens is that of sister Alphabets, alleged to be derived from a common, though as yet unknown prototype.

After all, I only propounded a hypothesis, for there neither exists, nor is likely ever to exist, any direct or material proof. History is silent; tradition is non-existent; no hints or inductions can be drawn from ancient literature.

Against Burnell's third possibility, Isaac Taylor in "The Alphabet," vol. ii. p. 313, urges that there is no appreciable resemblance betwixt the Aramean and the South Asóka types, that in the former the loops of the letters had been opened, and in the latter closed: that this very Aramean type was already represented in India by the North Asóka, and that it was impossible to admit, that two such very different types should have found their way to India from the same source, one coming overland through Afghanistan, and the other by sea through the Persian Gulf. He lays stress upon the fact that Burnell bases his argument upon a hypothetical Alphabet, the existence of which cannot be materially proved. Now to this argument of Taylor's and one remark of Senart's at page 344, in my opinion it may be urged that the North-West frontier of India extends one thousand miles from the Indian Ocean at Kuráchi to the Himálaya at Pesháwar, and that the approach to India, whether by Armies or by Merchants, has been effected by a multiplicity of mountain passes all down the frontier line, and that there is little intercourse betwixt the tribes to the South of the Bolan Pass opening into Sindh, and the tribes North of that pass, who enter India by their own

passes into the country of the Five Rivers. The scripts used in Persia may have found their way to India at different times, and by different passes: unquestionably the North Asóka is found in existence at the mouth of the Khaibar pass. The South Asóka may have come by the Bolan, and have never come into contact with the North. Again, the absence of an Inscription of a date sufficiently early to be the prototype of the South Asóka Alphabet presses with equal force against the theory of the South Arabian, as the Aramean origin, and it may with equal hardiness and light-heartedness be asserted, that there is no reason why an Archaic Inscription of a sufficient antiquity should not be discovered in unexplored regions at some centre of primitive Commerce on the Shores of the Persian Gulf. The argument of the absence of resemblance has been already noticed.

M. Halévy ranks as one of the most distinguished Palæographers of the time, and he has not confined, like so many, his labours to the cabinet, but at the risk of his life he has collected or copied Inscriptions in the field: he is also famous in Europe as an independent polemic, one who hits all round with wonderful impartiality, and retires to a perfectly isolated pinnacle of his own private judgment. He was present at the Leyden Congress last September, and when I had read my paper on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, he attacked my conclusions, and his argument is published in extenso in the Report of the Congress, though it is in fact but a résumé of a longer contribution to the Journal of the French Academy of Inscriptions not yet published. In his view no previous writer has yet satisfactorily explained the two-fold form of the vowels in the Indian Alphabet, when used as an initial or medial, and that all have erroneously accepted the theory that the North and South Asóka Alphabets were totally distinct, with the exception of the resemblance of the forms of medial vowels, which the North Asóka is supposed to have borrowed from the South.

Halévy considers the North Asóka as older in date than the South, and that therefore it is necessary to com-

prehend the features of the elder sister before the position of the younger can be understood. No one has ever doubted that the North Asóka is of Semitic origin. Halévy affiliates it to the Aramean Script, of which the Ptolemaic papyri in the Louvre are specimens. Sixteen consonants were at once adopted with slight, if any, modifications; from these sixteen primaries, the secondary consonants were formed, which were necessary for the requirements of a Prakrit Language. He traces the vowels to the same source, and the absence of any symbol for short A, which is supposed to exist where no other vowel is expressed. He considers that the South Asóka was formed in an analogous way, but of more eclectic elements. After a careful analysis of its component parts, he finds that a certain portion of the forms are Aramean, and a certain portion Phœnician: when however he studies the phenomena of the existence of an Alphabet with a few Archaic forms and a great number of greatly modified Aramean forms, he is driven to the conclusion that as the archaic form of the South Asóka must have been derived from an Alphabet, which had preserved its archaic form up to the Ptolemaic period, and as the Mother Alphabet must have been at the very gate of India, it could clearly have been no other than the Greek Alphabet which was diffused in India at the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great.

To the seventeen consonants obtained thus, the Indian scribes added seventeen secondary, while to form the vowels they combined the systems of the North Asóka and the Greek; from the first they adopted the medial symbols, and from the latter the initial. He considers that both the North and South Asóka were introduced at a date later than that of Alexander the Great, in the reign of Chandragupta, about 330 to 325 B.C., for the purposes of a Prakrit Language; but for the Sanskrit Language it was not used till after 250 B.C., and that the Vedic literature was not *committed to writing* until after that date. As if not satisfied with the amount of antagonism aroused by his Palæographical novelties, Halévy turns round, and stirs up another nest of hornets by the

suggestion that the Vedic hymns were not even themselves *composed* till after the invasion of Alexander the Great.

Up to this point all the advocates of the Semitic origin of the Indian Alphabet, whose opinions we have quoted, have admitted, directly or indirectly, that the Phenician Alphabet, to which by one way or other they have traced it back, was at some remote period previously derived from the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and it would have been unnecessary to allude to that point in this controversy but for the fact that Prof. Deecke of Strasburg in the XXXIst volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, p. 102, has asserted that the Semitic Alphabet is derived from the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabary, and in the same volume of that Journal, page 598, goes on to prove the South Asóka Alphabet is derived from the South Semitic Alphabet. At p. 612 he sums up his argument that the South Asóka and Himyaritic Alphabets exhibit such a close relation, that they must have both derived their origin from the same Mother Alphabet, which however at page 599 he admits is only an hypothetical Alphabet. As a proof of this connection he cited the whole appearance of the letters, their regularity, stiffness, uniformity of size, as well as other peculiar features. It is not possible in his opinion to derive one from the other. As part of the argument rests upon the connection of the early Semitic Alphabet with the Cuneiform characters, it is necessary to notice this theory separately, although he arrives at the same conclusion as those who adopt Burnell's second possibility.

All the writers previously cited advocate either an indigenous, or a Western, origin to the South Asóka, but in the last few years a new theory has been propounded by Prof. Terrien de La Couperie of an Eastern origin, and as this has been distinctly stated in a paper read by him at a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, June 20, 1881, "On the Sinico-Indian origin of the Indo-Pali writing" (which has not hitherto been published), and as this theory was alluded to in the discussion at the Leyden Congress by Rhys Davids, it is necessary that his argument should be clearly stated. I applied to the

author for a brief statement of his theory, and he informed me that he proposed soon to publish a paper on the subject, and referred me to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIV. N.S. I had not the pleasure of hearing the paper read, but I find that in the issue of the "Academy" of the subsequent week, it is stated that the author gave reasons for rejecting both the theory of an indigenous, and of a Semitic origin, and pointed out that historical facts as well as traditions demonstrated that relations did exist between India and China as early as the third Century B.C. He considered that the Indo-Pali or South Asóka Alphabet had been systematized from an older system of writing consisting on the borders of China of a certain number of Chinese characters used phonetically for commercial purposes. This statement was supplied to the Secretary of the Society by the author, and in the above-quoted volume of the *Journal of the R.A.S.* at page 123, in a paper on a Lolo Manuscript, the same author finds an intimate connection of the characters used by the Lolo, a tribe, subject to, but not ethnologically connected with, the Chinese in the province of Se-chuen, with the characters on the stone seal found at Harapa near Lahore, already alluded to in page 335, and a remote affinity with the Indo-Pali. In a paper in the same volume, p. 802 and 803 (note), on "The Yh-King and its Authors," he remarks: "The influence of the advanced civilization and the mixture of the Ugro-Altaiic early Chinese immigrants with the native population of China were not confined to the area of their political power. . . . The phonetic writing, propagated by the Chinese immigrants, was eagerly adopted by the active and intelligent population of the South-West: in 1109 A.D. the Annamites had a phonetic writing, and in several instances we have tidings bearing on the existence of such writings, composed of a great number of Chinese simple characters used according to the phonetic principle disused by the Chinese. These simple characters, selected by progressive elimination of the less easy to draw and to combine, formed a special script, of which we knew several offshoots, and have been, as far as affinities of shape, sound and tra-

dition are to be trusted, the Grundschrift with which has been framed that splendid monument of phonetic lore, the South Indian Alphabet, or Lat-Pali." In this age we have so many startling theories, and still more wonderful facts, that I must be excused if I hold my breath for a time, and suspend my judgment, until the paper appears *in extenso*.

It is clear from the above résumé that we are a long way from finality, and indeed that each year puts us further off, as new theories are started. A sudden find of Inscriptions may alter the whole position of the controversy, and introduce new facts, engender new doubts, or establish new convictions. I must protest against the assertion that the direction of writing adopted by the Greeks, Romans and Indians is more natural, convenient and facile, than that of the Semitic Alphabets, as some writers, who know India by books only, maintain. Having practical knowledge of the use of the pen either way, right to left, or left to right, I think otherwise. The right arm is more free to act when it commences its work outstretched, and works towards the left, as a barber uses his razor. If I required in my Indian office a letter to be written quickly, I should have entrusted the duty to an Indian Clerk, who used the Arabic, and not the Nágari, character.

Many who will read these pages have, like myself, been familiar for a quarter of a century with the Arabic and Nágari characters, not as a pleasing and interesting study, but as the necessities of our daily drudgery as Magistrates, Collectors, and Judges in Northern India. If our Proceedings and Petitions were drawn up in the Arabic, all the village accounts, all the shopkeepers' ledgers, the majority of title-deeds, and all bankers' letters of credit were in some form or other, horribly degraded, and miserably written, of the Indian Alphabet, one of the descendants of the South Asóka. When I state that the affairs of one hundred millions are managed and recorded in one or other or both at the same time of these Alphabets, the case is not overstated. Every officer of Government, European or Native, is expected to be able to understand one: some few officers

can write both : many officers can read both, setting aside the documents that were extremely badly written, and this last remark would equally apply to badly-written Roman. Now if any one twenty years ago had told me in India that the three characters, which I was simultaneously using, the Roman, the Arabic, and the Nágari, came from the same source and within historical times, notably since the composition of Homer's poems, I should have laughed in his nose, and yet by the sure and safe process of historical and palæographical induction and comparison, the fact in my opinion is nearly as certain as the second amazing fact, that the three languages which I promiscuously, and without effort, used in the transaction of business, English, Persian and Hindi, came from the same Mother Language beyond any possible human doubt, this fact being admitted by all.

After sending the above pages to the Press, it was intimated to me that, as I had made a criticism of the opinions of all the authorities, I was bound to express a distinct opinion of my own upon the issues raised : I accordingly record the following, that

I. The Indian Alphabet is in no respect an independent invention of the People of India, who, however, elaborated to a marvellous extent a loan, which they had received from others.

II. The *idea* of representing Vowel and Consonant Sounds by symbols of a pure alphabetic character was derived from Western Asia beyond any reasonable doubt.

III. The *germs* of the Indian Alphabet are possibly to be found in the Phœnician Alphabet, from which beyond doubt sprung independently the Greek and Arabic Alphabets : the origin of the Phœnician Alphabet is to be found in the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

IV. It cannot be ascertained with certainty, upon the evidence before us, by what channel, or through which branch, of the Phœnician Alphabet-stem India received either the *idea* or the *germs*.

ART. XVII.—*The Yi king of the Chinese, as a book of Divination and Philosophy.* By the Rev. Dr. EDKINS, M.R.A.S.

AN important point in the study of the Yi king is the recognition of its existence before Wen wang's time. The elements of main difference between the Yi king of the early dynasties and that of Wen wang was in the order of the Kwa. The same names were current, and probably the admonitory remarks were, many of them, the same also. These remarks are all anonymous, and we are at liberty to guess who wrote them. The appendices are anonymous also, and they may have mainly been written by men before the time of Confucius. The three sages, Wen wang, Cheu kung, and Confucius, were all editors, and Fu hi the original author.

As Fu hi is supposed by tradition to have lived about 3020 B.C.,¹ before the invention of the plough, in the days when men's occupations were mainly hunting and fishing, he belongs to what is called the Mythic period. He may, however, have really existed, and perhaps the preferable hypothesis respecting him is that he was a Chinese and lived in China. At least this is the Chinese notion. The part that Babylonia, Susiana, and Bactria had in helping forward the early progress of China in knowledge and the arts would be by successive contributions of information at different times. The early acquaintance of the Chinese with astronomy, their calendar, their cycles, and their symbols used in writing, are best accounted for in this way. Possibly foreigners settled in China on each occasion of the intro-

¹ If we adopt the assumption of Chinese native chronology, which makes the year B.C. 104, when the winter solstice occurred on the day Kia Tsi, the 17th year in the 44th cycle, and regard the first cycle as commencing in the 8th year of Hwang ti, we obtain B.C. 2757 as the eighth year of Hwang ti. To this add Shen nung 140, Fu hi 115 years.

duction of western information. But I am inclined to the supposition that the early emperors recognized by the Chinese were all natives. A period of four thousand years is not too much for the growth of a language like the Chinese. During the whole of the third millennium before Christ the Chinese race may very well have been in their present home, and Fu hi may have been a Chinese born in the country. He may, as the Chinese say, have invented the practice of divination by the milfoil, and have acted among his countrymen and subjects as a prophet. The third appendix to the Yi king tells us that (Legge, p. 382) Fu hi worked at the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky, that is, the sun, moon, and stars, and at the shapes or figures which presented themselves on the earth. He then looked at the feathers and hair of birds and beasts, and examined plants and trees, whose appearances vary according to the season of the year and the locality in which they are found. He took note of what is in the body whether physical or moral. He also looked forth on what is beyond man to whatever class of being it may belong. He then made the Pa kwa, etc.

This description may be taken to mean that this ancient emperor of five millenniums ago accomplished much towards the formation of a system of writing, in addition to the invention of the Pa kwa. Ting nan hu of the Ming dynasty says, the invention of writing is attributed by every one to Tsang kie, and it is not said that it originated with Fu hi. If Tsang kie was an officer of Hwang ti, it will be right to say that Fu hi commenced making the characters, and that they were completed in the time of Tsang kie. Or it may be said that Tsang kie was an officer of the emperor Fu hi. All this is now beyond the reach of research.

Whether we assign to Fu hi a share in the invention of the characters or not, we must, if we would retain for him the invention of the Pa kwa, exclude rigorously from our chronology all extravagant elements not belonging to classical and primitive tradition. Thus, in Lie tsi, we are told (ch. vii. p. 9) that Fu hi lived more than 30,000 years

ago. He also says (chap. ii. p. 16), Fu hi, Nü kwa, Shen nung and Hia Heu (founder of the Hia dynasty) had snake bodies, human faces, buffalo heads, and tiger noses. This Tauist author belongs to an age of fictitious literature, and is, indeed, himself the oldest extant example of it. His account of the fairy islands is so like a tale of foreign origin that our only doubt need be as to whether this story entered China by Bactria or Cochin China (ch. v. pp. 3, 4). Cyrus had taken Babylon and established the Persian empire in the century before Lie tsü. The eyes of the Tauist philosophers were intently fixed on the west. It would be by the importation of Babylonian or Hindü tradition that Lie tsü would imagine the existence of a god of the north called Gugom, a vast circumambient ocean bathing the shores of the world and monsters swimming about with vast islands on their heads. These he mentions in connexion with Fu hi and Shen nung. He must have seen Babylonian mythological pictures with figures half man and half fish. He wrote in a spirit of greedy credulity, without cool insight, his aim being to help in leading his countrymen to aspire after moral perfection by living in a land of dreams and practising an ascetic life. We must reject Tauist stories, because the standpoint of the authors is not satisfactory. The historical instinct belongs in China only to the Confucian school. The clustering of myths around the early Chinese emperors and their times began, however, before the days of Lau tsü. Thus we find romance commencing about B.C. 1000 in the time of Mu wang, and in Kwan tsü B.C. 680 we have mentioned (ch. xxiii. p. 6) a personage called Chui jen, who in the folklore of those days, when P'an ku was unknown, served as a first ancestor of the human race and as first instructor in cookery.

Rejecting mere folklore and Tauist stories, we will follow the admitted ancient works and treat the traditions of the Yi king and all the older classics as the true primitive tradition of China. We may then with a certain confidence regard Fu hi as a real man, who lived about B.C. 3000, but had neither the body of a fish nor the nose of a tiger, yet taught his countrymen useful arts, and, believing in divination, taught them this also.

The Yi king reads like a genuine relic of ancient times. It has the tone and colouring of high antiquity in the text and older appendices. There is a marked absence of myth. The persons mentioned are real. The incidents bear the stamp of actuality. There is poetry and imagination, but it is never mythological. In these respects it is like the Book of Odes, which contains no Tauist element, and no myths like those of the post-Confucian period. The celestial emperor, the earthly emperor, and the human emperor, myths of the later Han period, imported from western countries after the time of Christ, are entirely foreign to the Chinese classics, as they were entirely unknown to the ancient Chinese people. The same is true of P'an ku. The Yi king belongs to a time when all such personages were in the future; it is, itself, a truthful picture of ancient China and may be fearlessly referred to as descriptive of what the country was, chiefly in the second millennium before Christ.

The Shwo kwa chwen, or appendix V. in Legge's translation, is mentioned by him as containing one mythological passage. It is remarkable that this appendix was lost, and was afterwards found about B.C. 30, by a woman in the wall of an old house. This was after the time when King fang introduced the principle of applying a kwa to each of the twelve months. Perhaps there has been manipulation in this appendix, after it left the hands of Confucius.


The first great school of Yi king interpretation was in fact introduced by King fang¹ and rests on the application of the symbols of this book to physical nature as its pivot. We see the effect of this in the explanation of the Fu kwa the 24th. Instead of being an affair of a returning seventh day as in the text, it is applied to the eleventh month, and strictly limited to the time of the winter solstice. It suited the ideas of the Han period to apply the Yi king to symbolize the seasons and the phenomena of day and night,

¹ King fang again is said by critics to have derived his views from Meng hi, also of the Han dynasty. But King fang is the more prominent figure. The imperial calendar, published annually, is profoundly influenced by his opinions.

but this was not known to Confucius. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Ch'en t'wan, a Tauist, and Shan yan fu, a Confucianist, founded a new school by introducing what they called the Sien tien ch'i hio doctrine of the early heaven, meaning by this name the teaching of Fu hi. Shan yan fu aimed to restore the primitive order of the characters, but he failed, in the judgment, at least, of Man si ho, who attacked him vigorously, saying that in placing heaven in the south, earth in the north, fire in the east, and water in the west, he had merely followed the leading of the Tauist Wei pe yang, the alchemist of the second century. The celebrated commentator Ch'eng yi adopted the principles of moral philosophy (Li hio) in opposition to those of Shan yan fu (Shu hio, doctrine of numbers). The authors of Chien lung's catalogue ascribe to Man si ho the merit of founding a new school in the 17th century, on the principles of accurate criticism of Chinese antiquity.

THE SEVENTH KWA, SHĪ, ARMY.

To obtain the correct sense of the Yi king, our best course is to view it as a collection of fragments added to, from time to time, by court diviners.

For instance, we have before us the 7th hexagram . This consists of two parts, (k'an) kham and (kwun) khon. The whole is shī, an army. The lower three lines are called kham, a sinking cavity. The upper three are k'on, earth, submission. Let us suppose that an army is about to set out on an expedition. The emperor orders the diviners to inform him by their methods what will be the success of the expedition. The diviner takes his fifty straws. He manipulates them in a variety of ways, till he obtains a certain figure of six lines. He finds that the 7th kwa, Shī, army, is the answer to his inquiry. This he has to interpret. He has before him in the first place three symbols, shī, k'am, k'un, coming down from the author of the eight kwa. They mean 'army,' 'many,' 'to lead an army,' for the whole hexagram, 'danger,' 'water,' for the lower three strokes, and 'earth'

and 'submission' for the upper. As a rule, thus much was common to the three divining guide books in use at the court of the Cheu dynasty.

In addition, there were remarks inserted in the books by previous diviners. These remarks were anonymous, but in the Cheu li, as the Yi king of the Cheu dynasty was called, it was understood that a good many of these remarks came from Wen wang, the ancestral founder, and Cheu kung, the legislator of that dynasty.

The 7th hexagram is explained thus: "Army. If the leader be correct in character and views, there will be good fortune. No need to fear." This may be from Wen wang, or from some ancient diviner and adopted by Wen wang. It may be an admonition based on the experience of some early occasion.

The admonition in the lowest line states "that at the beginning of action (c'hu) there is weakness (feminine element). Let the army go out according to rule. If badness be present, there will be misfortune."

Second line. Male element (nine indicates this). Seat of power (the second line of a trigram is usually the seat of power of subordinates). When he is in the midst of the army, luck, no fear. The king has given command three times.

This was probably inserted in some case of divination, when the general had received commands from the emperor on three different occasions with honour specially bestowed each time. It would be in the Shang dynasty.

Third line. Dark element (six) (combined with danger) in the third place (over the male element). If the soldiers bring back their dead in carriages, it will be unlucky, with this arrangement of the straws.¹

Fourth line. Dark element. Fourth place. For the army to retreat a stage will be not unlucky.²

Fifth line. Dark element. Place of the general, who is

¹ Certainly there must be an allusion to some fatal engagement, some actual event not on record. By the care of we know not what old diviner the admonition is preserved.

² A stage is 30 li or about five miles, as in the sun's path a stage is 30 degrees.

here warned that when there are birds in the field, and they can be easily captured, there will be luck. If he place eminent persons in command of troops, and then allow ordinary men to convey the slain in carriages, even though such men are correct in character, there must be ill luck.¹

Sixth line. Dark element in the last and closing scene. The emperor gives orders to reward the army. The rule of states and clans is assigned to the deserving. Let not the bad be admitted to office.²

If the hypothesis of a foreign vocabulary be adopted, all the help we get from the relative position of the lines, and their elemental significance as belonging to light or darkness, is completely lost, and the concatenation of the thoughts shut out from view. Thus, submission characterizes the three upper lines, which prophesy the close of the expedition. Danger marks the three lower lines, which admonish the general in regard to the first part of the experiences of the campaign.

If the three ruling ideas of the hexagram and its constituent trigrams belonged to them before the time of Wen wang B.C. 1150, as Chinese authors assume to be the case, we may then view the Yi king as truly belonging to the Hia and Shang dynasties. It was at that time used as a book of divination, and was regarded as essential to the administration of affairs. To make it begin to be a divining book with the time of Wen wang is to interfere too rudely with the smooth consecutiveness of ancient Chinese history.

This will be seen by foreign students with increasing clearness, in proportion as the Tso chwen comes to take its right position as the most important historical work we possess on the period with which it deals.

Let us take as an instance of the value of the Tso chwen,

¹ Here we meet with enigmatical language. The birds are real persons. The slain carried with the army in its retreat (an unlucky thing to do) embraces also other unlucky actions.

² The sense is well connected throughout these admonitions and prophecies, if we only make allowance for the mode of composition. The remarks were gradually collected in the official divining book, and finally issued from the hands of Wen Wang and his son in this form. The Siang appendix supports the interpretation I have given.

and of the helpful light of history, a case of divination in the year B.C. 596, as recorded in Legge's Ch'un ts'ieu, pp. 312, 317. When armies went out, it was necessary to divine and this on both sides. In pages 311, 316 there are examples of divination on the part of the Cheng people. A few pages later occurs an extract from the Yi king, which shows how it was used at that time. Siün sheu, an officer in charge of one brigade of the Tsin armies then put in motion to invade Chang, said, "The army is in danger according to the Cheu yi now consulted; the hexagram Shì was obtained, consisting of danger below and submission above. This changed to *lim* 'coming down upon,' consisting of marsh below and submission above. The admonition of the altered line, the lowest line of the 7th hexagram, says if the army go out not according to rule, but with misconduct, there will be evil. For the general to be submissive in carrying through his duties is good conduct. To fail in submission is misconduct. The many (*Kam*, many) are scattered and the army becomes weak. The river (symbolized by *K'am* 'water') becomes a marsh (tui the new trigram, which takes the place of kam) by increase of obstructions. The rules are not obeyed, and are made subservient to a capricious will. Therefore it is said that in carrying out the rules there is misconduct. Further the rules are brought to nought. The full (water) becomes spent. Heaven places obstructions and prevents completeness. Therefore there is misfortune. To become standing water is the effect which proceeds from obtaining the Lim hexagram. There is a general, but the men do not obey. This is the Lim hexagram carried to its utmost limit. If we meet the foe, there will be a great defeat. Chi tsi will be the representative person to be visited by this calamity. Though he should escape death and return home, he must there sustain great evils."

Here we see how thoroughly the main idea of each group of lines, as suggested by its name, pervades the interpretation. The prophesying power of the Yi king is in the groups of lines still more than in the text or letter-press description. Both are necessary parts of the Yi king and

the Appendices are another necessary part. But the most authoritative, original, and essential ideas are those involved in the three names of the eight kwa and of the 64 kwa. In this case *submission*, belonging to each of the six lines, belongs therefore to the bottom line, which is taken by the lot in this instance. The single line possesses the qualities of both the lower and upper trigram. It has also the qualities of the new trigram which is obtained by later manipulation. The meaning of the new line obtained is made up of four factors. Shī 'army,' ka'm 'water,' k'un 'submission' tui 'marsh.' This is the reason why the diviner thinks still more of Fu hi than of Wen wang. The eight names and 64 names, which are supposed to be pregnant with prophetic meaning, are all attributed to Fu hi. Fu hi has a real share in the exposition of the sense; and when the Chinese speak of the three sages who compiled this work, they mean Fu hi, Wen wang and Confucius.

THE FIFTEENTH KWA, K'IEN, HUMILITY.

A second example of a hexagram will be now presented. I take advantage again of M. Terrien de Lacouperie's article on the Yi king and its Authors, and select one of those which he has there treated in detail, the 15th, the kwa of humility. I do this in order that the reader may be able to refer to the Chinese characters and the four translations collected by the industrious care of M. de Lacouperie, and placed before the reader at one view.

Kwa of humility $\begin{array}{c} \text{☶} \\ \text{☷} \end{array}$. Stopping or mountain belongs to the lower trigram, and here is the commencement of action. Submission and earth belong to the upper trigram, and characterize the later stages of action.

The diviner's admonition in reference to the whole hexagram says, "Perseverance. The noble actor will in the end succeed in his enterprise." No doubt the diviner, in saying this to the person who consulted him, had in view the union of the three ideas, definiteness, submission, humility. Wen wang when he wrote these words, or adopted them from an ancient diviner, which is more probable, was simply stating

what he understood Fu hi to mean by the names. In the Shang dynasty Yi king the character ki'en had no radical, but it was probably then pronounced k'am, and meant 'humble.'

First line. Weakness (broken line) or the dark element is at the beginning. But the noble actor is humble in two respects (mountain below earth, and he himself at the foot of mountain). He will therefore be successful in crossing (k'am, water) the great stream (formed by the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th lines \equiv).

Second line. (This is the seat of power.) Dark element. His humility is spoken of by many. He is correct in purpose, and lucky on this account.

Third line. The noble actor, who is both meritorious and humble, will be lucky in the end.¹

Fourth line. Weak element. But (being immediately above so strong a position as the third line) he will prosper in everything. Still he must be careful to maintain his humility.

Fifth line. Weak. He is not rich, but by help of his neighbours he can successfully make assaults. Wherever he fights, it will be with success.

Sixth line. Weak. The general voice proclaims him humble. He can successfully depart with his troops, but (not being in the seat of authority, as is shown by the fifth weak line) he attacks only the cities of his own state.²

A third example will now be taken.

¹ As the diviner studies the kwa which he has obtained as the result of his eighteen manifestations, he instructs the person who consults him in the meaning of each of the six lines. In this case the main idea, *humility*, recurs in each line except the fifth. In determining the significance of the third line, an undivided one, he quite possibly took into consideration that it made k'am, water, if joined with the line above and below it; and chen, thunder, if joined to the two lines above it, as native commentators explain things. He looked on the unbroken lines as a sign of strength, and then the combination of strength with humility brought before his consciousness the conception of an actor of noble qualities, who must in the end be successful.

² There is nothing very abrupt or improbable in the native interpretation of this kwa. There is a concatenation in the admonitions on the separate lines. The building of the admonitions on the essential primary meaning of the trigrams and hexagram is obvious. There appears to be no call to accept the hypothesis of a vocabulary. This hypothesis is disproved by the obvious concatenation of the sense in the several lines. Legge's translation seems to be sustained, and so also is the supposition that Wen wang found in the old Yi king the main purport of the trigrams and hexagram almost complete.

THIRTIETH KWA, LI.

Again I refer to M. Terrien de Lacouperie's article, *Journal*, Vol. XV. Part II. p. 270, for the Chinese text and four parallel translations.

This kwa is made use of in the 1st section of the latter half of the *Hi t'si* appendix. Pan hi made nets for his people to use in hunting and fishing with the help of this kwa. He may, after the nets were made, have detected a resemblance between the holes of nets and the open spaces in the divided lines of this kwa. The simple study of the lines of the kwa would not of itself suggest how a net was to be made. But this is how things are put.

In li a divided line in the middle is flanked by two undivided lines. The prominent idea is brightness. The middle line represents substance, and is weak. The outer lines are the signs of action, and are strong. The consulter is told by the diviner in the general admonition that correct conduct insures continued success. In nourishing the cow (a patient and docile animal, here introduced as a symbol of submission) luck will be insured.

Brightness is doubled in this kwa. Weakness is flanked on both sides by power. There must be correct conduct and patient docility as in the cow. The other prominent idea in the word li is attachment to. Fire must be attached to something, as plants to the earth, and the heavenly bodies to the sky.

When the admonition was first written, there must have been a cow in the possession of the consulter. The admonition would then appear natural.

First line. Action begins with the strong element. The shoe or your stepping is entangled or confused. Be careful. There will be no error.

Here the word for "straw sandal," and "to tread," is used, though in the ascending tone. We know that the tone was different from that of li, brightness, attached. The diviner may have introduced the word sandal as homophonous, although the tone differed. All the help he could get in

interpreting the kwa was embraced under the one word li in all or any of its meanings. He had no aid from the trigrams, they being the same with the hexagram. I do not know why Legge, M'Clatchie, and Regis have avoided the word sandal in this place. Probably both sandal and the action of treading were before the writer's mind.

Second line. Weak element in the centre. The yellow Li bird. Great good fortune.

I take this from M. Terrien de Lacouperie. Diviners in those times had scarcely learned to make use of the philosophy of the five elements in the way which Chinese expounders here assume that they have done. I suppose the diviner to have seen the yellow *li* bird on the occasion. As its name agreed in sound with the kwa, he accepted it as a good omen.

Third line. Strong element in the 3rd place. The shining of the setting sun is the symbol. If not saluted by beating earthen pans and singing, there will be heard the sighing of the tottering old man. The omen is unfortunate.

Here the diviner is thinking of the end of the day. The trigram is a day, and the third line is its close. The man who consulted the milfoil was perhaps aged. Or the diviner introduced an old man whom he saw. The old must die. It is either a joyful event to be greeted with singing or a sorrowful one to provoke sighing. The diviner takes the sun shining in the evening as an omen, limiting himself to sense "brightness" found in the name of the kwa. The omen means death.

Fourth line. Strong element at the beginning of the second period of action. He comes with sudden rush, like the burning of a fire, like death, as if to be rejected.

This is the beginning of the second day in the diviner's statement, which assumes the form of prophecy.

Fifth line. Weakness on the throne. A shower of tears shows how sad he is. He will have good fortune.

The tears are those of self-condemnation and a new resolution.

Sixth line. Strength at the end. The king in action.

He leads out an army. He obtains fame. He kills the chiefs and merely makes prisoners of those who were not fellow-rebels.¹

We cannot resign the help given to the explanation of the kwa by the relative position of the lines as shown in the preceding interpretation. The hypothesis of a vocabulary does not seem therefore admissible.

THIRTY-FIRST KWA, HIEN.

This is the kwa of mutual influence, and refers to marriage. The separate trigrams are ken, mountain, below, and tui, marsh, above. The weak lines are 1, 2, and 6. The strong lines are 3, 4, and 5.

The mutual influence is that of conjugal affection. The constituent elements are stopping (which indicates entire devotion) on the part of the husband and smiling consent on the part of the wife.

General admonition. Mutual influence. Perseverance. Benefit. Correctness. To take a wife will be fortunate.

This is one of those kwa which is taken to represent the human body, and the separate lines indicate the parts of the body from the toes to the face.

First line. Weakness. Beginning of action. Movement begins in the great toe.

Second line. Weakness in the second place. Movement in the calf will be unfortunate. In rest there will be good fortune.

Third line. Firmness in the upper part of the mountain. Movement in the thigh. Keeping hold of the person following. Advancing will be regretted.

Fourth line. Firmness in the first line of march. Correct

¹ A Chinese friend, to whom I referred some points in the interpretation of the six admonitions or prophecies in this kwa, recommended me in the first line to keep in view both meanings of the word *li*, sandal, viz. as a verb to tread on, and as a noun sandal. With this I agree, for divination is enigmatical and often ambiguous. The ambiguity consists in taking one or more words in two senses. Diviners love ambiguity, because whichever sense is verified by the event, the correctness of the divination is confirmed, and every diviner is naturally interested in the success of his own divination.

conduct. Good fortune. No repentance. Restless movements back and forth. Only his friends follow him.

Fifth line. Firmness in the post of honour and power. Movement in the flesh lying along the spine. No repentance.

Sixth line. Weakness in the end of the action. Movement in the jaws and tongue.

The object is to divine respecting some proposed marriage. Would it be fortunate? In the progress of the eighteen manipulations it struck the diviner that in the diagram drawn by him in accordance with the result of those manipulations, there was a rude representation of the human body, from the feet to the head. Each line represented a portion of the body. Each part he viewed as subject in succession to influence as expressed in the name of the *kwa*, *kam*, to affect. The feet, the heart, and the tongue are set in motion by feeling. The effect and nature of the movements of the parts of the body in succession are adduced as affording indications of what would be the good or ill fortune of the man whom the diviner had in his eye. The general admonition is on marriage. The scope of the six particular admonitions is wider. It embraces the influence of nature on the human body and the orderly movement of the limbs in their mutual connexion. On this depends the repute a man has among his friends.

Perhaps it would be well to regard the six particular admonitions as based not on the idea of marriage at all, but on the name *kan*, influence, under which heading marriage furnishes one example. In the remarks of the second appendix, *Hi t'si hia chwen*, there is not a word of marriage. It was the destiny of the *Yi king* to become changed early into a book of philosophy, and here is an instance where a *kwa*, which originally proclaimed good or ill fortune attending marriages, modified its tone so that it became the teacher of the influence of the superior man as set forth in the remarks here referred to in the 2nd Appendix.

TWENTIETH KWA, KWAN, GAZING.

Kwan is stated in the Er ya to be K'iué, the side opening in the gateway of a palace or ancestral temple. The diviner who wrote the general admonition to this kwa had before his mind a sacrifice. This would be suggested by the circumstance that it was on occasion of a proposed sacrifice that he was called to manipulate with the milfoil. But as the name kwan was already given to the kwa, the diviner who wrote the particular admonitions added such remarks in each case as appeared to him to come naturally out of the meaning of the kwa name.

Divination existed in the earliest times, and every kwa would acquire a name in accordance with the results of the earliest divination. In this case the kwa became, in the first instance, that of "seeing," "gazing." The earliest recorded addition which now remains to this kwa is the general admonition, and the six particular admonitions would follow at a later period. In each case, when an entry was made in the divining book, the diviner would endeavour to gain aid, in shaping his admonition or prophecy, from the meanings of the kwa name, and the ideas suggested by the relative position of the lines. In the general admonition, the meaning "wash hands" is used. In the admonitions attached to the lines the meanings are all varieties of the original seeing or gazing. We are warranted in concluding that the application of this kwa to sacrifices was specially primitive, and that it was by later diviners applied to the emperor, the courtiers, and the palace.

General admonition or prophecy. Seeing. He washes his hands previous to offering the sacrifices. He is trustworthy and dignified.

First line. Weakness at the outer and lower stage in the scene. Boys looking. The matter belongs to inferior men. There is no fault. For the superior man there is cause for regret.

Second line. Weakness at the second gateway. Looking

at the prince. There is advantage in connexion with such women as these. Their deportment is correct.

Third line. Weakness at the third stage. Those who are at this stage should look at their own life. They will then know whether to advance or to retreat.

Fourth line. Weakness. Stage the fourth (where the king, who is at the fifth stage, can be seen). Here he looks at the glory of the kingdom. It will be advantageous for him to be guest with the king.

Fifth line. Strength. Place of honour. (The king speaks), Look at my mode of life. (The diviner says to the consulter), Such a man is the superior man, and you, if you so act, will be without fault.

Sixth line. Strength. Highest stage of progress. He who looks at the king's life (and imitates it) will be a superior man without fault.

The whole scene presents the king on his throne as the object of contemplation. There are five stages of contemplation. Men of low origin peep from the outer door. Women peep from a nearer position. Men in office are near the king, as are those who aspire to be guests. The king himself is on the throne, here represented by the fifth line.

It is necessary in divination for any *kwa* to become applicable to new circumstances. Here the sacrifices of the general admonition are lost sight of altogether. The whole attention of the diviner is bent on a court scene, where the centre figure is a good and noble prince. Probably there is an allusion to some ancient emperor, as in the "Song of the five children" there is a description of the virtues of the emperor Yü, which would in its tone agree very well with the character of the ideal emperor here portrayed. But it might be the emperor Cheng Tang, or Pang keng, or Wu ting of the Shang dynasty. If Cheu kung, for instance, drew his materials from the Lien shan yi, it would be Yü ti that is referred to. If from the Kwei tsang yi, it would be one of the three Shang emperors just mentioned. It could not, I think, be one of the five children, as supposed by M. Terrien de Lacouperie, because they were not seated on

the throne, and the name Kwan was applied to all the five brothers. The coincidence is probably a mere accident.

The ideas attached to Kwan in the court scene require us to suppose that the diviner thought of it as an outer and second gate, as a verb to gaze, and as also meaning to wash. It does not appear to be used here as a proper name of the king who might be on the throne at the time.

THE THIRTEENTH KWA, TUNG JEN, ASSOCIATED FRIENDS.

The diviner has before him to help in interpretation the ancient name of the whole kwa, associated friends, and its parts, li, fire, below, at the beginning of action, and k'ien, heaven, above, completing the action.

In the tenth century, when the Tang emperor Fei ti invested the city Tai yuen, the Tsin emperor Kau tsu in his distress commanded Ma chung tsi to consult the milfoil. This officer went through the eighteen manipulations and obtained the 13th kwa. His statement to his sovereign was as follows. Firmness above and brightness below. The ruler's virtues are bright. The people in the south look towards him, and he obtains the empire. There must in these circumstances be associated friends to help him. Kien is the north-west. The Yi king says there is fighting in Kien. Li is the south. The Yi king says there is meeting in Li. Those who come to help us are in the north-west. Kien is the kwa of the ninth and tenth month. The victory ought to be won at the union of these months.

In accordance with this prediction, the Kie tan Tartars helped the Tsin emperor and defeated the Tang army in the ninth month.

In the primitive divination, so far as we know, the kwa were not divided among the months. Nor does it seem clear that the Shwo kwa chwen, which places the eight kwa round the compass in the positions chen east, sun south-east, li south, kwun south-west, tui west, kien north-west, ka'n north, ken north-east, was written before the time of Confucius. But it would be hypercritical to deny that this was

the order of the kwa in the Cheu yi. Supposing the Shwo kwa chwen were a late addition, this part of it would not be likely to be an innovation. The elemental philosophy required this arrangement, and it was under the influence of this philosophy that Wen wang wrote.

The position of the diviner in Wen wang's days would differ therefore from that of the diviner in the tenth century after Christ, mainly in regard to the application to months. The three leading ideas, Tung jen, heaven, fire, would be the same for each.

The Tung jen could not mean Troglodytes, because the appendices agree with the text in assigning to the words the sense, associated friends, and as the text is much of it older than the time of Wen wang, there is no call to break with a tradition so self-consistent and so primitive.

General admonition. Friends are in the field. Perseverance. There will be good fortune in passing a great river. There will be a benefit secured, the chief being upright.

Particular admonition on first line. Strong element at the beginning of action. Friends are at the gate. No error.

Second line. Weakness. Second place (the chief place among subordinates). That friends connect themselves in parties under leaders is cause for regret.

Third line. Strength. Third place (indicates intention to seize the opportunity to attack him who is in possession of honour at the fifth place). He hides his arms in the long grass and mounts a high hillock. For three years he has remained without marching in advance.

Fourth line. Strength. Fourth place. Mounting the wall of the fortress, he refrains from an assault, not being able to conquer. There will be good fortune.

Fifth line. Strength. Place of honour and power. Friends first lament and afterwards are seen rejoicing. The great army conquers them and then they meet.

Sixth line. Strength. Highest line. Friends are on the outside of the city. There is nothing to regret.

History does not throw light on the circumstances here alluded to. It would not be strange that these entries should have been made in reference to some unknown event in the Shang dynasty. It ought to be recollected that we mentioned in the 11th and in the 63rd kwa events which took place about B.C. 1190 and B.C. 1364 respectively.

When once the record had been made, it was liable to become an enigma to all those who were not acquainted with contemporary events. This is the reason that the Yi king appears to be disjointed and obscure.

CONCLUSION.

The diagrams being inseparable from the text of the Yi king, to view the text as consisting of vocabularies and ballads is inadmissible. The oldest part of the text that we can trace by internal chronological evidence attaches itself to B.C. 1364. Other parts may be older than this, and there is nothing decisive in the words or grammar of the text to indicate the period to which it should be referred.

The diagrams are contemporary with the invention of writing by the Chinese. The same sort of mental activity made the one which made the other. The diagrams became the vehicle for the expression of a philosophy. The characters became the basis of the national literature.

The reason why the diagrams of the Yi king became the vehicle of philosophy was that they are general symbols capable of application to new circumstances a hundred times over. But what does philosophy consist of if it be not the reduction of human knowledge to general propositions? Philosophy began very early in the world, because some men, possessing the generalizing faculty, would, in any country where civilization had made some progress, be able by a few intuitions and deductions to lay the foundations of a philosophy. The first philosophy of the Yi king was the dual, based on the strong and weak element found in nature. In the diagrams the single and double lines became symbols for the expression of some of the simpler ideas of this

philosophy. Then the names of the kwa became attached to them by diviners, a memento in each case perhaps of a successful divination. These names also became repositories of ideas springing out of the dual philosophy. But, as time went on, the philosophy of two contrasted elements in a single antithesis expanded itself into the system of the five elements. A philosophy whose symbols were linear became a philosophy whose symbols were circular and linear. This was the stage which philosophic progress had reached in the eleventh century before Christ, and this was the reason that Wen wang changed the order of the kwa.

When Confucius appeared on the scene, and undertook the task of preserving the classics for posterity, what struck him most forcibly in the Yi king was its philosophy, and in the appendices he bent himself to the completion of that philosophy. He found them probably in a fragmentary state, and when they left his hand, they had assumed nearly their present form. What was in early ages a manual of divination, became by the completion of the appendices both a manual of divination and a compendium of the philosophy of the ancient sages. It was only the mind that dictated the Chung yung philosophy, that could have finished the Yi king. Native scholars have been impressed by the general similarity of tone in the Chung yung and the Appendices to the Yi king, and have unanimously regarded them as proceeding from one master mind.

The philosophy of Confucius was moral, but he preserved the elemental philosophy of Wen wang, and, having a fervent admiration of that sage, retained his system unimpaired. The Wen yen, or 4th Appendix, is cited in the Tso chwen as used A.D. 564, before Confucius was grown to man's estate, and is therefore not his. The Shwo kwa chwen, or 5th Appendix, forms a bridge between the teaching of Confucius in the old Yi king and the views of the Han dynasty writers.

The Yi king proved itself to be the mother of philosophies in the Han dynasty. King fang founded upon it the philosophy of the calendar, and Yang hiung constructed upon

this idea a long philosophic poem which he called the Tai hiuen king,¹ in eighty-one sections. Each section had a kwa, and it was intended as a sort of competitor in repute with the Yi king, but the attempt has failed. An alchemical philosophy was founded by Wei pe yang on the Yi king.

The pride and admiration felt by the Chinese in the Yi king cannot therefore be wondered at, for it is the fundamental book of their philosophy. If in certain passages it is obscure, it ought to be considered whether the necessary historical elucidations are wanting. Where they exist, the Yi king is no more difficult to understand than any other ancient Chinese book.

¹ The Tai hiuen king proceeds in its 81 sections from the winter solstice through the year to the winter solstice again. The Yang principle is at its climax June 21st. It expands in spring, and contracts in autumn. The elements metal, wood, water, fire, earth, are influences in perpetual circulation, each dominating for a short time in succession. Fu hi preferred 8 and 64 as the favourite numbers of his philosophy. Yang hiung preferred 9 and 81, in this following Wen wang.

ART. XVIII.—*On the Arrangement of the Hymns of the Rig-veda.* By FREDERIC PINCOTT, M.R.A.S.

THE supreme importance of the Rig-veda in all questions bearing on the history of the Aryan mind, and on the development of the religious idea in man, gives interest to every attempt to throw light on that priceless heir-loom of India. Much has already been done by able scholars, in many ways, to investigate the language and ideas enshrined in the Rig-veda-sanhitâ; but no one has yet discovered the principle on which the hymns are arranged among themselves, or has advanced beyond the mere consciousness expressed by Prof. Max Müller in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, that "there is some system," "some priestly influence," "traces of one superintending spirit," and such-like generalities. The object of the following paper is to show the principle which regulated the formation of the Sanhitâ, the aggregation of hymns into Maṇḍalas, the reason for the positions assigned to the Maṇḍalas, and the method followed in placing each particular hymn. If my deductions prove accurate, it is evident that a fresh impetus will be given to the study of these remarkable documents, for the clue to the labyrinth will be in the hands of future investigators.

Prof. Max Müller gave a sound basis to the inquiry by pointing out that the division of the Rig-veda into Maṇḍala, Anuvâka, and Sûkta, is more ancient than that into Ashtaka, Adhyâya, and Varga. He also called attention to the fact

that eight of the ten Maṇḍalas begin with hymns addressed to the god Agni, which, in seven cases, are followed by hymns to Indra, and that these again are generally followed by hymns to the Viśvadevas. If I add to this the statement that it has been noticed that the last hundred hymns of the Rig-veda are arranged in the order of their diminishing length, I believe I have adduced all that has yet been published as to the principles governing the arrangement of these ancient poems. Indian scholars do not help us in this matter; for Sâyana, the great Commentator, frankly states in his Introduction to the Rig-veda, that the hymns have no principle of arrangement; and the Paṇḍits now living in India with whom I have communicated seem just as clear on the point.

The Brâhmans, however, have divided the Sanhitâ into five parts, in a way which proves that they were well aware of distinct differences between various portions of the collection. The five parts they name respectively Śatarchin, Mâdhyama, Pragâtha, Pâvamânî, and the Kshudra and Mahâsûktas. The Śatarchin is a name given to the 1st Maṇḍala, under the assumption that each Rishi contributed 100 *richas*, or verses, to its formation.¹ The Mâdhyama

¹ The visionary character of this assumption is demonstrated by the following list of the Rishis of the 1st Maṇḍala with the number of verses which each contributed:—

| NAME OF RISHI. | NO. OF VERSES. |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| Madhuchhandas | 102 |
| Jetri | 8 |
| Medhâtithi | 146 |
| S'unahsépha | 96 |
| Hiranyastûpa | 71 |
| Kauwa | 96 |
| Praskanwa | 82 |
| Savya | 72 |
| Nodhas | 74 |
| Parâsâra | 91 |
| Gotama | 204 |
| Kutsa | 47 |
| Kaśyapa..... | 1 |
| The Five Rishis | 19 |
| Kutsa..... | 145 |
| Kakshivan..... | 153 |
| Paruchchhepa | 100 |
| Dirghatamas | 237 |
| Agasti | 229 |

It will be seen that only one Rishi contributed exactly 100 verses; five others

portion comprises the whole of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Maṇḍalas. They are, in fact, uniform in character, and constitute the centre or *corpus* of the whole Sanhitâ. Pragâtha is the name applied to the hymns of the 8th Maṇḍala, from a consciousness that this miscellaneous collection had something exceptional in its character. The Pâvamânî, or purificatory hymns, are those of the 9th Maṇḍala, all of which are addressed to the deity of the Soma juice. The 10th Maṇḍala contains the Kshudrasûkta and Mahâsûkta, or the short and long hymns; obviously indicating that it is a miscellaneous collection placed at the end of all the others. The facts to which the above nomenclature calls attention are indubitable, although the Indian traditional explanation of those facts may be rejected. The only amendment I propose to the Indian classification is the division of the 10th Maṇḍala into two parts. My reasons for doing so are as follows:—The hymns of the 10th Maṇḍala are almost entirely ascribed to mythological Rishis; but the first 84 hymns are arranged according to the Rishi and the metre of the poem, and comprise the Âprî hymn of the Badhyaśvas. As soon as we pass the 84th hymn we find a totally different system of arrangement; Rishi and metre are disregarded, and the hymns are arranged in strict accordance with their diminishing length. Furthermore this latter cluster comprises the Âprî hymn of the Bṛigus by Jamadagni. When we reflect on the high importance attached to the Âprî hymns, and the tenacity with which each family clung to its own Âprî-sûkta, coupled with the fact that these two Âprî hymns are imbedded in collections which differ entirely in their method of arrangement, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the 10th Maṇḍala consists of two collections of hymns in accidental union.

roughly approximate 100 verses; but the remainder vary between the wide limits of a single verse up to no less than 237 verses. It deserves remark, however, that the term S'atarchin has this slender application to these Rishis, that, of all members of their respective families, their hymns approach nearest in their total to 100 verses. This is true even of Dirghatamas with his 237 verses; for he is the nearest to 100 of any member of the Gautama family.

I will now state the six sections into which I propose to divide the Rig-veda, and will afterwards deal with the arrangement of the individual hymns :

SECT. 1.—The 1st Maṇḍala. This is an eclectic ceremonial liturgy, divisible into eleven parts, connected with the offering of the Puroḷāsa oblation in eleven vessels. This is why it was accorded the first place in the Sanhitā ; for all that follows is only supplementary to this great ceremonial. The proofs will be given further on.

SECT. 2.—The 2nd to the 7th Maṇḍala. These, as is well known, are the family collections of hymns, representatives from which were taken to produce the grand eclectic liturgy of the 1st Maṇḍala.

SECT. 3.—The Pragātha hymns, or the 8th Maṇḍala. This collection, as its name imports, is semi-canonical in character, and comprises the Vâlakhilya, or Supplementary hymns, along with a mixed collection of hymns representing all the different families of poets. Further explanation of this will be given.

SECT. 4.—The Pāvamāni, or Soma hymns of the 9th Maṇḍala. This Maṇḍala necessarily occupies a position subordinate to those which have preceded it. They contain hymns addressed to the gods themselves ; this contains those celebrating the virtues of that which was offered to the gods. This is obviously the reason for its position in the Sanhitā.

SECT. 5.—Mythological hymns of the Badhyaśvas, comprising the first 84 hymns of the 10th Maṇḍala.

SECT. 6.—Mythological hymns of the Bṛiḡus. These last two sections comprise hymns by Rishis, nearly all of whom are mythological personages. The hymns themselves are for the most part dedicated to Agni, Indra, Viśvadevas, etc. ; but there are several addressed to powers unrecognized as deities in other parts of the Rig-veda, such as the Pitris, Mṛityu, to certain celestial birds and beasts, and even to Angiras, the sage. Here are also found the doubtful Purusha-sūkta, and a hymn to Dakshinā, or the presentation of alms at sacrifices ;

we find also references to the "seven ancient Rishis," and many other evidences that we are breathing a different atmosphere when among these hymns to that which surrounds us when we are among those of the earlier Maṇḍalas. The last place in the Sanhitâ is properly given to these mystical and mythological poems.

The different parts of the Rig-veda are thus seen to be systematically arranged. First comes the liturgy; next the family collections of hymns; then the Supplementary hymns; then the Soma hymns; and last, the mythological poems. Now let us see if any system is discernible in the family collections of hymns themselves. We have only to arrange them under the family names of their Rishis to see the principle which dictated the order in which we find them :

1. Bhṛigu (Gṛitsamada), 2nd Maṇḍala.
2. Viśvâmitra (Viśvâmitra), 3rd Maṇḍala.
3. Angiras, Gautama branch (Vâmadeva), 4th Maṇḍala.

Atri (Atri), 5th Maṇḍala.

3. Angiras, Bhâradvâja branch (Bharadvaja) 6th Maṇḍala.
2. Vaśishṭha (Vaśishṭha), 7th Maṇḍala.
1. Pragâtha hymns, 8th Maṇḍala.

These seven Maṇḍalas evidently find their pivot in the 5th Maṇḍala, on each side of which they are systematically arranged. The important Angiras family (under whose influence the Rig-veda seems to have been arranged) placed the hymns of its two branches one on each side of the centre. The Vaiśvâmitra family, ever the friends of the Angiras, were placed next, balanced on the other side by their great rivals the Vâśishṭhas; while outside these again was placed, at one end, the inconsiderable collection of the Bhṛigus, the shortest of the Maṇḍalas, with the miscellaneous Pragâtha collection as a counterpoise at the other extremity. Nothing could be more systematic than this. It is just what the relative importance and mutual rivalries of the families would necessitate.

But why should the hymns of Atri and his family occupy

the centre? This is the very key-stone of the arch; and the reason that it became such is clearly shown in the traditions of the Âtreyas. These traditions show an intimate connection between Atri, the Moon, and Soma. The Moon, or Soma (for the terms are almost interchangeable), was the offspring of the Rishi Atri; and hence was frequently called अत्रिदृग्ज or अत्रिनेत्रज or अत्रिजात, terms which mean "born of Atri," or "born from the eye of Atri," or "born from a glance of Atri," the tradition being that the Moon was produced by the flash of the eye of the Rishi Atri.¹ The Moon, as we know, was the parent of Budha, the progenitor of the Lunar race, whose capital was at the famous Hastinâpura, near Delhi. It is, therefore, clear that Atri was held to be the patron-saint of the Soma, and he and his race may, in fact, have had something to do with the introduction of Soma into the ritual;² at all events, it is evident that he occupies the central position among the Maṇḍalas as the representative of the sacred Soma, around which the other Maṇḍalas were grouped as shown above.

Before quitting this part of the subject, it seems needful to show the subordinate character of the Pragâtha hymns, to account for their being placed in an outer position. There is first the name Pragâtha, implying that Indians are fully aware that there is something in this Maṇḍala to distinguish it from the others. This Maṇḍala contains the eleven Vâlahilya, or distinctly non-canonical hymns; and although the rest of the hymns are sufficiently canonical to be included in the Anukramanî, or Index, of the Rig-veda, still they are all, so to speak, branded with the epithet *Pragâtha*. Now a *gâtha* is the name of any secular or non-canonical poem. No *rich*, *yajush*, or *sâman* verse is ever spoken of as a *gâtha*; for it is a term which implies human

¹ Colebrooke's Essays, vol. i. p. 171 (*ed.* 1873).

² It is worthy of inquiry whether the contests of the Solar and Lunar races had anything to do with the worship of the Sun and Moon. Certainly a compromise seems to have been effected in the Rig-veda, as a kind of settlement; for Soma or the Moon is accorded the posts of honour both here, and in the 1st Maṇḍala, while hymns to Agni, Fire, or the Solar principle, are placed first in order in every arrangement of individual hymns. Thus the Moon dominates the order of the Maṇḍalas, and the Sun rules the arrangement of the individual hymns.

authorship, an idea unhesitatingly rejected in the case of canonical hymns. The term *pragâtha* implies superiority over ordinary *gâthas*, whether that be a superiority of excellence or of antiquity. The term signifies that the hymns in question occupy an intermediate position between *gâthas* by human authors, and the revealed verses of the Rishis. The subordinate character of this Maṇḍala is further shown by the heterogeneity of its contents. It contains hymns of all the great families of Rishis; but not all the hymns ascribed to the Rishis included in it. It seems to give only an odd hymn or two of various Rishis, not included in the preceding Maṇḍalas, the highest number of hymns ascribed to any one Rishi being five. There are hymns by as many as 56 Rishis in this Maṇḍala, of whom there are 37 that can boast of only a single hymn each; 10 have but two hymns each; 3 have three hymns each; 5 have four hymns each; and 1 only has five hymns. Another noticeable fact is that the mass of these Pragâtha hymns are by members of the Angiras family; a fact which supports the opinion that the Sanhitâ was arranged under Angiras influence, and that that family was anxious to include in the canon all the relics of their own poets, even those about the revealed character of which doubts might be entertained. The composite and fragmentary character of this Maṇḍala, therefore, sufficiently explains the subordinate position assigned to it.

Before finally passing to an explanation of the method adopted for the arrangement of individual hymns, it is needful here to introduce the reasons which induce me to speak of the 1st Maṇḍala as an eclectic ceremonial liturgy. If I am correct in my deductions, then we have here a very curious discovery which cannot fail to throw much light on the religion of the ancient Aryans. In my opinion we have in this Maṇḍala the veritable prayer-book of the ancient Brâhmins, rehearsed while performing the eleven acts which completed the solemn offering of the Puroḷâsa. The arrangement of the hymns in this Maṇḍala enables us to indicate with certainty the supreme moment when the sacred Soma

juice was offered. The demonstration of these bold opinions is as follows :

A careful inspection of the 1st Maṇḍala shows that it contains hymns by no less than seven of the eight great families of Rishis. There are hymns by the Vaiśvâmitras, by both the Bhâradvâja and Gautama branches of the Angirasas, by the Vâśiṣṭhas, by the Kâśyapas, by the Bhâr-gavas, and by the Agastyas. It is evident from this that we have in the 1st Maṇḍala an eclectic collection of hymns ; not, as in the case of the 8th Maṇḍala, a mere heterogeneous collection of fugitive poems, but a carefully selected and systematically arranged set of hymns representing the great families of ancient Rishis. It is hardly venturesome to assert that this designed selection of hymns was intended for ceremonial purposes. For what other purpose could it be intended? Why should a pinch of hymns be taken from each of the family collections, and placed in an orderly sequence by themselves, unless for some purpose for which the hymns so selected were to be used ?

A convincing proof that the 1st Maṇḍala is a ceremonial liturgy on eclectic principles, is found in the fact that the centre of the Maṇḍala is occupied by the remarkable single verse to Agni of Kâśyapa and the hymn of the Five Rishis. So earnest has been the intention to get these into the centre of the book that they are actually thrust into the midst of the hymns ascribed to Kutsa. No other Rishi's hymns in this Maṇḍala are disjointed in such a way, and this of itself constitutes a startling anomaly. There are 191 hymns in the 1st Maṇḍala, an exact division of which would give 95 hymns on each side with an odd one in the middle. The 95th hymn, however, happens to be the first hymn of Kutsa addressed to Agni. To insert anything there would be to sever the hymns of Agni, of which there are five. Kutsa's next hymns after these five are addressed to Indra, and it is between the last hymn to Agni and the first to Indra that the one verse of Kâśyapa and the hymn of the Five Rishis are introduced. It thus happens that there are 99 hymns before, and 90 hymns after, this medial couple. Such a medial

position for two exceptional hymns cannot have resulted from accident.

It may instantly occur to a critic that a more nearly medial position would have been secured by placing these two hymns just before those of Kutsa to Agni, thus having 94 hymns before and 96 hymns after them. But if the centre of the Maṇḍala represents the supreme moment in the ceremonial when the Soma was poured out, there was special reason for placing the hymns to Agni on one side, and those to Indra on the other side of that solemn act; for Agni and Indra are said to share the Soma libation between them. That the verse of Kaśyapa and the hymn of the Five Rishis marks the place in the ceremonial at which the Soma was offered, is conclusively shown by the following argument: Kaśyapa and his family were pre-eminently the Rishis of the Soma. The Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa distinctly tells us (vii. 27): **तेभ्यो भूतवीरेभ्यो ऽसितमृगाः काश्यपाः सोमपीथमभिजिग्युः।** “For these Bhûtavîras, the Asitamṛiga Kâśyapas conquered the Soma-juice.” In corroboration of this, it may be observed, that all the hymns of the Kâśyapas but two are in praise of Soma. The exceptions are, one hymn to Indra placed among the miscellaneous collection of the 8th Maṇḍala, and the hymn, consisting of a single verse to Agni, which we are discussing. Thus Kaśyapa was just the Rishi most appropriate to cite at the Soma libation; and what does his single verse to Agni say? Why, just the words we should naturally expect to be uttered at such a moment. The verse runs thus:—“Let us offer libations to him who knows all our wealth. May Agni consume the wealth of our enemies! May Agni free us from all dangers, and cause us to pass over misfortune, as a ship passes over the sea!” Here we have a remarkable hymn—the only hymn in the Rig-veda consisting of a single verse—ascribed to the special Rishi of the Soma, invoking the deity who shares half the libation, and proclaiming its very purpose in the words “Let us offer libations.” The companion hymn to this short one of Kaśyapa renders this still clearer, for it is by the Five Rishis, and

is dedicated to Indra and the Maruts. Now we know that Indra and the Maruts are sharers of half the oblation with Agni (see hymn 72), and this circumstance renders the position of this hymn both obvious and full of interest. It seems impossible to suggest any other reason for separating Kutsa's hymns to Agni and those to Indra from each other, by the insertion of these invocations to Agni and Indra with the Maruts, in the very centre of the Maṇḍala, than the reason I have offered, that it marks the point in the ceremonial when the libation of Soma was poured out.

The orderly arrangement of the families of the Rishis around this central point is far too systematic to result from accident, or indeed from any other cause than thoughtful design. The Maṇḍala is arranged as follows:—

1. Viśvâmitra's family. (Hymns 1-10.)
 2. Angiras family (Bhâradvâja branch). (11-64.)¹
 3. Vaśishṭha's family. (65-73.)
 4. Angiras family (Gautama branch). (74-94.)
 5. Kutsa (Bhâradvâja Angiras.) (95-99.)
- Kaśyapa² and the Five Rishis. (100, 101.)
5. Kutsa (Bhâradvâja Angiras). (102-116.)
 4. Angiras family (Gautama branch). (117-127.)
 3. Bhrîgu's family. (128-140.)
 2. Angiras family (Gautama branch). (141-164.)
 1. Agasti. (165-191.)

An inspection of this list will show its admirably systematic arrangement. We see that the representative of the Soma occupies the centre just as we saw in the arrangement of the Maṇḍalas themselves; on each side of this centre an Angiras set of hymns of the Bhâradvâja branch is placed; outside these come hymns of the Gautama branch; outside

¹ Some of the Rishis in this cluster are of doubtful lineage; but they are all certainly Ângiras.

² The special connection of Kaśyapa with the *centre* is plainly stated in the Bhâgavata-Purâṇa (ix. 16, 21. 22), where, speaking of the distribution of space among the Brâhmins, it is said:—**ददौ . . . अन्येभ्यो ऽवान्तरदिशः कश्यपाय च मध्यतः ।** "He gave . . . to others the intermediate regions; and, to Kaśyapa, the central."

these are found hymns of the Vaśiṣṭhas and Bṛiḡus balancing each other; beyond these come other Angiras collections; and finally at the extremities we have hymns of the Vaiśvāmītras and Agastyas at opposite poles of the Maṇḍala. It will be noticed that, in the first part, there are two sets of Bhâradvâja and one of Gautama hymns, in the second part this is reversed, for in that there are two sets of Gautama hymns and one of Bhâradvâja hymns.

Another striking peculiarity of this Maṇḍala is the fact that towards the end are hymns to Agni. In all other parts of the Rig-veda every hymn to Agni is placed at the beginning¹; this is also true of the hymns of all the Rishis of the first Maṇḍala, except those of Agasti, which have those celebrating Indra and the Maruts first, while those to Agni come near the end. The effect of this arrangement is that this Maṇḍala has hymns to Agni at both the beginning and the end, a peculiarity which brings to mind the oft-repeated dictum that Agni is the beginning and the end of the sacrifice.

An important thing to notice is that there are five clusters of hymns on each side of the medial point. This divides the Maṇḍala into eleven parts, and at once explains the meaning of the phrase that the Puroḷâsa was offered in eleven vessels. It suggests the inference that the Puroḷâsa was a religious act which commemorated all the Rishis, and with them the entire people, in a ceremonial observance, consisting of eleven separate acts accompanied by the recitation of eleven sets of hymns, as arranged in the first Maṇḍala.

The hymn of the Five Rishis is one of peculiar significance,² but need not detain us in this preliminary explana-

¹ The 6th Maṇḍala, however, has one hymn to Agni at the end.

² These Five Rishis are said to have been *râjarshis*, or royal sages, and there is something in their relationships, and even in their names, to identify them with the five Pândava princes. It is noticeable that one of them, Ambarisha, is reputed to have been the progenitor of Śunaḥśepha, whose hymns are conspicuous in this Maṇḍala. On the other hand, it must be stated that they are called Vârshagirs, or descendants of Vṛishagir, who is supposed to have been an ancient king. I prefer to translate the word as "descendants of the adorers of the sprinkler," that is, worshippers of Indra, a title singularly appropriate to the

tion of the main principles regulating the arrangement of the hymns of the Rig-veda. I hope I have offered enough to show that the Maṇḍalas are arranged upon intelligent principles, that the 10th Maṇḍala consists of two distinct parts, and that the 1st Maṇḍala is a ceremonial liturgy.¹ I now proceed to explain the arrangement of the individual hymns in each Maṇḍala.

There are three circumstances which guided the arrangement of the hymns in all the Maṇḍalas; the first of these is the deity addressed, the second is the length of the hymn, and the third is its metre. The primary arrangement of the hymns of the first seven Maṇḍalas is according to the deities celebrated. The gods follow each other in a fairly defined order. Hymns to Agni invariably come first, and those addressed to Indra are placed second. These two are the *dii majores*. In the first seven Maṇḍalas, out of a total of 618 hymns, 333 are in praise of either Agni or Indra, leaving only 285 hymns to celebrate all the other gods of the Pantheon. After the hymns to Indra are placed those addressed to the Viśvadevas, and the Maruts or companions of Indra. Then come hymns connected with the Sun, under the names of Mitra, Sûrya, Savitṛi, Âdityas, Aświns, etc.; followed by those celebrating meteoric phenomena, as storms, rain, wind (Rudra, Varuna, Vâyu), etc.; and lastly come those addressed to the heavens and the earth, and such-like material objects.

The hymns occurring under each deity are arranged in the order of their diminishing length, the longest hymn always coming first, and the shortest hymn last. A mere cursory inspection will show that wherever the regularity of

authors of a hymn to Indra and the Maruts. It is curious that the hymn itself speaks of the "five classes of beings," as though this hymn were intended to express the adoration of all sections of the Brahmanic community.

¹ It certainly deserves notice that no hymn of Atri, or of his family, finds a place in the 1st Maṇḍala. He is the only Maharshi excluded. This may arise from the fact already mentioned that he represents the Soma, and the place he would therefore have occupied is filled by Kaśyapa. Atri appears to have been devoted to Lunar interests, and preserved no hymn to Agni, although some of his family did, and this partizanship may have operated to exclude his family from the eclectic Maṇḍala, every Rishi in which celebrates the god Agni.

these clusters of hymns of diminishing length has not been strictly preserved, it is invariably caused by the presence of one or two hymns of greater length at the *end* of the series to which they belong. This circumstance alone is sufficient to prove that these longer hymns were placed at the end of their respective series for some special reason. And that reason is found to be a change of metre. The following tables will show the regular arrangement of the hymns according to deity and diminishing length; the places where this order is disturbed at the ends by change of metre is indicated by a short rule or dash. These tables contain the hymns of the Sanhitâ in the order of their occurrence, giving the number of verses which each hymn contains. The arrangement into clusters of diminishing length serves to show the deities which were intimately associated with each other in the minds of the ancient Brâhmans, and the relative importance of each deity.

2nd Maṇḍala.

| Deity celebrated. | No. of verses in each hymn. | |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Agni—16, 13, 11, 9, 8, 8, 6, 6, 6, 6. | | |
| Indra—21, 15, 13, 12, 10, 9, 9, 9, 9, 6, 4. | | |
| Vṛihaspati, etc.—19, 16, 15, 4. | | |
| Âdityas, etc.—17, 11, 7. | | |
| Various deities—11, 7,—8. | | |
| Rudra, etc.—15, 15, 15, 6, 6. | | |
| Savitṛi, etc.—11, 8, 6, 21, 3, 3. | | Total, 43 hymns. |

3rd Maṇḍala.

| | | |
|--|--|------------------|
| Agni—23, 15, 11, 11, 11, 11, 11, 11, 9, 9, 9, 9, 7, 7, 6, 6, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5,—9, 15, 6, 16. | | |
| Indra—22, 22, 17, 13, 11, 11, 11, 11, 10, 9, 9, 9, 9, 8, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5,—12, 8, 24. | | |
| Viśvadevas—22, 22, 8, 6. | | |
| Âświns, etc.—9, 9, 7, 7,—18. | | Total, 62 hymns. |

4th Maṇḍala.

- Agni—20, 20, 16, 15, 15, 11, 11, 8, 8, 8, 5, 6, 5, 5,—10.
 Indra—21, 21, 13, 11, 11, 11, 11, 11, 11, 8, 7, 5, 5, 5,—
 24, 15, 24.
 Ribhus—11, 11, 9, 9, 8.
 Sun—10, 6, 5.
 Indra and Varuna—11, 10, 7, 7, 7, 7, 4,—6, 6, 11.
 Dawn, etc.—11, 7, 7, 6.
 Various deities—10, 7, 8,—11. Total, 58 hymns.

5th Maṇḍala.

- Agni—12, 12, 12, 11, 11, 10, 10, 7, 7, 7, 6, 6, 6, 6, 5, 5,
 5, 5, 5, 4, 4, 4, 4, 2,—9, 9, 6, 6.
 Indra—15, 15, 13, 12, 10, 9, 8, 6, 5, 5, 5,—9.
 Viśvadevas—20, 18, 17, 15, 11, 8, 7, 5, 5, 5,—15.
 Maruts—17, 16, 15, 10, 9, 8, 8, 8, 8,—19.
 Mitra and Varuna—9, 7, 7, 6, 6, 5, 5, 4, 4, 3, 3.
 Aświns—10, 10, 9, 5, 5,—9.
 Dawn, etc.—10, 6, 5,—9.
 Various deities—10, 3, 8, 6, 9. Total, 87 hymns.

6th Maṇḍala.

- Agni—13, 11, 8, 8, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 6, 6, 6, 6,—19, 48.
 Indra—15, 15, 13, 13, 12, 11, 10, 10, 9, 8, 8, 8, 6, 5, 5, 5,
 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 4, 4,—24, 33, 14, 31.
 Viśvadevas—22, 15, 15,—16, 17.
 Pûshan—10, 10, 6, 6, 6, 4.
 Indra and Agni, etc.—10, 15, 14, 11, 11, 6, 6.
 Maruts, etc.—11, 11, 11, 8, 6, 6, 5, 3,—4.
 Agni—19. Total, 75 hymns.

7th Maṇḍala.

- Agni—25, 11, 10, 10, 9, 7, 7, 7, 6, 5, 5, 3, 3, 3,—15,
 12, 7.
 Indra—25, 11, 10, 10, 9, 6, 6, 6, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5,—12, 27, 14.

Viśvadevas, etc.—25, 15, 9, 8, 8, 7, 7, 7, 6, 5, 5, 4, 4, 4,
4, 4, 4, 3, 3, 3, 3,—8.

Maruts—25, 7, 6,—12.

Mitra and Varuna—12, 7, 6, 6, 5, 5,—19.

Aświns—10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 5,—6.

Dawn—8, 7, 6, 5, 5, 3,—6.

Indra and Varuna—10, 10, 5, 5.

Varuna—8, 7, 7, 5.

Vâyu—7, 7, 5.

Indra and Agni—8, 12.

Sarasvati—6, 6.

Various deities—10, 7, 7, 7, 6, 3,—10, 25.

Total, 104 hymns.

It will be seen that the deviations from the regular arrangement of the hymns according to diminishing length, occur at the ends of the various clusters. An examination of the hymns themselves will show that these deviations are caused by a change of metre, the practice being to place hymns of mixed metre after those written in one and the same metre. It will be found that hymns addressed to a single deity and written in one metre have precedence over hymns addressed to several deities or written in mixed metres. It would extend this paper to extravagant length to substantiate this assertion; because it could be done only by a detailed examination of each unconformable hymn. It may be accepted, however, as a simple fact that all these apparent deviations from the theoretical order are readily explainable in the manner indicated.

There are, however, two notable exceptions to the law I have laid down. It will be seen that the twelfth hymn of the 4th Maṇḍala contains six verses, while the hymn before it has only five verses. This is, in reality, the only hymn in the Rig-veda which puzzles me; and I am driven to the unsatisfactory suggestion that either this hymn contains a spurious verse, or the hymn before it has accidentally lost a verse. It is, however, consoling to my theory to know

that it is not driven to invent all sorts of excuses to explain all sorts of anomalies ; on the other hand, of the 1017 hymns the Rig-veda contains, there is only this solitary verse which stubbornly defies the principles of arrangement I have laid down.

The other instance to which I have alluded is anomalous only in appearance. The hymns to Savitṛi, etc., at the end of the 2nd Maṇḍala, are arranged according to the following lengths—11, 8, 6, 21, 3, 3, where we find a hymn of 21 verses thrust between hymns of 6 and 3 verses respectively. An inspection of this hymn, however, confirms rather than militates against my law ; for the hymn in question will be found to be divisible into seven portions of three verses each. There is nothing fanciful in this suggested subdivision of the hymn, for the sections are clearly marked by the varying deities to which each part is addressed, and these deities are not obscurely alluded to, but are distinctly named, and clearly cut the hymn into seven well-defined portions. The following list shows the construction of the hymn—

| | | | |
|-------------|----|-----------|-------------------|
| Verses 1 to | 3 | celebrate | Vâyu. |
| „ 4 „ | 6 | „ | Mitra and Varuna. |
| „ 7 „ | 9 | „ | Aświns. |
| „ 10 „ | 12 | „ | Indra. |
| „ 13 „ | 15 | „ | Viśvadevas. |
| „ 16 „ | 18 | „ | Sarasvatî. |
| „ 19 „ | 21 | „ | Heaven and Earth. |

The last hymn of the 3rd Maṇḍala, also, readily admits of resolution into parts of three verses each. It consists of 18 verses divisible into six portions, thus—

| | | | |
|-------------|----|-----------|-------------------|
| Verses 1 to | 3 | celebrate | Indra and Varuna. |
| „ 4 „ | 6 | „ | Vṛihaspati. |
| „ 7 „ | 9 | „ | Pûshan. |
| „ 10 „ | 12 | „ | Savitṛi. |
| „ 13 „ | 15 | „ | Soma. |
| „ 16 „ | 18 | „ | Mitra and Varuna |

The foregoing clusters of hymns are themselves arranged in the order of their diminishing length; for there are 67 Gâyatrî hymns, 19 Jagatî hymns, 11 Trîshṭubh hymns, 4 Anuṣṭubh hymns, 4 Uṣṇih, and only one or two specimens each of the subordinate metres.

There is one apparent anomaly in this Maṇḍala which is actually a proof that the hymns have been heedfully arranged. The Maṇḍala, it will be seen, begins with four hymns of ten verses each, and then comes one hymn of eleven verses. Why is not the longer hymn first in this case also? The hymn of eleven verses is positively the Âprî hymn of the Maṇḍala, addressed to Soma as Pâvamâna, and it is the hymn whence the whole Maṇḍala derives its title of Pâvamânî. These facts render it still more extraordinary that four shorter hymns should take precedence of it. The reason for the anomaly is to be found in the names of the Rishis of these four hymns. The first is by Madhuchhandas; the second by Medhâtithi; the third is by Śunaḥṣepha; and the fourth is by Hiranyastûpa. These Vaiśvâmitra and Angiras poets were placed before the Kâśyapa Rishis on account of their special sanctity; in confirmation of which I would point out that the hymns of these four Rishis are placed at the very beginning of the 1st Maṇḍala, and in the very same order in which they occur here. Thus we have clear proof of design both in the selection of the Rishis, and in the order in which they are placed.

The first 84 hymns of the 10th Maṇḍala follow the system of the other Maṇḍalas, beginning with hymns to Agni, followed by others to Indra, and others to the Viśvadevas. It is, however, evidently a congeries of small collections, for this is repeated two or three times, mixed with other hymns, in the course of these 84 hymns. Additional investigation is required in order to separate these various clusters; but I have not thought that needful in this preliminary essay. As in the case of the 8th Maṇḍala, the small number of hymns ascribed to each Rishi renders it difficult to trace the method of arrangement; but wherever two or three hymns by the same Rishi do occur, the ordinary system is at once

apparent. Thus the seven hymns ascribed to Vimâda are arranged as follows :—

Agni—10, 8.
 Indra—15, 7, 6.
 Soma—11.
 Pûshan—9.

This is in strict conformity with the usual system, both as regards the order in which the deities are celebrated, and the arrangement of the hymns celebrating them, according to their length.

After the 84th hymn of this Maṇḍala, everything is plain; for the method of arrangement according to diminishing length has been apparent even to casual inspection. It has been observed and acknowledged as indisputable for many years; and, therefore, I need not present a tabular statement of what is already well known.

It is the intention of this paper merely to demonstrate that the hymns of the Rig-veda are arranged on a definite system, and to point out the main features of that system. I venture to think that the evidences here presented are conclusive of the point. None, I think, will contend that the orderly arrangement which I have shown to exist in these venerable poems is the result of accident. The discovery that the 1st Maṇḍala is a ceremonial liturgy, and that all the hymns have a definite place in the canon, can hardly fail to give a fresh impulse to the investigations of scholars, and to lead to many unexpected discoveries. In the hope that such may indeed be the case, I lay this paper before my fellow-students.

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ART. XIX. — ॥ शुक्रसन्देशः *S'uka-sandēśah*. *A Sanskrit Poem by Lakshmi-dāsa*. With Preface and Notes in English, by H.H. RĀMA-VARMĀ, MAHĀRĀJA OF TRAVANCORE, G.C.S.I., M.R.A.S., and a Commentary by KERAḶA-VARMĀ.

PREFACE.

THE ancient Sanskrit literature of India is attracting daily the increasing attention of Orientalists of Europe. Sanskrit works, hitherto unknown, are being brought to the notice of the public by the labours of European scholars like Doctors Böhler, Cowell, Burnell, and others. Those labours, however, have been but very imperfectly extended to the purely Sanskrit literature of Keraḷam or Malayāḷam in the South-Western extremity of India. In the blessed isolation which that Land of Paraśu-rāma had for ages enjoyed, the cultivation of Sanskrit literature was far from being neglected. Poets have flourished who would yield superiority to none in the rest of India, except perhaps to the great Kālidāsa and one or two others of the highest rank. It cannot, therefore, be labour wasted to bring some of the works left by them to the notice of European Orientalists. The manuscript here printed for the first time is a poem called "Śuka-sandēśa," or "Śuka-dūta"—"Parrot-messenger." It is very much on the plan of Kālidāsa's celebrated "Megha-dūta," so admirably translated into English verse by the late Professor Horace Hayman Wilson. The metre is the same—Mandākṛāntā.

The poet Lakshmî-dâsa dreams himself to be suddenly transported to Râmeśvaram, or Râma-setu, the well-known place of pilgrimage, off the southern end of the Coromandel coast. There he meets a parrot of supernatural intelligence and powers, and conveys the message by him to his wife at Guṇa-puram.

Following the plan of the Megha-dûta, the author describes the towns, shrines, mountains, rivers, and all chief objects of interest in the route the parrot is asked to take from Râmeśvaram to Guṇa-puram. Some of the places alluded to by the poet are well known and easily identified. In regard to others, all that can be done is to hazard guesses. The notes in English appended to the poem are attempts to throw on such allusions as much light as is available.

The age of the poet or of the poem I have not been able to find out. But for the very reason that several of the places are now difficult to be identified, and the political formations described in the poem are not what are now found, the poem must be some three or four centuries old. At the same time the poet's allusion to Koḷambam, *alias* Kollam, *alias* Quilon, which gives the current era of the Malabâr coast, places the poem posterior to the construction of that town and the synchronous commencement of the era. The Koḷambam or Kollam era¹ dates from the 25th August, 825 A.D., and hence the date of the poem must be somewhere between the 9th and 16th centuries—probably nearer to the latter than to the former.

As already observed, the "Śuka-sandeśa" is in strict imitation of Kâlidâsa's "Megha-dûta." It is a much more laboured production, and possesses very considerable poetical merit, although the effortless wellings of a poetical genius and the delicately graphic delineations of inward and outward nature by an intuitively close observer of it, must ever render the King of Indian poets—Kâlidâsa—inimitable.

There are other "Sandeśas" or "Messages" besides this

¹ See note 20.

“Parrot-messenger.” The Travancore Palace Library contains the following:—

1. Subhaga-sandeśa.
2. Bhramara-sandeśa.
3. Châataka-sandeśa.
4. Haṅsa-sandeśa.
5. Another Haṅsa-sandeśa.

The first three of the above are by poets of Keraḷam, and the last two by others. All are in the Mandâkrântâ metre. Further particulars on these will be found in Appendix A.

The poem of “Śuka-sandeśa” has more than one commentary. But finding them either too prolix or too meagre, I had requested Keraḷa-varmâ Koil Tampurâm, the consort of my niece, the Mahârâṇî of Travancore, to write a new one. This commentary is inserted in the manuscript, and selections from it are given at the end of this article. Appendix A, also, I owe to him. While his attainments in Sanskrit literature are of a very high order, he has acquired by self-education a very creditable knowledge of English, and possesses great natural talents.

I hope fully that the Sanskrit literature of Keraḷam, hitherto almost entirely unknown to European Orientalists, will receive the attention which it deserves. In this direction it will always be a pleasure to me to render such aid as I may be qualified to do.

TEXT.

लक्ष्म्या रङ्गे शरदि शशिनः सौधशृङ्गे कयोञ्चित्
 प्रेम्णा यूनोः सह विहरतोः पेशलाभिः कलाभिः ।
 द्वारासेधः क्व नु हतविधेर्दूरनीतः स तस्याः
 श्रान्तः स्वप्ने शुक्मिति गिरा आव्यया सन्दिदेश । १ ।
 भ्रातर्दूरे भ्रमसि किमितस्तावदास्तां विशङ्का
 नम्रस्तुभ्यं ननु फलभरैस्त्रिष्ठते बीजपूरः ।
 अस्तु व्यस्तैररुणहरितेष्वञ्चितश्चञ्चुपक्ष-
 च्छायोन्नारैरधिकरुचिरैरेष पुष्पच्छदेषु । २ ।
 सौजन्याब्धे भवतु भवते स्वागतं वेगतो गा-
 मागाः सम्प्रत्यमरतरुणीनन्दनान्नन्दनान्नु ।
 उत्सङ्गाद्वा करपरिलसद्वल्लकीकोणवेल्ल-
 नीलचौमाञ्चलपटलिकामुद्रितादद्रिजायाः । ३ ।
 कञ्चित्प्राणास्तव नयनयोर्गोचराः शारिकेयं
 सान्तैरन्तः स्थिरयति धृतिं तत्तदीर्थागमेषु ।
 केलीवाप्यां फलवति वने कालमीने च देशे
 क्वायेवाध्वश्रमशमकरी क्वन्दतो वाऽनुयाति । ४ ।
 दिध्या दृष्ट्योः सरसि सरणिं दिव्यदेशाधिवासिन्
 कर्णी पूर्णी कलरुतसुधास्रोतसेमौ चिरेण ।
 किञ्च न्यञ्चत्स्वजनविगमक्लान्ति मे स्वान्तमेतद्
 ब्रह्मस्त्वेषोच्छ्रसिति बिसिनीजालमालोकेने ते । ५ ।
 आस्था लोके विपुलमनसामन्यसामान्यमभ्ये-
 त्यर्थानर्थोपगमविगमेष्वर्थिता चाऽऽतुराणाम् ।
 न्यक्षेणेषा निजगुरुतया नेक्षते तद्विशेषं
 सान्द्रा तस्मिन्नपि च सहजं द्वन्द्वमेतद्व्येषु । ६ ।

अन्यत्राऽहं प्रियसहचरी तावदन्यत्र जातौ
जाता चाऽग्रे मनसिजशराः शारदीयं विभूतिः ।
मन्दो वायुर्मधुरमुदकं मञ्जुरावा मरालाः
सज्जामोदा सरसिजवनी सान्द्रभाश्चन्द्रमाश्च । ७ ।

प्रागुद्वेलप्रणयचपलौ नेत्रयोर्यौ निवृत्तौ
विश्लेषार्त्तौ चिरमिव मिथः सङ्गतौ सन्निवृत्तौ ।
भाग्यभ्रंशान्न परमनयोरावयोरन्तराले
द्वित्राण्यद्य द्विजवर सरित्सानुमत्पत्तनानि । ८ ।

अध्वक्लेशानपरिगणयन्नात्मनाऽभ्येत्य बालां
सत्त्वन्यूनां विपुलहृदयः स त्वमाश्वासयेथाः ।
नोचेन्नीचो विधिरभिनवो विप्रवासोऽतिवामः
कामश्चाऽयं कथयतु भवान् कामवस्थां न कुर्युः । ९ ।

प्रज्ञातर्यां प्रचुरकरुणाचेपणीभाजि कृत्वा
तीर्त्वा वर्तन्युदधिमचिरात्तीव्रचिन्ताकुलायाः ।
अस्मद्वार्ताधनसमुदयानम्बुजाच्या हरेश्चे-
दार्त्तत्राणाद्गुरु सुकृतमत्राऽऽतरस्ते नु हस्ते । १० ।

अग्रे स्थित्वा विलपनमृते कामिनां केव याञ्च
बन्धूनान्तत्प्रियहितविधेर्ब्रूहि कोऽन्योऽनुवादः ।
जातोदन्या नहि जलमुचश्चातकाः प्रार्थयन्ते
तूष्णीमेषामभिमतममी तूर्णमापूरयन्ति । ११ ।

आशापाशः किल चलदृशामाश्रयः प्रोषितानां
मन्ये सोऽपि चुटति महता हन्त कालान्तरेण ।
अस्मत्प्रत्यागमनपिशुनैराशु वाचां निगुम्फै-
रेनं गाढीकुरु गुरुगुणैरेणशावेक्षणायाः । १२ ।

पक्षौ स्यातां पथि मम यतः पादचारेण भूमी
 पक्षद्वया वियति पततः पक्षिणी केवलं ते ।
 स्थानादस्मात्तदिह सुहृदः स्त्रैर्यमिच्छन्नसूनां
 वेगेन त्वं विजितमरुता वैश्रम यायाः प्रियायाः । १३ ।

सम्यक् श्रोतुं सकृदभिहितं सर्वदैवाऽवधातुं
 वीतालम्बे पथि विचरितुं व्यक्तमाभाषितुञ्च ।
 आधिं यूनोरधरयितुमप्यार्त्तयोर्विप्रयोगे
 ताम्नागोत्राभरण निपुणस्ताम्रतुण्डस्त्वमेव । १४ ।

प्राप्तव्यं ते प्रकृतिसुभगं प्रेयसः शैलपुत्र्याः
 क्रीडागारं गुणपुरमिति ख्यातमाशामुखेषु ।
 चित्रं रङ्गे विनिहितपदाश्चित्तरङ्गेषु यूनां
 नृत्यन्त्याविललितमवला यत्र सन्धोत्सवेषु । १५ ।

अप्रध्मातं ध्वनति मधुरं कम्बुयूथं पयोधौ
 रन्ध्रं व्योम्नः पिदधति रवैरुर्मिभेयो गभीरैः ।
 अभोजिन्यामविरलवलन्मारुतोद्गाम्यमाणाः
 शब्दायन्ते सरसिजरजःकाहलाश्चाऽलिगर्भाः । १६ ।

पाकोत्पिङ्गाः कलमकलिकाः पद्मरागाभिताम्रै-
 स्तुण्डैश्चारुक्कणितसुभगाभ्यन्तरैरुद्वहन्तः ।
 चेत्रात् चेत्रंध्रुवमवरतस्त्वां शुकास्तत्रतत्र
 द्वित्राः पत्रिप्रवर परकीयावधि प्रापयेयुः । १७ ।

आरभ्याऽस्माद्वसतिमवधीकृत्य मद्वल्लभाया-
 स्तावद्वापीविपिनसुभगा ये च यावन्त एव ।
 तांस्तान्भागान्निश्मय भुवः साधुमार्गोपलब्धौ
 विश्रान्त्यै वा वियति विगतालम्बने यास्यतस्त्रे । १८ ।

स्थायं स्थायं तरुषु धरणीस्थायिनो वञ्चयित्वा
 ग्राहं ग्राहं नयनहृदयग्राहिणीः सस्यपङ्कीः ।
 पायं पायं परिलघु पयः पद्मिनीनामजस्रं
 गायं गायं पुनरपि भवान् गाहिता व्योम येषु । १९ ।

पूतस्तीर्थाहृतजलकणैः पूर्वमम्भोधिवतैः
 पुष्प्यत्सप्तच्छदनरजसा भस्मनोडूलिताङ्गः ।
 ज्योत्स्नागौरं वपुषि कपिशं मूर्ध्नि कालं च कण्ठे
 ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं प्रणम जगतां मूलमिष्टार्थसिद्धये । २० ।

लब्धा शम्भोरनुमतिमितोऽभ्युत्तन्तं भवन्तं
 लक्ष्मीवन्तो नवकमलिनीं मानसादापतन्तः ।
 शुभ्राम्भोदे नभसि शुभयाऽऽनन्दयिष्यन्ति दृष्ट्या
 शुक्लैः पचैर्विहसितहसन्मल्लिका मल्लिकाचाः । २१ ।

अच्छणोरम्भोनिधिमनु पुरः पूरयाऽऽश्चर्यवाञ्छां
 शय्यागारं जठरकुहरव्यस्तविश्वस्य विष्णोः ।
 अस्य ब्रूमः कियदनवधेरुन्नतिर्यावती ते
 विद्वद्बुद्धेरिव विपुलतां चास्यसे तावतीं त्वम् । २२ ।

यन्नाम्भीयं सरिदधिपतौ यच्च पत्न्यौ रघूणां
 पश्येतावत् प्रथममनयोर्मानमन्यस्य नेति ।
 या लोकस्य प्रथयति तलस्पर्शिनी सेतुरेखां
 मेनामेनोनिचयश्मनीं भ्रातरामन्त्रयेथाः । २३ ।

तालीजालैस्तटवनसदामातपत्रायमाणैः
 स्निग्धच्छायैः शिशिरितपथेनाऽथ कच्छेन गच्छेः ।
 सीताज्ञानेर्निजतलजुषोऽद्याऽपि निष्कम्पशब्दे-
 ध्वाच्चावर्णावलिरलिखिता भाति येषां दलेषु । २४ ।

अग्रे ताम्ना सरिदविरलैः कूलयोरुल्लसन्ती
 पक्कश्रेण्या सततमरुणा पाण्डुभिञ्चूतषण्डैः ।
 मुक्ताजालैरिव शुचितरैर्वारिभिः पूर्यमाणा
 भूमेर्हारस्रगिव कनकाबद्धपर्यन्तभागा । २५ ।

चक्षुर्लीलां चटुलशफरैरुर्मिभिर्भ्रूविलासान्
 फेनैर्हासश्रियमपि मुखे व्यञ्जयन्ती स्रवन्ती ।
 आत्मासङ्गे जनयति रुचिं भर्तुःरन्यास्वदृश्यैः
 खेदच्छेदैरुदयिभिरसौ खच्छमुक्ताच्छलेन । २६ ।

वीरो यः स्वे व्यतनुत पदे वृष्टिहीने किलाऽऽज्ञां
 मोघां मेघोदरभिदुरया बाणवृध्या मघोनः ।
 तद्वंशानां वसतिमधरीभूतवस्त्रोकसारं
 पुथ्या दृथ्या प्रविश मणलूराभिधां राजधानीम् । २७ ।

तत्र द्वैते लघुरपि सखे वर्जनीयः कदध्वा
 रुद्धोपान्तस्खलितनिहतप्राणिवृन्दैः पुलिन्दैः ।
 वक्रः स्वेच्छावशगमन ते हस्तवामोऽस्तु पन्थाः
 पश्य त्याज्यः खलु पटुधिया पाक्षिकोऽप्यन्तरायः । २८ ।

मुक्ताप्रायैर्मुञ्ज रूपचितश्रीभिराकल्पजालै-
 र्मात्स्यैस्ताम्रोत्पलसमधिकैश्चारुगोशीर्षमिश्रैः ।
 चर्चापातैरपि जनपदाः स्त्रीभिराक्षिप्तदृष्टे-
 रत्येष्यन्ति क्षणमनुपथं पश्यतस्तेऽथ पाण्ड्याः । २९ ।

शृङ्गोद्धस्ताम्बरमतिपृथुं शैलमारुह्य संह्यं
 पश्चात् पादावधिनिपतता बिभ्रतं निर्झरेण ।
 शुभ्रां हारश्रियमथ शुक प्रीतिमाभ्यासिको लं
 नूनं वक्ष्यस्युरसिजभरोत्सेधमुर्वीतरुण्याः । ३० ।

चुम्बन् विम्बाधरमत इतश्चालयन् भृङ्गदृष्टी-
रातन्वानः स्तनभुवि नखोल्लेखनं दाडिमेषु ।
पक्षोत्क्षेपैः परिविगलयन् पुष्परेणूत्तरीयं
भ्रातः स्वैरं श्रियमनुभवेस्तस्य वप्रस्थलीषु । ३१ ।

शैले तस्मिञ्छ्वे^{१०}वरसुदृशां दाम गुञ्जाफलानां
हारीकुर्वन्नुरसि हरिणीयूथरोमन्यफेनैः ।
कन्दच्छेदोत्खननजनितक्लान्तिदृष्टापदानः
पर्याप्तोऽयं भवति पवनो हर्तुमध्वश्रमं ते । ३२ ।

तत्रोदस्य स्तवकमुखतः खेदबिन्दून् मरन्दान्
गानासक्ताः स्वयमनुगमथ्याऽभिरामालिरामाः ।
अश्रान्तेन श्वसनगुरुणाऽऽमोदिना चोदितानां
लास्यक्रीडामनुभव लतालासिकाबालिकानाम् । ३३ ।

ब्रह्मक्षेत्रं जनपदमथ स्फोतमध्यक्षयेथा
दर्पादर्शं दृढतरमृषेर्जामदगन्धस्य वाह्योः ।
यं मेदिन्यां रुचिरमरिचोत्तालताम्बूलवल्ली-
वेल्लत्केरक्रमुकनिकरान् केरलानुदृणन्ति । ३४ ।

आतन्वानामनति^{११}विधे वासमार्थी कुमार्यां
गच्छन्नेव प्रणम शिरसा त्यक्तकालातिपातः ।
अन्यत्कृत्यं निजपटुतया पूर्वकृत्याविरोधे-
नाऽन्विच्छेद्यो लघु गुरुधियं तं प्रशंसन्ति सन्तः । ३५ ।

छत्वा चित्ते किमपि यतयो युञ्जते यन्निकुञ्जे
गुञ्जद्भृङ्गे सह युवतिभिर्गुह्यका वा रमन्ते ।
वक्रं भूयः शिखरिणममुं वक्रवर्त्मा भजेस्त्वं
यादृक् सेव्यो भवति हि भवेत् सेवकस्तादृगेव । ३६ ।

शुद्धिस्थानं किल भगवतस्तच्छुचीन्द्रं महेन्द्र-
 स्याऽऽसेवेथाः प्रथितमवनी मन्दिरं चन्द्रमौलेः ।
 यस्मिन्नद्याऽपि च सदसतोः कर्मणोः सूक्तयोर-
 प्यालक्ष्यन्ते भुवि तनुभृतामात्महस्ते फलानि । ३७ ।

अग्रे कश्चिद्भृततभुजामग्रहारो द्विजानां
 रत्नौघेष्वप्यकृपणधियां राजविश्राणितेषु ।
 चित्रं चित्रं चिरपरिचयाद्वालकान् यत्रसाङ्गं
 वेलां वेलामनु गृहशुका वेदमध्यापयन्ते । ३८ ।

मन्ये तत्र ग्रहपतिमितः प्रस्थितः प्रापयिष्य-
 स्यस्तं चक्षुः सदपि च न सद्यं विना प्राणभाजाम् ।
 तद्विश्रान्त्यै त्वमपि विहितान्योन्यहृत्यण्डजेषु
 स्वं स्वं स्थानं प्रति गगनतो गत्वरेषु त्वरेथाः । ३९ ।

आनन्दिष्यत्यनघ नितरामन्तरात्मा यतस्ते
 स्थानन्दूरं पुरमपि ततो नातिदूरे मुरारिः ।
 पौरन्दर्या विजयिनि पुरः सम्पदा यत्र देवः
 स्वैरं दारैः सह विहरते भार्गवीकाश्यपीभ्याम् । ४० ।

क्षीराभोधेरपि धृतिकरं धाम तत् कैटभारे-
 राश्वर्याभोनिधिमधिनिशं विश्रमाय श्रयेथाः ।
 पूर्णं तीर्थैर्भुवनमहितैर्भूषितं भूतिसारैः
 पुण्यं क्षेत्रं पुरमुरुसुखं योगिनां भोगिनां च । ४१ ।

तस्मिन् सायन्तनबलिमहे सङ्गतानां जनानां
 मध्ये नद्धाञ्जलि जयगिरा वद्धकोलाहलानाम् ।
 तस्य च्छत्रीकुरु मुरजितो मूर्ध्नि भक्त्या पतत्रे
 कुर्वन्नात्मक्षममुपहृती प्रीतये हि प्रभूणाम् । ४२ ।

तत्सेवार्थं तरुणसहितास्ताम्रपादारविन्दा-
स्ताम्यन्मग्धाः स्तनभरनतास्तारहारावलोकाः ।
तारेशास्यास्तरलनयनास्तर्जिताम्बोदकेश-
स्तत्रस्थाः स्युः स्तवकितकरास्तालवृन्तैस्तरुण्यः । ४३ ।

त्वथ्यभ्यासे स्थितवति दिवस्तुण्डकान्या पतन्त्या
लिप्तानापानुरसि तरसा लुप्तधैर्यानुरोधाः ।
अन्याश्लेषव्यतिकरमिलत्कुङ्कुमाशङ्कया ता-
नाहन्यस्ताः शुकवर दृशामञ्जलैश्चञ्चलाच्यः । ४४ ।

शक्यं द्रष्टुं तदनु शयितः शेषपर्यङ्किकायां
प्रालियाद्रेरिव तटभुवि प्रावृषेण्योऽम्बुवाहः ।
गत्वा पूर्वं पतग भवता तिष्ठता मण्डपान्तः
स्तम्भे शुभ्रन्मरकतमणिच्छटना पद्मनाभः । ४५ ।

नर्तक्योऽग्याः सुरचलदृशो नागभोगो ऽतिमृद्वी
शय्या भूयः परिमलभरा भूषणं वैजयन्ती ।
वीणाचुञ्चुर्मुनिरपि विभो गायकः स्वादनीया
लक्ष्मीदन्तच्छदनवसुधा भाग्यसीमन् नमस्ते । ४६ ।

इत्थं नत्वा नरकमथनं देवमत्रैव रात्रा-
वध्वश्रान्तिं परिहर बहिष्कृतशाखाग्रशायी ।
क्लान्तां कान्तां प्रति गुरुशुचं मां च भूत् साहसिक्यं
मा ते मार्गज्ञुतिषु विदुषां साधने साध्ययत्नः । ४७ ।

रत्यायासग्लपितवपुषां योषितां घर्मलेशैः
सिक्तो नक्तम्पथिकमिथुनप्रेक्षितैः पीतशेषः ।
वातः स्तोकोच्छसितकमलोद्गन्धिर्द्वोधयेत्त्वा-
माविस्तरिषैरलिभिरुषसि व्यक्तमङ्गल्यगीतिः । ४८ ।

पत्याऽऽदिष्टश्चिरविरहितां पद्मिनीं द्रष्टुमिष्टां
मध्ये मन्दीभवति न पुरः प्रस्थितो रश्मिपुञ्जः ।
इत्याख्यातः स्फुटमिव पटुव्याहृतैस्ताम्रचूडैः
यामे रात्रेस्तदनु चरमे यातुमेवाऽऽरभेथाः । ४९ ।

कच्छप्राप्तात्क्लिशितमसकृद् गच्छ गच्छेति जल्पन्
द्वेषो हि स्यादपि परवतां स्त्रैरिणां का कथेति ।
ताम्यत्रेवं न खलु निखिलं सौम्यजाने न जाने
बन्धुस्नेहः श्लथयति धृतिं बहूपायानुदर्शी । ५० ।

प्रालेयाश्रुस्तपितवसुधं स्नानतारानुसारं
पाण्डुच्छायं मुखमिव पयोजारिविम्बं दधानां ।
विलां बालामिव विरहिणीं पश्यतस्ते दयालो
निद्रातन्द्र्यौ व्यवसितिमिमां शक्यतः किं निरोद्भुम् । ५१ ।

वैतल्येन स्फुटरवतया कैटभारेः पदत्वे-
नोन्निद्राणोत्पलरुचितया चाऽलमुक्तैः प्रभूतैः ।
तैस्तैः स्पर्धिन्यपि जलधिना पक्षपाती त्वमधे
ताटस्थं न त्यज नयजुषामेष पन्था निगूढः । ५२ ।

श्लेनश्रेण्या तव सुरसयेवाऽऽञ्जनेयस्य पूर्वं
भक्तार्थिन्या पथि परिपतेदन्तरा योऽन्तरायः ।
उत्पत्तेः प्रागुपशमय तं येन केनाऽप्युपाये-
नोत्पन्नायां विपदि सपदि प्राप्स्यते नैव मोक्षः । ५३ ।

कूले भान्तीमथ कुलपुरीं कूपकाधीश्वराणां
लक्ष्मीसाक्षात्कृतिसमुचिते पश्य रत्नाकरस्य ।
भूयोऽप्यात्मप्रमथनभिया तेन विश्वोपभोग्ये
न्यस्तेवाऽस्मिन्नुदरकुहराद्या पुरां रत्नभूता । ५४ ।

आवृण्वाना विवश्मनुयातालिवृन्देष्वलिन्दे-
 ष्वङ्गैरङ्गान्यमितमदनोन्मर्दनार्द्रचतानि ।
 कान्तेष्वन्तःस्मयिषु कलया क्रान्तरोषानुषङ्गाः
 कल्याणाख्याः शुक्रपिकगिरः कात्थमालोकनोयाः । ५५ ।

लोकत्रय्यामखिलतनुभृल्लोचनैकावलम्बे
 कोल्लम्बेऽस्मिन् क्व च न भवतः कोऽपि मा भूद्विलम्बः ।
 अल्पीयस्यामपि परिचितावन्यदेशातिशायि-
 न्याश्चर्याणामहमहमिका कस्य कर्षेन्न चेतः । ५६ ।

अग्रे सिन्धुद्वयमथ पुरी काप्यमीषाममुष्यां
 केलीलास्यस्मरणगुरुभिः केतुलोलेर्दुकूलैः ।
 व्यङ्ग्योत्तंसैरिव रसविदः सत्कवीनां प्रबन्धैः
 प्रीतिर्मन्ये मनसि भवतः स्फोततामेष्यतीति । ५७ ।

अर्हञ्जो यः स्वमिह विभजन्नाश्रमाणां चतुर्णा-
 मग्र्यं धर्मं कथयति नृणां कर्मणा केवलेन ।
 वन्द्यश्चन्द्रोरहसि विहरन् वल्लभग्रामवासी
 केशिध्वंसी निजपदजुषां क्लेशहन्ता स देवः । ५८ ।

लिप्तास्वभावलिषु गरुतोलीलयोद्भूतयोस्ते
 मार्गे तस्मिन्मरकतमणिश्यामलैरंशुजालैः ।
 प्रावृट् प्रत्यापतति पुनरित्यात्तहर्षप्रकर्षा
 नर्तिष्यन्ति त्वरितविसरद्वर्हभारा मयूराः । ५९ ।

कान्तारीघप्रतिभयमतिक्रम्य कञ्चित् प्रदेशं
 बिम्बोकथ्रीभरितमहिलां बिम्बलीमेत्य भूयः ।
 आविश्वाऽन्तर्नगरमतिथिशूतचूडामणैः स्याः
 कुर्युस्तुङ्गाः खलु फलवतीमृद्धिमभ्यागतेषु । ६० ।

स्कन्धावारं परमपि ततो विम्बलीपालकानां
सिन्धुद्वीपं व्रज घननिभैरावृतं सिन्धुरेन्द्रेः ।
सन्ध्यालक्ष्मीं मृदुलहसितज्योत्स्नया यत्र शश्वद्
बन्धूकाभैरधरमणिभिश्चाऽपि वध्नन्ति नार्यः । ६१ ।

तोरग्रावस्वलितसलिलां सिन्धुमुल्लङ्घ्य फुल्लां
ग्रामाद्गन्तास्यनुपमगुणग्रामभाजां द्विजानाम् ।
मुक्ताहारे हरिमणिरिव भ्राजते पद्मगानां
मुख्ये यत्र त्रिभुवनलतामूलकन्दो मुकुन्दः । ६२ ।

प्रज्ञोत्कर्षप्रकटनकृते प्राञ्चिके प्राञ्चलोके
कल्लोलाभैर्मतिजलनिधेः कर्कशैस्त्कर्कजालैः ।
स्पर्धाबन्धादवहितधियः स्पष्टमत्राऽर्थरत्नं
श्रीते लीनं सदसि रहसि ग्रावकाः ग्रावयेयुः । ६३ ।

दत्तप्रेमा शिखिनि दलयन् दानवान् बाणमुक्त्या
सुव्रह्मिण्यः पथि सुमनसां यूथनेता निषेव्यः ।
अचोभ्यत्वं दधति कृतिनामद्भुतार्थान्यमीषां
क्षिद्रास्कन्दिच्छिदुरतरसा यस्य शक्त्या पदानि । ६४ ।

तच्च क्षेत्रं पथि पशुपतेर्यत्र च द्वादश द्वा-
वष्टावेकादश च निवसन्त्यस्तकम्पा निलिम्पाः ।
सा चाऽदूरे प्रवहति सरित् सोदरी ताम्रपर्था-
शूर्णीं माँहोदयपुरवधूरोजचूर्णीकृतोर्मिः । ६५ ।

कम्बूनम्बूदरकुहरतः कर्पितान् वागुराभिः
क्षिप्त्वा क्षिप्त्वा पुलिनतलिमे क्षिप्रमस्यास्तटिन्याः ।
दाशैराशाकलितमतिभिर्द्रव्यसि प्रेर्यमाणा
नैका नौका नवजलवहव्यूहकृष्णैर्नदीष्णैः । ६६ ।

संसद्वीचीसिचयपुलिनश्रोणि शिञ्जानहंसी-
काञ्चि भ्राम्यच्छफरनयनं कीर्णशैवालकेशम् ।
आसीदन्तीमतिरसभरादानतावर्तनाभिं
दृष्ट्वा क्लान्तः कथमिव भवांस्तामसम्भाव्य याता । ६७ ।

उत्तीर्णस्तामुदधिदयितामुत्तरेण क्रमेथा
राजत्पत्तिद्विपरथहयानीकिनीं राजधानीम् ।
राज्ञामाज्ञानियमितनृणामाननैर्भूरिधाम्नां
राजा राजेत्यवनिवलये गीयते यन्निकेतः । ६८ ।

वाचा येषां भवति नृपतिर्वल्लभो राज्यलक्ष्म्या
ग्रामान् षष्टिं चतुर इह ये ग्राह्यचेष्टा नयन्ति ।
शस्त्रे शास्त्रेऽपि च भृगुनिभैः शश्वदुज्जासते या
विप्रेन्द्रैस्त्रैर्विपुलमठवर्यावलीषु स्थलीषु । ६९ ।

अच्छामर्णच्छदनिविडितामर्धमाध्व्या महत्या
गुर्वीं पद्यस्रजमभिनवैर्गुम्फितां वाक्यपुष्पैः ।
ईशानाय प्रदिश जयंरातेश्वरं मन्दिरं प्रा-
प्याऽऽमोदी स्यान्नियतमनया सर्वथैवैष देवः । ७० ।

मध्येरणं मम दृशि भवेस्त्वत्कराग्रे युगान्ते
प्राच्या प्राणाङ्गतिरपि न यत् पूर्यतेऽजाण्डखण्डैः ।
मातर्मातुं प्रभवति कथं मादृशस्तादृशीं त्वा-
मित्यं द्वन्द्वं प्रणम चरणाभोजयोश्चण्डिकायाः । ७१ ।

पाश्वै पाश्वै मद्भरपटुध्वानलोलम्बलोलैः
पत्रच्छायातिमिरमलिनाभ्यन्तरैर्वल्लिगेहैः ।
मार्गारामास्तव गुणपुरासत्तिमासूत्रयिष्य-
न्यन्तर्गन्धान्तरपरिगतस्त्रैरवक्त्राध्वनीनाः । ७२ ।

अभ्युन्नम्य स्वयमभिदधत्स्वागतं भृङ्गशब्दैः
 कञ्चित् कालं फलभरनतायेषु तीरद्रुमेषु ।
 सर्वातिथ्ये सरसि निवसंस्त्वां स विश्रामयिष्य-
 त्यध्वश्रान्तं सलिलकणिकावाहको गन्धवाहः । ७३ ।

आयात्यस्तं विरहिषु निजं तापमासज्य भाना-
 वूढोऽस्त्रासं प्रविश गुणकामूहशाली विशालां ।
 अग्राम्यालङ्करणहसितालापलीलाविशेषै-
 र्मानोद्रेकं मनसि गुणितां कुर्वतीमङ्गयोनेः । ७४ ।

इतिशुकसन्देशे केरलीयलक्ष्मीदासकविकृते पूर्वसन्देशः समाप्तः

मध्ये जाम्बूनदधरमहेलावृतां वर्षपूगै-
 र्वीक्ष्योपान्तां विपुलपरिखासिन्धुना वेष्टितान्ताम् ।
 तामालोक्याऽखिलधृतिकरीं भोत्स्वसे रन्तगर्भा-
 मङ्गे भान्तीं परमिव सुतामौरसीमुर्वरायाः । १ ।

दोर्दण्डाभ्यां निविडितभुजङ्गेन्द्ररत्नाङ्गदाभ्यां
 वेगाकृत्या घटितशिखरं मेरुकोदण्डचक्रम् ।
 न्यस्तं भूयस्त्रिपुरजयिना यत्र नेत्राग्नितप्तं
 रुद्धोजृम्भं स्फुरति परितो रुक्मसालच्छलेन । २ ।

स्वैरक्रीडाविधिषु सुदृशां श्रूयमाणेषु यत्र
 स्वीयभ्रान्त्यावहकलरवैर्नूपुरैर्गोपुरेषु ।
 उडुीयोच्चैरुदितगमनश्रान्तयस्त्वर्धमार्गे
 व्यावर्तन्ते नभसि कुसुमाक्रीडचक्राङ्गपोताः । ३ ।

यस्यां सौधा रतिरुचिकृतश्चित्तयोनेर्यशोभि-
 नैव श्वेताः परमहिपतेः श्लिष्टरत्नाः शिरोभिः ।
 दुग्धाक्षोर्धेरभिनवसुधाशीतलावीचिभङ्गै-
 स्तुङ्गाः शृङ्गैरपि हिमगिरेस्तुल्यकुल्याः प्रथन्ते । ४ ।

आलोक्याऽऽराद्धिरजनि यत्राऽऽत्मनः सौधसद-
न्यासीनानां मुञ्जरतिशयोन्यङ्गनानां मुखानि ।
पूर्वामाशामुपरिगमनप्रेप्सया सङ्गृहीतां
हित्वा सबयः पतनविधये पश्चिमामेति चन्द्रः । ५ ।

यस्यां मूर्च्छन्मुरजनिनदा नृत्तशालाः समीरे-
णोद्धूताग्रैर्ध्वजपटभुजैरुत्तमानां नटीनाम् ।
नृत्यन्तीनामुपरिगुरुभिक्षैः स्तनारोहभारै-
नीताः कम्पं निपतनभियाऽन्योन्यमालम्बयन्ति । ६ ।

यत्पर्यन्ते परममणवो रेणवः पुष्पवाद्यां
पौष्पाः पक्षश्चसनचलिताः पक्षिणां चापमौर्याः ।
सुष्टे नेत्रार्चिषि पुरजिता पौर्विके पुष्पकेतो-
रन्यं देहं घटयितुमतः श्लाघनीयं घटन्ते । ७ ।

वीथीं वीथीमनु विचरतां यत्र दुर्लक्षपारां
कान्तिस्कारं कमपि सुभगं कामिनामीक्षमाणः ।
लज्जावांशेन्नयनदहने शम्भुना लम्बितां स्वां
मन्ये देहाङ्गतिमुपकृतिं मन्यते पञ्चबाणः । ८ ।

अप्यारूढस्थिरतरगुणान्यप्यनाघ्रातदोषा-
ख्यप्यालोलन्दुकरपदान्यप्यनर्घाधराणि ।
आसज्यन्ते न खलु कठिनान्यात्मगात्रेषु यस्यां
लोलैः पौरैरपितु ललितान्येव रत्नानि रामाः । ९ ।

केशे नीपं दृशि सरसिजं केसरं नाभिचक्रे
कुन्दच्छायं मृदुनि हसिते सौकुमार्ये शिरीषं ।
गण्डे लोभद्युतिमपि समं यत्र सन्दर्शयन्ती
कामोद्याने विलसति सदा कामिनीष्वार्तवी श्रीः । १० ।

भीमैर्मेघध्वनिभिरवलाः स्फीतवर्षानिशानां
 व्यष्टौ दृष्ट्वा विहसति विटे व्रीडिताः कुङ्कुमाद्रम ।
 गूहन्ते स्वं पृथुकुचपदं कुम्भसिन्दूरयुक्त्या
 मातङ्गानां मदपरिणतौ यत्र मार्गद्रुमेषु । ११ ।

अद्य श्वो वेत्यधिगतपदा यौवने कामतन्त्रं
 श्रोतुं प्रातः किमपि सविलम्बागमा वेशकन्याः ।
 सान्तःकोपं समरजयिनां किं खलूर्येति यत्र
 व्याख्याशीण्डैर्गृहशुकविटैर्हीविमूढाः क्रियन्ते । १२ ।

दक्षैर्दूतप्रभृतिषु कलास्वात्तनेपथ्यगात्रै-
 र्देश्ये लोकेऽपिच विहरणे दत्तशिञ्जाविशेषैः
 तत्तादृग्भिः सह युवतिभिः सादरं यत्र पौरैः
 क्रीडानीतः क्षण इव बङ्गञ्जायते नैव कालः । १३ ।

माद्यद्भृङ्गकणितभणितिर्मारुतो वासरान्ते
 मन्दं भिन्दन् कुमुदमुपदां सौरभीमाददानः ।
 मानग्रन्थैर्विघटनपटुवैश्रमनो वैश्रम यस्यां
 वेशस्त्रीणां विशति सुरतप्रेरणापीठमर्दः । १४ ।

काम्याकल्पः कनकभवने यत्र चोत्क्रान्तसीम्नां
 भङ्गं कुर्वन् जगति गुणकानाथ इत्यूढकीर्त्तिः ।
 आस्ते गौरीकलहमनुशङ्कोव वेशाङ्गनानां
 वीथीभिश्चाचरणविमुखश्चन्द्रलेखावतंसः । १५ ।

तस्यां नीलैरुपलशकलैर्निर्मितारोहमार्गं
 युक्तं द्वाभ्यां कनकपटलैरुज्वलाभ्यां तलाभ्याम् ।
 राजन्नीत्रं रजतसुधया लक्ष्यते यत्र दूराद्
 बाह्यद्वारं नरपतिपथे मन्दिरं तत्प्रियायाः । १६ ।

सद्यश्रेणीमणिगणरूचां सङ्करोत्थैरसङ्घै-
रैन्द्रैश्चापैरविरतनतैरास्तृतं दिङ्मुखेषु ।
यत्तत् पीथैरिव पशुपतेः सन्निधौ रक्षतः स्वं
वासस्थानं भुवि भुजवलेनैव पुष्पायुधस्य । १७ ।

ऊढच्छायं कलमनिवहैर्यच्च पुण्ड्रेक्षुकाण्डे
रभाजालिः क्रमुकनिकरैर्नालिकेरोत्करैश्च ।
द्वन्नोपान्तेरुरुदलतया चारुकेदारखण्डे-
षूच्चत्वेनाऽप्यथ पृथुतया पूर्वपूर्वोपमेधैः । १८ ।

कूपशैकः स्फटिकवलयस्थौल्यनिर्व्यूढबन्धः
श्लिष्टः कूले भुजगलतिकावेष्टितैः पूगपूगैः ।
येषां गुच्छव्यजनपवना विश्रमं लासिकानां
लास्ये तन्वन्यपि रतिपतेस्ताण्डवे न क्षमन्ते । १९ ।

स्वैरोल्लस्यस्वतलसिकता स्वच्छभावेन वारां
वापी शीतद्युतिमणिशिलाबद्धपर्यन्तभित्तिः ।
स्नानक्रीडाविधिषु सुतरां घर्मकालेऽपि यस्यां
पूर्णं पूर्णं भवति सलिलं पूर्णचन्द्राननायाः । २० ।

आरादस्यास्तटभुवि तरुच्छायबद्धान्धकारं
दूरस्त्रैरेरुपरिकुसुमैरुन्मिषत्तारकौघम् ।
क्रीडोद्यानं हिमनिभमधुक्लिन्नमायाति यस्मि-
न्नस्तं श्यामामुख इव चकोरेक्षणामानभानुः । २१ ।

आशाकूलङ्कषपरिमलोद्गारिणामङ्घ्रिपाणा-
मारादस्मिन् परिमृदु चरन् वायुरारामपालः ।
शीर्णं पर्णं प्रणुदति बहिः शीकरैर्माकरन्दैः
सिञ्चत्यन्तस्तिरयति च गां वृन्तमुक्तैः प्रसूनैः । २२ ।

तत्राऽऽलोक्यस्तिलकविटपी सन्नताग्रैर्विनम्रः
 शाखाचक्रैः स खलु भुवने शाखिनां धन्यजन्मा ।
 आदास्यन्त्याः सुरभिकुसुमान्यादरादायताच्या
 यत्नापेतः सपदि लभते यः कटाक्षैश्चितानि । २३ ।

तत्पर्यन्ते कुरवकतरुः साधुवद्बालवालः
 सारङ्गाच्या स्वयमुपहृतैः सिच्यमानः पयोभिः ।
 स्पृष्ट्वा स्पृष्ट्वा किसलयकराग्रेण वृक्षाधिरूढ-
 स्याऽऽश्लेषस्य क्वचनसमये शिबको मत्प्रियायाः । २४ ।

तस्योपान्ते मरकततलः कोपि माकन्दशाखी
 शीतच्छायैः शिखरनिकरैः पल्लवस्पृष्टभूमिः ।
 मन्ये सम्प्रत्यहमिव तया विप्रयुक्तस्तपस्वी
 द्रष्टव्यस्ते स खलु दयितास्तेहसर्वस्वसाक्षी । २५ ।

प्रासादश्च प्रकृतिशिशिरः पश्चिमे भाति भागे
 चारुल्लोचञ्चलकिसलयैः पार्श्वसर्जद्रुमस्य ।
 शङ्के तस्मिन् मृदुविरचितां कौसुमीमद्य शय्यां
 तस्यास्तापप्रश्मनविधानोन्मुखीभिः सखीभिः । २६ ।

तस्यां प्रायः सकलजगतां चक्षुषोर्भागधेयं
 तन्त्रावापाविषयफलदं पञ्चवाणस्य वश्यम् ।
 नारीशिल्पाभ्यसनजनितं नैपुणं विश्वयोने-
 र्विश्लेषाशीविषविषरूजामौषधं वल्लभा मे । २७ ।

सैवाऽऽत्मानं स्वयमपरया सुभ्रुवां तत्र मध्ये
 व्यक्तं ब्रूयाद्भ्रततिनिवहे कल्पवल्लीव कान्त्या ।
 अथेवं तां विरहविधुरो हन्त वाचा विदूरे
 स्पृष्टुं वाञ्छा मनसि कलयाम्यद्य कल्याणगात्रीम् । २८ ।

प्रेक्ष्या तत्र स्फटिकरदना पद्मरागाधरोष्ठी
कम्रश्यामोपलकचभरा स्निग्धमाणिक्यकान्तिः ।
मुक्ताजालोल्लसितहसिता वेधसो मुख्यवृत्त्या
नोत्कृष्टत्वान्नवरमपरैवाङ्गनारत्नसृष्टिः । २९ ।

वर्णः स्वर्णाम्बुरुहरजसामप्यवर्णं विधत्ते
बन्धुः सन्ध्याजलधररूचां बन्धुजीवाधरोष्ठ्याः ।
दृष्टे दृष्टिभ्रमरनिकरा यत्र माद्यन्ति यूना-
मामोदन्ते हृदयकुमुदान्यात्तरागोदयानि । ३० ।

अन्तर्व्रीडां जनयतितरामन्यपुष्टाङ्गनानां
लीलारामः स्वरमधुलिहां माधुरीजन्मभूमिः ।
पीयूषस्य प्रतिनिधिविधिष्टङ्कुतिर्मारमूर्त्या
वाणी वीणारवसहचरी वाणिनीनां शिखायाः । ३१ ।

दृष्यद्दर्पद्विपगिरितटं दर्पणं रागलक्ष्म्याः
साक्षाद्दणोर्नवमधु रतिप्राभृतं चित्तयोनेः ।
व्रीडाशिचाविधिषु सुसखीं विभ्रमोल्लोलसिन्धुं
बन्धुं कान्तिः स्पृशति च वयो मध्यमं भीरुमध्या । ३२ ।

लज्जाधात्र्या क्षणमरहिताऽप्यङ्गजं दृष्टिकन्या
धत्ते गर्भे कचभररूचो दुर्दिनं कल्पयन्ति ।
अङ्गे बालातपरूचि कुचे पीनता पीठपूर्त्वि
नाऽलं मध्यस्तदपि ऋशतामेति शङ्काभरेण । ३३ ।

सा कान्तिः सा गिरि मधुरता शीतलत्वं तदङ्गे
सा सौरभ्योन्नतिरपि सुधासोदरः सोऽधरोष्ठः ।
एकास्वादे भृशमतिशयादन्यलाभेन यस्मि-
न्नेकीभावं व्रजति विषयः सर्व एवेन्द्रियाणाम् । ३४ ।

एवं मन्ये विरहदिवसैरेभिरेणेक्षणा सा
 क्षामक्षामा चिरमनशना ध्यानशोकानुबन्धैः ।
 न्यूनन्यूने मम सुचरिते नूनमन्यादृशी स्या-
 द्वन्यस्तम्बेरमविलुलिता सल्लकीमञ्जरीव । ३५ ।

एकं बाह्णैर्नमितमुपधायैकपाश्र्वापविष्टा
 शिष्टेनाऽपि स्तनकलशयोर्मूलमावेष्टयन्ती ।
 आसक्तोरुद्वयमवनमज्जानु विश्लिष्टजङ्घं
 व्यत्यस्ताङ्घ्रि स्वशरशयने शायिता मन्मथेन । ३६ ।

कान्ता तान्त्रैः कुसुममृदुलैरङ्गकैरार्त्तिमग्न्या-
 माबिभ्राणा विरतमधुरालापमौर्वीविरावा ।
 दूरादूरं मयि विरहिते दृष्टिबाणैकलक्षे
 विश्रान्तेव त्रिकनतिलता विश्लथामीनकेतोः । ३७ ।

नीतस्तस्याः सकचनिचयो नो मया वेणिवन्धं
 धत्ते मध्ये तदपि सुभगामस्य सीमन्तरेखाम् ।
 आत्मच्छायातिमिरमलकश्रेणिपिञ्छातपत्रे
 चातुं नम्रेऽधरनवरवेश्वारुदण्डायमानाम् । ३८ ।

नाऽलं दृष्ट्या सुखयति सखीर्दन्तशीतोपचाराः
 प्रेक्ष्याऽप्यार्द्रं प्रलयविगमे प्रेक्षणे यत् कलायाम् ।
 तच्चातुर्यं किमपि न पुरेवाऽऽप्तया फालरङ्गे
 येनोन्मुक्ता भवति विमुखी भूनटी ताण्डवेषु । ३९ ।

अच्छिन्नाग्रैरलकपटलीशैवलैरावृतत्वाद्
 गण्डादर्शी मलिनितरुचौ मन्दहासहृदस्य ।
 मात्रोन्मयाविव मणितटौ मद्दियोगोष्णधाम्ना
 शुष्यच्छोणाधरकिसलयं शुष्यतोऽस्याः क्रमेण । ४० ।

सा निश्चासैरनिभृततरैर्मध्यभाजां वलीना-
मालोलानामुपरि कुचयोर्द्वन्द्वमान्दोलयन्ती ।
बिभ्रत्यङ्गे बिससितरुचिं वीचिभङ्गोद्गतीनां
वातैश्चक्राद्भयशकुनयोर्भाति भागीरथीव । ४१ ।

आबिभाणा जघनमलघु त्यक्तकाञ्चीकलापं
धूम्रचौमं गजवरशिरःसन्निभं यन्मनोभूः ।
अद्योत्तानोदरकरतलास्फालनेनोपरुन्धन्
मद्विशेषात्सुरतसमरोद्वेजितो जोषमास्ते । ४२ ।

ऊरू चाऽस्याश्चिरमिह मया मुक्तसंवाहनत्वात्
क्लान्तावन्तःक्रमुककुहलीपाण्डिमानं भजेते ।
राजते यौ रजतरुचिरौ राजधान्याः स्मरस्य
स्थूणादण्डाविव नखपदश्रेणिमालावियुक्तौ । ४३ ।

सित्तिः सित्तिस्तुहिनसलिलैः पाणिभिस्तीव्रतापात्
संवाह्येते चरणनलिने सास्रमालीजनेन ।
यत्कान्त्योर्घर्घटित इव मे कामिराज्याभिषेकं
कर्तुं मूर्धन्यनुनयनते पाटलः पट्टबन्धः । ४४ ।

इत्थं तस्याशक्तिहरिणीशावदृष्टेरदूरे
कष्टं तैस्तैः किमिह कथितैः क्लिष्टसर्वाङ्गयष्टैः ।
सर्जे तस्मिन्निभृतमवतीर्याऽऽत्मवाक्यावकाशं
वाञ्छन्नध्वश्रममपि नुदन्नास्व तूष्णीं मुहूर्तम् । ४५ ।

आसीनेन क्वचन विटपे सा त्वयाऽऽलोकनीया
नीलाम्बोदैरिव शशिकला निह्युताङ्गी रजोभिः ।
चञ्चत्पत्न्यव्यजनपवनैश्चामरग्राहिणीनां
चक्षुर्मद्वीक्षणसमुचिते वर्त्मनि प्रेरयन्ती । ४६ ।

स्वप्ने भर्तुः प्रसभमनया खैरमाश्लेषसौख्यं
 लब्धं पीनस्तनकलशयोर्लक्ष्यते रोमभेदः ।
 आलीनामित्यभिनयकृतामग्रतः स्वाग्रहस्तेः
 ज्ञान्ता कान्ता कथमपि दृशीर्निद्रया मुद्रिता वा । ४७ ।

दूराहूरं गतमपि जनं या निमेषेण लोके
 लोकादस्माद् घटयसि मिथो हन्त लोकान्तराद्वा ।
 साऽस्मान् देवि क्षणमनुगृहाणेति सम्मीलिताक्षी
 निद्रां तल्पे निभृतमथवा भावयन्ती श्याना । ४८ ।

क्षिप्त्वा व्रीडां क्षणमपि विना त्वन्मुखालोकसौख्यं
 जीवाभ्येषा दयित पुनरप्येतदाशंसमाना ।
 कृत्वा धैर्यं हृदि सुविपुलं मन्यथा माऽन्यथात्वं
 मास्तेत्यस्मास्वनुनयपरा सा किमाकाश एव । ४९ ।

एतावन्तं समयमिह मामेवमित्यर्धवाक्ये
 रोषातङ्कव्यतिकरवती रोदितुं वा प्रवृत्ता ।
 उद्वद्वाप्या प्रचलदधरा स्तोकनम्रोत्तरीष्ठी
 पश्यन्ती मां चरणपतितं भावनाचक्षुषाऽग्रे । ५० ।

कञ्चित् कालं मनसिजरुजं धारयन्ती च भूय-
 स्तङ्गैषज्यं तव वपुरनासादयन्त्येवमासीत् ।
 इत्याख्येयं प्रियसखि ममाऽत्राऽऽगते प्राणनाथे
 शान्तं शान्तं दुरितमिति वा शारिकामर्थयन्ती । ५१ ।

दम्पत्योर्न क्वचन विकलं क्लृप्ता प्रेम लोके
 येनाऽन्योन्यं प्रवसत इमौ प्राणितः प्रोषिती वा ।
 इत्यालम्बे महति विविधैः किं समाश्रासनैर्मै
 सख्यस्तासामिति बद्धधियां बध्नीती वा वचांसि । ५२ ।

आशास्ते वा मदभिगमनं किन्नु तस्मिन्नुदास्ते
धत्ते तापप्रश्मनविधीन् किन्नु तानिव रुद्धे ।
एवंप्रायाः प्रणयिनि जने गाढमुत्कण्ठितानां
कैर्गण्यन्ते क्षणवन्वाः कामिनीनामवस्थाः । ५३ ।

आलीध्वास्रपितवदनास्वातुरे बन्धुवर्गे
शान्तेध्वाशाजलधिचटुलोलकोलाहलेषु ।
अन्तः श्लेष्मसुषु च पृथुर्यः समाश्वासयिष्य-
त्यूरुः सन्दोच्छ्वसितसिचयस्तां स वामोऽप्यवामः । ५४ ।

एतेनाऽन्यैरपि सुशकुनैरेयुषीं जीविताशां
वक्ता यावत् परभृतगिरो वक्त्रचन्द्रप्रसादः ।
तावद्वक्तुं त्वमपि वचनैस्तामुपेत्याऽनुकूलै-
रेणीशावप्रतिमनयनामेवमेवऽऽरभेथाः । ५५ ।

आप्तं पत्युः कमपि शुकमन्त्राऽऽप्तमायुष्मतो मां
दूरस्थस्य द्विरदगमने दूतभावादवेहि ।
मुक्तव्याजं परजनमुखाकर्णिता नाम वाणी
वाचेत्येवं भुवनविदितं यस्य वंशव्रतं मे । ५६ ।

प्रस्तुत्येति प्रमुखमधुरं साङ्गुतं सप्रमोदं
सानुक्रोशं सरणरणिकं ससृहं चेक्ष्यमाणः ।
आदृत्याऽस्रच्चरितमवधायाऽऽदितश्चोदितस्त्वं
भ्रातः सख्याः कथय तरलभूतरङ्गैरपाङ्गैः । ५७ ।

दुर्जातेऽहं पवनज इव प्रेषितः प्रेयसा ते
सेतोः सीताहृदयदयितेनेव पूर्वं महाद्वेः ।
सेव त्वं च त्यज शुचमितः सेवितासे प्रियाणि
प्रायः सर्वः स्पृशति विपदः सम्पदश्च क्रमेण । ५८ ।

नाऽतिक्रामत्यपि लघु मनस्तन्वि सभोगसौख्यं
 चामाऽप्युच्चैः स्वलति न तनुर्विप्रलम्भव्रतेभ्यः ।
 अस्याऽवस्थामधिकविषमां वेत्तुमन्यो न शक्तः
 कश्चित् स्याच्चेदमृतविषयोः सूतिरभोधरेव । ५९ ।

तस्य प्रेमप्रसरसुरभिः सुभ्रु सन्देशवाणी
 न्यस्ताऽस्मासु श्रवणविषयं नीयतां मञ्जरीव ।
 भूयः सान्द्रप्रणयतरला शीतला तापवेगो-
 च्छिच्छ्यै मुक्तास्रगिव हृदये धार्यतां चारुबन्धा । ६० ।

वर्यामात्मन्यलमृजुतरे पत्रिवर्ये जनोऽयं
 वाण्या वेणाविव निहितया वल्लभे त्वां व्रवीति ।
 सोऽहं तस्यां निशि निपतितः क्वाप्यरख्ये चिरेण
 भ्रान्त्वा रामेश्वरपरिसरे रामसेतौ वसामि । ६१ ।

मङ्गल्याङ्गि स्मरशरमयीमाश्विनीमश्रुवाना-
 मेनामाशावलयमकृशामीचमाणस्य लक्ष्मीम् ।
 तत्तच्चिन्ताकवलितधियस्तन्वि मे क्षीणपुण्य-
 स्याऽन्तस्तापं जनयतितरामन्तिकानीक्षणं ते । ६२ ।

मारोन्मादी मदकलगिरामत्र भृङ्गाङ्गनानां
 श्रावं श्रावं श्रवणहृदयग्राहिगीतामृतानि ।
 वृत्ताभोगस्तवकवहनव्यानतानां लतानां
 मूले मूले मुकुलितधृतिर्मूर्च्छनामभ्युपैमि । ६३ ।

आश्लिष्यन्त्याः स्मरदधिगुणे प्रेमकोपप्रयाणे
 चञ्चन्नेत्रं चलदुरसिजं चञ्चलभ्रूलतं ते ।
 उदन्मीनाः कमलमुकुलैरुल्लसन्त्यः प्रसन्नाः
 कल्लोलिन्यः कलुषकलुषं कुर्वते मानसं मे । ६४ ।

शीतोत्सङ्गान्मर्लयशिखरादापतन्तः समन्ता-
 द्वीणारावे विनिहितपदा वेणुरन्धान्तरेषु ।
 उन्मीलन्तीमुषसि नलिनीमास्पृशन्तोऽङ्गमङ्गं
 ही चित्रं मे हिमलवभृतो मारुताः खेदयन्ति । ६५ ।

मञ्जुक्काणस्खलितमसृणाभ्यन्तरैः कण्ठकाण्डै-
 रेकैकात्मच्छदनरचिताश्लेषमाघूर्णिताक्षाः ।
 वापीहंसा मुखविसमिथोदायिनः स्मारयन्ति
 प्रागस्माकं प्रणयचपलाः कानि कान्यथ्यहानि । ६६ ।

नष्टे दृष्टेः सपदि सरणेः क्त्वाऽपि नाथे कलानां
 सद्यः क्लिद्यत्कुमुदनयनं सान्द्रनीहारबाष्पैः ।
 आक्रन्दन्त्यामदयमलिलोकारवैः कैरविष्णा-
 माशंसे त्वत्कुशलमनघं नित्यमह्नां मुखेषु । ६७ ।

प्रेक्षे चाऽहं प्रकृतिरमणीयाङ्गि पूर्णेन्दुविम्ब-
 क्रीडावापीमधुकरकलालापमन्दानिलाद्याः ।
 तत्त्वाध्यासं ध्रुवमुपगताः सन्निधौ ते समया
 यन्मां नेमे किमपि रमयन्त्यद्य रम्याः पदार्थाः । ६८ ।

त्वामासीनामलसगमनामालपन्तीं हसन्तीं
 हर्षोन्मत्तां रहसि मनसा वाऽनुपश्यामि यां याम् ।
 अक्षणा तां तां मम बहिरिहाऽपश्यतोऽस्मिन्वियोगे
 विद्यन्ते तद्विगुणितरुजोऽन्ये सहस्रं वियोगाः । ६९ ।

खम्रेऽपि त्वं मम न सुलभा ध्वस्तनिद्रागमत्वा-
 दास्रोत्पीडादधिमणिशिलं लेखनीया न भूयः ।
 स्मृतं तापादपटुं च मनस्तत्र तत्रोत्पतिष्णो-
 र्मध्येफालं फडितिफलयत्येव वामं हि दैवम् । ७० ।

सन्तापौघैः सततमुदितैर्धैर्यकूलङ्कषेऽस्मि-
न्नाशाबन्धैः किमपि कुशकाशावलम्बोपमानैः ।
कण्ठद्वारे शशिशुखि शपे त्वत्पदाम्भोरुहाभ्यां
प्राणान् प्राणेश्वरि न विरहे नह्यहं धारयामि । ७१ ।

श्राव्यैर्गीतैः सुकविभणितैर्वेणुवीणादिभिर्वा
तद्वाचेपं वितनु मनसस्तन्वि तैस्तैर्विनोदैः ।
नोचेत्ताः स्युर्विरहदहनस्येन्धनानीव शुष्का-
श्चित्तोत्कण्ठा यमनु श्लभीभावमायान्वधीराः । ७२ ।

नाऽङ्गे भूषां वहसि मुकुरं नेत्रसे प्रीयसे न
क्रोडालापैरपि न वचने तिष्ठसे सत्सखीनाम् ।
इत्येकाहं भवति विरहे साहसिन्या भवत्याः
संप्रत्येतत् कथमिव न मे चण्डि चेतो विभेतु । ७३ ।

आशाबीजे सति धृतिमुपेत्याऽबला वल्लभानां
दुःखं दूरप्रवसनविधौ दुस्सहं यत् सहन्ते ।
आधिक्यं तत् किल समबले प्रेम्णि तेभ्योऽपितासा-
मात्मत्यागो यदिह सहसा कातरत्वं तदाङ्गः । ७४ ।

सत्यप्यन्तर्महति विषमे नाऽतिशोचेदितोमान्
वर्णान् के वा वचसि पयसीव क्षणं नोल्लिखन्ति ।
स त्वत्पर्यं विरलविरलः सत्त्ववान् निर्विकल्पे
यस्त्वैवाऽमी मनसि नियमेनाऽऽमनीव स्फुरन्ति । ७५ ।

अन्योन्यस्य चुटति विरहे प्रायशः कामुकानां
मन्दं मन्दं चिरतरमनालोकनात् प्रेमबन्धः ।
एवं मूढः प्रवदति जनस्तत्र खिन्ने मयि त्वं
मा गाः शङ्कां सुतनु सुदृढालम्बितात्मानुमाना । ७६ ।

किञ्चोदयं श्रसति सहसा विप्रयोगोरगेन्द्रे
यान्यद्याऽन्तर्विषमिव वमन्त्यावयोर्वासराणि ।
तान्येवाऽग्रे त्वरितमुदयं याति नः सङ्गमेन्द्री
सम्पत्स्यन्ते द्विगुणममृतस्यन्दसन्दोहनानि । ७७ ।

यातव्या सा भवति गुणका यावता द्राक् पदाभ्या-
मस्मात् सेतोरनुपदममुष्याऽध्वनाऽनायतेन ।
अल्पो भूयान् किमयमिति नो निर्णयः सङ्गमे नौ
कालं नाऽतः परमपि लवं विद्धि तावन्तमेव । ७८ ।

कञ्चित् कान्ते हृदि तदधुना यत्तदाज्यौत्सिकायां
क्रीडन्तीषु द्युतलकषणे केलिसौधे सखीषु ।
स्वस्त्रीमध्ये मनुज इति मां खेचरः कोऽपिकर्षे-
दित्यात्मानं दृढमकलयं भीरु ते दोर्लताभ्याम् । ७९ ।

पुम्भिः स्त्रीणां मनसिजमहे पुञ्जितानां निकेते
भूयः पुष्पापचयकलया जायमाने विवादे ।
आलीहस्ते विनिहितपणौ भूषणैर्नूपुराद्यै-
रावामेव त्वरितमविशावाऽन्तरुद्यानवीथीम् । ८० ।

पश्चाऽसौ मे त्वमिव रूचये पक्कविम्बाधरेति
प्रक्रान्तोक्तौ मयि कलुषितं भीरु नेत्रोत्पलं ते ।
कीरखेति स्थितिमति पुनः स्मिरमाविःस्मितेषु
व्रीडासूयाव्यतिकरगुरु चिप्रमालीमुखेषु । ८१ ।

क्रीडाशैले कमपि कलहं भावयित्वा सखीनां
मध्याद् गेहं प्रति विचलितां नीलकण्ठः सखा ते ।
अन्तर्लीनां पथि मृगयतो मे लतामण्डपस्य
द्वारे गत्वा झटिति कितवस्त्वां व्यवाधत्त बर्हिः । ८२ ।

भूयश्चाऽसौ स्फुरितललितं भूतले न्यस्तपादो
 व्यत्यासेन क्षणमवनतोन्नम्रया कण्ठनाल्या ।
 आर्दच्छायैरधिकविततैरायतैर्बर्हभारै-
 द्वारोपान्ते सुचिरमकरोन्नृत्तमानिर्गमात्री । ८३ ।

सर्वातिथ्ये सरसि सलिलक्रीडितेऽहं न याव-
 न्मङ्गोन्मग्नः सदसि सुदृशामप्यरोमाञ्चितेषु ।
 गण्डेष्वासां निभृतमभृथाश्चोरि दूरं बिभीम-
 स्तावत्कालं दृशमशृणुवं भूय एतत् सखीभ्यः । ८४ ।

क्लिन्नं माधव्या किसलयपुटाल्लभ्यतेऽशोकयष्टे-
 र्यत्राऽऽताम्रं कुसुममलिना स्यात् कदाऽसौ वसन्तः ।
 इत्युत्कण्ठागिरि मयि जने तद्रण्ये त्वं सलज्जा
 मुग्धं स्मित्वा मुखमनमयस्तन्वि ताम्बूलगर्भम् । ८५ ।

इत्युक्तेषु स्फुटतरमभिज्ञानवस्तुष्वनेके-
 ष्वेकेन त्वं कुश्लिनमभिज्ञाय मां मा विषीद् ।
 मुग्धे मूर्च्छद्विरहरूजया क्वाऽपि ते विस्मृतिश्चेत्
 स्याच्च क्वाऽपि स्मृतिरिति बह्वन्यत्र दत्तान्यमूनि । ८६ ।

त्वत्तस्त्वां मां प्रवदति जनो यत्त्वयि प्रेमबन्धे
 मत्तो मां त्वां मयि च मदिरापाङ्गि नैवाऽत्र भेदः ।
 त्वद्विशेषव्यथितमनसः साध्वसाधुव्यपेक्षा-
 मुक्तैरुक्तैर्मम धृतिसुधासिन्धुरुज्जृम्भतां ते । ८७ ।

इत्थं न्यस्तं त्वयि मम वचस्तत्र गत्वा गृहिष्ये
 विश्राण्यैवं श्रवणसुभगं गच्छ भूयो यथेच्छम् ।
 नाऽहं याचे मदभिगमनादूर्ध्वमन्यत्र यात्रां
 यन्नैकत्र स्थितिरभिमता खैरसञ्चारिणां वः । ८८ ।

एवं सख्यौ मयि विश्ररणे संश्रिते प्राणरचां
 संपाद्य त्वत्प्रणयकरूणापौरुषाणि प्रथन्ताम् ।
 स्वप्नेऽथैवं प्रियजनवियोगार्त्तिमप्राप्तयोर्नीं
 भ्रातस्सूर्णं भवतु च पुनर्दर्शनानन्दलक्ष्मीः । ८९ ।

इति शुक्सन्देशे केरलीयलक्ष्मीदासकृते उत्तरसन्देशः समाप्तः ॥

NOTES.

1. Guṇa-puram.—No town or village at present bears that name. But it may be remembered that Prākṛita or vernacular names are always Sanskritized when introduced into a purely Sanskrit composition. In doing so, no strict adherence to the construction or import of the original is obligatory. This alone would make identification difficult after the lapse of some centuries, not to speak of other causes of mystification. All that can be done is to depend upon tradition or to make one's own guess. I have not been able to gather anything from tradition on this point, and my best guess is as follows:—The penultimate stage described by the poet is Śrī Kurumba, which, I am convinced, is Koḍuṅgallūr or Cranganore on the sea-coast, where there is a celebrated Devī or Durgā temple. Hence Guṇa-puram cannot be far from it. Now, I am credibly informed that there is a village called Trikkaṇapuram, a little to the north of Koḍuṅgallūr. In all probability this is the poet's Guṇa-puram. The supposition is supported phonetically and geographically.

2. It is well known that Śaṅkha, or the conch shell, is bored in the apex and blown as a trumpet by Hindus. The Mahābhārata makes frequent allusion to the shells used by the great warriors of that epic. Nowadays its use is a more peaceful and humble one. It forms a part of the musical band of every temple in Keraḷam. The verse alludes to the *spontaneous* sounding of these shells in the sea. There is a

belief that sometimes in the silence and calm of midnight the sound of the conch shell could be heard in the sea off Trivândram—the particular point on the coast being called Śaikhham Mukham.

3. Jyotirlingam in this stanza is the Liṅga of Śiva, consecrated by Râma at Râmeśvaram on his way back from Laṅkā after killing Râvaṇa in battle and regaining Sîtâ. The word Jyotirlingam, or Liṅga of light, is said to occur in the Sthala-mâhâtmya of that temple.

4. This *Setu-rekhâ* is the rocky formation well known as Adam's bridge.

5. This allusion to pearls in the Tâmrâ or Tâmra-parṇî would show that pearl fishery near the mouths of that river existed in the days of the poem. Tuticurin still occupies a prominent place in that respect.

6. The city of Maṇalûra, on the banks of the Tâmra-parṇî in Pâṇḍya-deśa, was of great note in ancient days. The name occurs in Bhâgavata-purâṇa in connection with Balârâma's pilgrimage. It occurs in Mahâbhârata in connection with Arjuna's pilgrimage. Arjuna married the Pâṇḍya Râjâ's daughter on this occasion. By that marriage he had a son called Babhru-vâhana. Arjuna, when he subsequently went thither with the sacrificial horse intended for his brother Râjâ Yudhishtîra's Aśvamedha Yajña, had an encounter with his son and was vanquished. The modern Brâhman village of Maṇalkarai on the bank of the Tâmra-parṇî stands on the site of this capital of the Pâṇḍya kingdom.

7. The poet advises his parrot to avoid the right-hand route, which, though shorter, is risky, as it is infested by Pulindas, who ensnare and kill birds and beasts, and to take the left-hand one. To one facing N.W. from Tinneveli, this right-hand route would lie through the Western portion of the Madura District and cross some point in the Ghâts near the present Gûdalûr pass. Who these Pulindas were, whether any living races represent them, whether at the period of the poem they predominated over civilized races in this part of Southern India, are interesting questions.

8. The Western Ghâts are in Sanskrit called the Sahya. Sometimes Malaya and Sahya are indiscriminately used. It is not clear which portions of the long range running parallel to the western coast come under these different designations. But surely the southern portion is Sahya.

9. Here the cascade indicated by the word निर्झरेण is not quite easy to identify. The two well-known series of waterfalls in the southern portion of the Ghâts are, (1) those formed by the little stream Ghaṭanâ, near Kuttâlam; and (2) those by the Tâmraparṇî, called Pâmpān, Bâṇatîrtham, and Pâpanâśam. But either of these would be far to the north of the route described to the parrot, who is to take Cape Comorin *en route*. There is also another reason to suspect that the above two series of falls are not meant. The poet's words, पश्चात् पादावधिनिपतता, should be taken into account. The commentator considers पश्चात् indicates merely a change of place. But my own surmise is that it means "the other side," which, in this case, is also *West*. Now, पाश्चात्यः, which comes from the same source as पश्चात्, means *Western*. Hence I think the poet refers to some fall on the *western slopes* of the mountains. There is a fall, though very small, called *Olakka Arivi* (Pestle fall), in the Aśambhu sub-range, not far from Cape Comorin. Poetical imagination has of course the licence of magnifying the tiniest of things.

10. These Śabarās are the Mongolian mountain races who are found all along the range of the Ghâts, having a particular name at each place, such as Todas, Badagas, Irūḷas, Maṅṅāns, Veḍas, Kāṇis, etc. Vâlmîki, alludes, in his Râmâyaṇa, to a Śabarî, who entertained Râma with her fruit and root fare, in his peregrinations in these parts in search of the lost Sîtâ. The women of these mountains wear necklaces of the seeds of गुञ्जा (*Adinantha Pavonia*) as described here.

11. The word ब्रह्मचरम् in this stanza throws a flood of light on the subjects of land tenures, the proprietary rights, relative positions of *Jannies* and tenants, sovereign rights of temple corporations, etc., which now occupy the serious attention of statesmen, judges, arbitrators, antiquaries, etc., in

Keraḷam, including Travancore. ब्रह्मचक्रम् = *Brāhman-kinged*. Whatever may be the causes and facts of the original Āryan colonization of Keraḷam, it is certain that the Brāhmins, the priestly class, became the lords of the land. All temple property aggregations were created by *them*, and all kings and chiefs originally appointed by *them*. It would be absurd to maintain that temple aggregations are endowments by kings, or that the Brāhman lords were originally only revenue collectors like the Zamīndārs of Bengal. Such theories, however, are held by many well-intentioned Englishmen. The author of the poem is a disinterested witness standing at the distance of several centuries back.

12. The legend that Jāmadagnya or Paraśu-rāma raised Keraḷam, extending from Gokarṇa to Kumārī or Cape Comorin, from the bosom of the Indian Ocean, by the throw of his battle-axe, and colonized it with Brāhmins, is too well known to be detailed here.

13. The reference here is to the well-known Devī or Durgā temple situated at Cape Comorin.

14. The hill called चक्रम् in this verse is a bold granite formation abruptly rising to some 2000 feet from the sea-level and isolated from the spurs of the Ghāṭs. It is ordinarily called Marutvān Malai or Indra Hill. It is situated some five miles N.N.W. of Cape Comorin and as many miles S.S.E. of Śuchīndram, described in the next verse. It is supposed, as the poet avers, to be the favourite abode of Yogis and Siddhas for their absorbing contemplation of the Divine Soul in the solitudes of its caverns and breezy ledges. There are two small rock temples—one near the foot and the other a little higher up. The ascent is difficult and precipitous; but people do go to the very summit. The hill is illuminated on the night of the full moon in the month of Kārttika.

There are two legends about the hill. One is that Indra and his elephant Airāvata were petrified here by a certain curse, but were, by virtue of penances undergone in the Śuchīndram temple, liberated. The hill represents their petrification. The other is, that it is a bit that dropped

from Oshadhi-śaila with which Hanumat was speeding on to revive Lakshmaṇa, who lay pierced by Râvaṇa's spear. The hill is therefore supposed to contain medicinal herbs of rare virtues. The hill, with its rounded and lichen-encrusted rock-sides and domes, and its slightly bent configuration, not unlike the tower of Pisa, has, particularly when the morning or evening sun beats on it, a most venerable appearance. Indeed it is so much so that I had often thought Vriddha-śravas a more appropriate name for it than Marutvat, though the strong winds which blow from all sides in its vicinity make the latter name not less fitted.

15. हस्ते फलानि, in this, refers to the boiling butter ordeal which was in vogue till some forty years ago in the great Śiva temple of Śuchîndram, which the parrot is directed to visit. Chastity is most strictly enjoined among women of the Nambûri Brâhmins. The adulterer, if he himself is a Nambûri Brâhmin, is likewise excommunicated and out-casted. A pseudo-judicial inquiry is held by the recognized religious headmen on receiving charges of adultery. When direct proofs are obtained, the culprits are convicted at once; but when direct proofs are not available, and yet morally suspicious circumstances exist, the accused man has recourse to the Ghee ordeal to prove his innocence. This ordeal must be performed in the Śuchîndram temple. Ghee is boiled in a small vessel, and a small silver image of the sacred bull is thrown into it. The accused picks this up. His hand is immediately wrapped with plantain leaves, and he is lodged in a place for three days, at the end of which, if his hand be found unscathed on removing the leaves, he is declared innocent, if burnt, guilty.

Along with Satî, Nariya sacrifice and other cruel practices, this barbarous custom, founded though it was on Manu's dictum, was happily swept away by the humane influence of the British Government.

16. Vaṭivîśvaram is in every probability the Agrahâra referred to. It is the most flourishing of the Brâhmin villages in South Travancore. Even now there are there several Brâhmins who perform their daily Agni-hotra.

17. Syânandûra-puram is the name given here to Trivândram or, more properly, Tiru-ananta-puram. It is, according to the local Purâṇa, said to have had four different names in the four Yugas. Syânandûra-puram in Krita, Ânanda-puram in Tretâ, Ananta-puram in Dvâpara, and Padmanâbham in Kali. The stanzas indicating this are :

आदौ व्रतयुगे तत्र स्थानन्दूरपुरं स्मृतम् ।

आनन्दपुरमित्येतत् त्रेतायामपि वर्ण्यते ॥

अनन्तपुरमित्येतद् द्वापरे चापि कीर्त्यते ।

पद्मनाभं कलियुगे कथ्यते पापशान्तिदम् ॥

However, it is the Dvâpara title that is most commonly used now, viz. Ananta-puram, the prefix *Tiru* being equivalent to the proposition Śrî (श्री) usually placed before Hindu names.

18. Several Tirthas, or holy bathing-places, exist in Trivândram, such as, Saikha, Padma, Pâda, Varâha, Nâga, Âgastya, Pitri, Śakra, Chakra, Dharmâdharma, etc. But many described in the Purâṇa cannot now be identified.

19. The kingdom of Kûpaka (कूपक) was, in ordinary parlance, called Kâyankulam. It was conquered and annexed by the king of Travancore in the middle of the eighteenth century. A place called Kattola is said to have been the capital of that kingdom. That kingdom went also by the name of Jayatuṅganâḍ. Quilon came within it.

20. Koḷamba is the modern Kollam or (Anglicized) Quilon. In the old annals of the Roman Catholic missions on the Malabar coast we meet with such phrases as "Bishop of Koḷamba." The place gives the current era of the whole Malabar coast. The Kollam era commenced in 825 A.D. In the southern half of Malabar the year begins on the 15th August, and in the northern on the 15th September. As in most matters the truth lies between extremes, and antiquaries have found out that the true date of the era is the 25th of August.

21. In a land so much intersected by natural rivulets and artificial navigation channels, it is difficult to identify the

two rivers (सिन्धुद्वयम्) here mentioned. It may, in all probability, have reference to the rivers of Kallaḍa and Ittikara, or two branches of one or the other.

22. Vallabha Grāma (वल्लभग्राम) is the modern Tiruvallā, some thirty miles N.N.E. of Quilon. There is a large Viṣṇu temple here, and a large settlement of Malayāḷi Brāhmins. The Deity here is adored at different parts of the day as Brahmachârî, Gṛihastha, Vānaprastha and Sannyâsî.

23. बिम्बली (Bimbali) refers to the two kingdoms of Tekkaṅkûr and Vaṭakkaṅkûr (उत्तरबिम्बली and दक्षिणबिम्बली), also conquered and incorporated with modern Travancore in the eighteenth century. The descendants of those chiefs are pensioners of the Travancore Government. Cotta-yam (Koṭṭayam), the well-known head-quarters of the Church of England Mission in Travancore, is within three kingdoms. The large lagoon to the west of Koṭṭayam is called Vembanâṭ lake, and Vembanâṭ is a corruption of Bimbaliṅâṭ.

24. सिन्धुद्वीपम्. This word would naturally point to some island in the rivers and estuaries. I would have put it down for the modern islet of Pâtirâ-Manappuram in the Vembanâṭ lake. But a learned friend suggests either a place called Chitrakkaṭavu near Changânaṣeri or Talî-kotṭa near Koṭṭayam, though neither is an island. It is puzzling what the poet means by making this place surrounded or fortified by large elephants.

25. The river फुला is one of the branches of the Mûvâllupura¹ river. It is locally called Pârûr river. It was on the banks of this river that the great Hindu reformer Saṅkara-Âchârya was born. The Viṣṇu temple described here is that at Trippuṅittura, the modern capital of Cochin State.

26. Here, the learned Brāhman referred to by the name सुब्रह्मणः, belonged to the house of Puliyanûr Nampûrippât, a Brāhman lord of the village Veṅjanâṭ. There is also a Subrahmaṅya's or Kârttikeya's temple near the house, to explain the double meaning of the verse. The members

¹ r pronounced as in thirst, first, etc.

of this house are still the chief Tāntrika priests in several temples of note.

27 and 28. चूर्णी is the northern branch of Periyâr or Âlvây river. The temple alluded to is Tiru-Vañchi-kulam, dedicated to Śiva. It is a place of great note, and is one of the 108 holy Śiva-Sthals sacred to Śivites of Southern India.

महोदयपुरम् (Mahodaya-puram) was the ancient capital of the *Perumâls*, of whom Cherâm Perumâl was the most celebrated. The city was built by Mahodaya Perumâl. It is no longer a place of any importance, and even in the poet's time must have long past its meridian.

29. This refers to the legend of the coronation of Cherâm Perumâl and others among his predecessors and successors by the representatives of the 64 Brâhman village corporations which Paraśurâma created. Some of these men were authorized to bear arms, and were consequently deprived of the privilege of studying the Vedas.

30. जयरतिश्वरम् is only a synonym for Tiru-Vañchi-kulam, the Śaiva temple alluded to in Note 27. The Sanskrit name of Travancore is Vañchi. How that name comes to be the root of the name of a celebrated Śaiva temple so near the acknowledged capital of Cherâm Perumâl is a suggestive question for antiquaries to solve.

31. The Devî or Chaṇḍikâ here referred to is of कुरुम्बालय or Koṭuṅgallûr or (Anglice) Cranganore. In the very next verse the parrot is directed to Guṇa-puram, the poet's home, and the subject of Note 1.

32. The allusion in this verse to rainbows produced by the refraction of gems would point to the poet's powers of observation of Nature.

SELECTIONS FROM THE SANSKRIT COMMENTARY ON THE S'UKA-SANDEŚAH BY
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Verse 1. सौधशृङ्गे = हर्म्यशिखरे । द्वारासेधः = प्रवेशमार्गनिरो-
धः । इति = वक्ष्यमाणप्रकारेण । शरच्चन्द्रचन्द्रिकाधवले सौधशृङ्गे सरसं
विहृत्य सुखसंसुप्तयोर्दम्पत्योर्मध्ये पुमान् स्वप्नावस्थायां दैवेन विप्रयो-
जितः प्रियाविरहासहिष्णुः प्रियामुद्दिश्य वाचिकं शुकाय समर्पयामा-
सेतिभावः ।

2. सन्देशं विवक्षुरूपचारेण शुकमावर्जयति भातरिति । किम् = कि-
मर्थम् । विशङ्का आस्ताम् (अस्तु) मा भैषीरित्यर्थः । तुभ्यं तिष्ठते—स्नाघ-
हृङ्स्थाशुपामि ति (Pân. i. 4, 34) सम्प्रदानत्वम्, प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययो
श्चेति (Pân. i. 3, 23) तद्ध् । व्यस्तैः = विभक्तैः । अञ्चितः = महितः । दूरे
भ्रमणं विहाय विस्रब्धमत्रागत्य त्वदुपभोग्यफलभरितो दाडिमतर-
लङ्घितामितिभावः ।

3. आगतस्य शुकस्य स्वागतं करोति । गाम् = भूमिम् । नन्दनात् =
इन्द्रोद्यानात् । आगाः = आगतवान् । अद्रिजायाः = पार्वत्याः । वल्ल-
क्याः = वीणायाः । कोणेन = वादनदण्डेन । भवतो भूतलागमनमि-
न्द्रोद्यानाद्वा श्रीपार्वत्युसङ्गाद्वेतिप्रश्नेन शुकस्य दिव्यत्वं द्योतितम् ।

4. शुकशारिकयोर्मनस्वास्थ्यं शारिकायाः प्रियच्छन्दानुवर्त्तनं च
पृच्छति । तव नयनयोर्गोचराः = चक्षुर्ग्राह्याः । प्राणाः = प्राणवन्प्रियत-
मेत्यर्थः । शारिका = शुकी । तत्तदीर्थागमेषु = तत्तन्निमित्तासूयावेशस-
मयेषु । स्थिरयति = स्थिरीकुरुते । अत्र प्रियस्थिरेत्यादिना (Pân. vi.
4, 157) स्थादेशेन भाव्यं तदभावस्तु “दूरयत्यवनते विवस्वति” इति-
वत्समाधेयः । कालमीने = कलमधान्यभवने देशे—धान्यानां भवने च्चे
खञ् (Pân. v. 2, 1). भवतोः प्रणयकलहः सान्त्वमात्रेण शाम्यति वा
सा च सर्वदा भवन्तमनुवर्तते वेतिभावः ।

5. स्वस्य शुकसमालोकनजनितमानन्दं तस्मै निवेदयति । दिध्या = भागधेयेन । ब्रह्मस्य = सूर्यस्य । त्वद्दर्शनेन बाह्याभ्यन्तरेन्द्रियानन्दो जात इतिभावः ।

6. ननु प्रत्युपकर्तुमशक्तस्य मम कथमयमुपकुर्यात् कथं वा दिव्यत्वात् पूज्योऽयं भृत्यकृत्ये नियुज्यत इत्याशङ्क्य परिहरति । आस्था = तात्पर्यम् । न्यक्षेण = निःशेषेण । सान्द्रा = भूयसी ।

7. स्वस्यातुरतामेवाह । मरालाः = हंसाः । मञ्जुरावाः = मनोज्ञनिन्दाः । सज्जः = सन्नद्धः । आमोदः = सौरभ्यम् । सान्द्रा = निबिडा । सरसिजवनी = पद्मपङ्क्तिः । सङ्घचारिणोऽनर्था इति लोकप्रवादो मद्दिषये यथार्थो जात इति भावः ।

8. द्वेच त्रीणि च द्वित्राणि—सङ्ख्याव्ययेत्यादिना (Pāṇ. ii. 2, 25) बङ्गत्रीहिः, बङ्गत्रीहौ सङ्ख्येय इति (Pāṇ. v. 4, 73) उच् समासान्तः । निमेषव्यवधानेऽपि विरहमसहमानयोरावयोर्वङ्गतरवस्तुव्यवधानेनातिदुस्सहविरहातुरता जातेतिभावः ।

9. मद्विरहमसहमानायाः प्रियाया जीवितमपि संशयितं स्यादतस्त्वया सा द्रुतं समाश्रासनीयेत्याह । विप्रवासः = विरहः । एकैकमप्यनर्थकारि किमुत त्रयमिदमितिभावः ।

10. एवं मामुपकुर्वतस्तवापि महत् प्रयोजनं सम्भवत्येवेत्याह । हरेः = प्रापयेः । आतरः = तरपण्यम् । ते हस्ते नु = करस्य एवेत्यर्थः । “परोपकृतिरेकेव परा यस्यास्ति देवता । स्वहस्ते ननु दृश्यन्ते समस्तास्तस्य सम्पदः” । इत्यभियुक्तोक्तेस्तव महती सुकृतसम्पत् सिध्यत्येवेतिभावः ।

11. विलपनम् = परिदेवनम् । ऋते = विना—ऋते द्वितीया चेति चान्द्रसूत्रेण द्वितीया । केव = का + एव याञ्जा = प्रार्थना—एवे चानियोग इति पररूपम् । उदन्या = पिपासा । जलमुचः = मेघान् ।

12. त्रुटति—वाभाशेति (Pāṇ. iii. 1, 70) श्यन्नभावे शः । अयं ते प्रियतमः सत्वरमेथतीत्यादिवाक्यैस्तदाशां दृढीकुर्वितिभावः ।

13. पक्षी = एको मासः । पक्षिणी = नवतिनाडिकामात्रम् । वि-
जितमरुता = परिभूतपवनेन ।

14. आधिम = मानसीं व्यथाम् । अधरयितुम् = न्यूनीकर्तुम् । ता-
म्रतुण्डः = रक्तचञ्चुः । अनेन “ यत्राकृतस्तत्र गुणा वसन्ति ” इति सामु-
द्रिकोक्त्या गुणवत्त्वं गम्यते ।

15. प्रेयसः = प्रियतमस्य शिवस्य । ते = त्वया—कृत्यानां कर्तरि वेति
(Pân. ii. 3, 71) षष्ठी । प्राप्तव्यम् = प्राप्तुमर्हम् ।

16. निमित्तान्यपि तव शुभानि दृश्यन्त इत्याह । कम्बुयूथम् = श-
ङ्खवृन्दम् । पिदधति = स्थगयन्ति—वष्टि भागुरिरित्यज्ञोपः । काह-
लाः = वाद्यविशेषाः । शब्दायन्ते = शब्दं कुर्वन्ति—शब्दवैरेत्यादिना
(Pân. iii. 1, 17) क्यङि तङ् ।

17. अथ गच्छतस्तव पथि सहायसम्पद् भक्ष्यलाभश्च भविष्यतीत्याह ।
पत्रिपवर = पक्षिश्रेष्ठ । अवरतः = अन्ततः । द्वित्राः = द्वौ वा त्रयो वा ।

18. अथ मार्गोपदेशाय शुक्रमभिमुखीकरोति । निश्मय = शृणु ।

19. स्थायं स्थायम् = पुनः पुनः स्थित्वा । आभीक्ष्णे णमुल् (Pân.
iii. 4, 22), नित्यवीप्सयोरिति (Pân. viii. 1, 4) द्विर्वचनम् ।

20. अथ निर्विघ्नयात्रानिर्वाहायेश्वरप्रणामे शुक्रं प्रेरयति । पुष्य-
ताम् = कुसुमितानाम् ।

21. अथाभ्युत्पतनसमयेऽपि शुभशुकनसम्पत्तिर्भविष्यतीत्याह । मल्लि-
काः = मल्लिकाकुसुमानि । मल्लिकाचाः = हंसविशेषाः ।

22. अनु = अनुलक्षीकृत्य—लक्षणैत्यभूतेत्यादिना (Pân. i. 4, 90)
अनोः कर्मप्रवचनीयत्वे कर्मप्रवचनोयेति (Pân. ii. 3, 8) द्वितीया ।

23. सरिदधिपतौ = समुद्रे । रघूणाम्पत्यौ = रामे ।

24. कच्छेन = समुद्रतीरेण । सीताजानेः सीता जाया यस्य तस्य
श्रीरामस्य—जायाया निङ् (Pân. v. 4, 134) इति निङ् समा-
सान्तः ।

25. अथ ताम्रपर्णीं वर्णयति । आपाण्डुभिः = ईषत्पाण्डुभिः । चृत-
षण्डैः = आम्रसञ्चयैः ।

26. अत्र चक्षुर्लीलामित्यादिविशेषणैस्ताम्रपर्णां नायिकावृत्तान्तः
प्रतीयते ।

27. मेघोदरं जलदान्तर्भागं भेत्तुं शीलमस्या इति तथा—विदिभि-
दीति (Pāṇ. iii. 2, 162) कुरच् ।

28. कदध्वा = कुत्सितः पन्थाः—कोः कत्तत्पुरुषेऽचीति (Pāṇ. vi. 3,
101) कदादेशः । पुलिन्दैः = किरातैः । अन्तरायः = विघ्नः ।

29. चारुगोशीर्षमिश्रैः = मनोहरहरिचन्दनमिलितैः । आक्षिप्त-
दृष्टेः = वशीकृतनयनस्य । जनपदाः = देशाः ।

30. उरसिजभरोत्सेधम् = कुचभारोच्छ्रायम् । सह्यम् = सह्याभिधं
पर्वतम् । वक्ष्यसि = प्राप्स्यसि ।

31. आतन्वानः = कुर्वाणः । वप्रस्थलीषु = सानुप्रदेशेषु ।

32. श्वरसुदृशाम् = किरातसुन्दरीणाम् । दृष्टापदानः = अवलो-
किताङ्गुतपराक्रमः प्रत्यक्षोपलब्धक्लान्त्यपनोदनसामर्थ्यः ।

33. उदस्य = अपनीय । अनुगमय्य = अनुगमनं कारयित्वा । लता-
नामेव लासिकावालिकानां नर्तकीकुमारीणां लास्यक्रीडां नर्तनली-
लामनुभव ।

34. अथ केरलदेशं वर्णयति । स्फोतम् = धनधान्यादिसमृद्धम् ।
अध्यक्ष्येथाः = अवलोकय ।

35. अनतिसविधे = अनत्यासन्ने । कुमार्याम् = कुमारीनामकक्षेत्रे ।
आतन्वानाम् = कुर्वाणाम् ।

36. अथ वक्रगिरिं गच्छेत्याह । निकुञ्जे = लतागृहे ।

37. अथ शुचीन्द्रमाख्यं शिवक्षेत्रमासेवनीयमित्याह । चन्द्रमौलेः =
शिवस्य । सदसतोः = पापपुण्ययोः ।

38. भृतङ्गतभुजाम् = नित्याग्निहोत्रिणाम् । वेलां वेलामनु = काले काले ।

39. ग्रहपतिम् = सूर्यम् । चक्षुनेत्रं सद् विद्यमानमपि न सद् विषयग्रहणात्त्वमत्वादविद्यमानमिव भवतीत्यर्थः ।

40. मुरारेः = पद्मनाभस्य । पौरन्दर्याः = पुरन्दरसम्बन्धिन्याः पुरोऽमरावत्याः ।

41. कैटभारेः = विष्णोः । भुवनमहितैः = लोकपूजितैः ।

42. पतत्रे = पक्षौ । छत्रीकुरु = छत्रवद् विस्तारय

43. तारेशास्याः = चन्द्रवदनाः । तर्जिताम्भोदकेश्यः—स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादिति (Pân. iv. 1, 54) डीष् ।

44. दृशां नेत्राणामञ्जलिः प्रान्तराहन्युस्ताडयेयुः = असूयया वीक्षे-रन्निति भावः ।

45. प्रालियाद्रेः = हिमाचलस्य । प्रावृषेण्यः = वार्षिकः प्रावृष एण्य इति (Pân. iv. 3, 17) एण्यः । द्रष्टुं शक्यं “शक्यं श्रमांसादिभिरपि बुत् प्रतिहन्तुम्” इति भाष्यप्रयोगवत् सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ।

46. वीणाचुञ्चुः = वीण्या महत्याख्यया प्रसिद्धः—तेन वित्तशुञ्चुप-चणपाविति (Pân. v. 2, 26) चुञ्चुप । मुनिः = नारद इत्यर्थः ।

47. नरकमथनम् = पद्मनाभं देवम् । मां च प्रति—लक्षणेत्यश्रूते-त्यादिना (Pân. i. 4, 90) प्रतेः कर्मप्रवचनीयत्वात् तद्योगे द्वितीया । मा भूत् = माऽस्तु—न माङ्योग इति (Pân. vi. 4, 74) अडागमप्र-तिषेधः ।

48. आविस्त्रिपैः = आविर्भूतमधुपानाभिलाषैः । उषसि = प्रभाते ।

49. पत्या = सूर्येण । रश्मिपुञ्जः = किरणनिकरः । ताम्रचूडैः = कु-क्कुटैः ।

50. क्लिशितम् = अध्वयान्तं जनमितिशेषः—क्लिशः क्लानिष्ठयो-रिति (Pân. vii. 2, 50) वेट् । हि प्रसिद्धौ ।

51. हे दयालो = दयाशील—सृष्टिग्रहीत्यादिना (Pân. iii. 2, 158) आलुच ।

52. वैतत्येन = विपुलतया । नयजुषाम् = नीत्यनुसारिणाम् ।

53. सुरसया = सुरसाद्भया राक्षसा । उपशमय = परिहर ।

54. कूपकेश्वरकुलपुरीं पश्यत्याह । रत्नाकरस्य = समुद्रस्य

55. आवृण्वानाः = आच्छादन्यः । अन्तस्स्त्रयिषु = निगूढहासिषु ।
कलया = लेशेन । काल्यम् = प्रातः—अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया ।

56. अन्यदेशातिशायिनी = इतरजनपदोत्कृष्टा । अहमहमिका =
परस्वराहङ्कारः ।

57. सिन्धुद्वयम् = नदीयुगलम् । केलीलास्यस्मरणगुरुभिः = ली-
लानृतसृतिदेशिकैः । व्यङ्ग्योत्तसैः = व्यङ्ग्यप्रधानैः ।

58. विभजन् = अधीकुर्वन् । केवलेन कर्मणा = नतु वाचेत्यर्थः ।
छन्दोरहसि = उपनिषदि ।

59. उद्धृतयोः = उत्कम्पितयोः । आत्तहर्षप्रकर्षाः = आत्तो गृहीतो
हर्षप्रकर्षो मोदातिरेको यैस्ते ।

60. कान्तारौघेन = वनवृन्देन । प्रतिभयम् = भयङ्करम् । बिम्बो-
कश्रिया विलाससम्पदा भरिताः पूर्णा महिला रमण्यो यस्यां तां बि-
म्बल्याख्यां नगरीम् । अन्तर्नगरम् = नगरे—विभक्तिवचनेऽव्ययीभावः ।

61. सिन्धुरेन्द्रेः = गजवरैः । स्कन्धावारम् = सैन्यावासभूतम् । ब-
न्धूकामैः = बन्धुजीवकुसुमकान्तिभिः ।

62. फुल्लाम् = फुल्लाख्यां नदीम् । त्रिभुवनलताया मूलकन्दः = त्रि-
जगदादिकारणम् ।

63. अथ पूर्वोक्तयामाणां विद्वत्प्रचुरत्वं प्रतिपादयति । प्राञ्जिके =
मध्यस्थे ।

64. शिखिनि = अश्वी मयूरे च । उक्त्या = वचनेन सयुक्तिकेन ।
बाणम् = बाणभट्टाख्यमाचार्यम् । दलयन् = खण्डयन् । अथ च बा-

णानां सायकानां मुक्त्या मोचनेन । छिद्रेण = व्याजेन । छिद्रेण = दुर्युक्त्या ।

65. द्वादश = आदित्याः । द्वौ = अश्विनी । अष्टौ = वसवः । एकादश = रुद्राः । निलिम्पाः = देवाः । अस्तकम्पाः = निर्भयाः । वध्वः स्त्रियस्तासामुरोजैः स्तनैश्चूर्णीकृताः शकलीकृता ऊर्मयस्तरङ्गा यस्यां सा चूर्णी नदी ।

66. नदीष्णैः = नदीस्नानकुश्लैः—निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशल इति (Pân. viii. 3, 89) षत्वम् । दाशैः = कैवर्तैः । कम्बून् = शङ्खान् ।

67. शिञ्जानाः शब्दायमाना हंस्यो मरात्य एव काञ्ची मेखला यस्मिन् कर्मणि तथा । असम्भाव्य = अनादृत्य ।

68. उत्तरेण समीप उत्तरस्यां दिशि—एनबन्धतरस्यामिति (Pân. v. 3, 35) एनप् । पत्तिद्विपरथहयं पदातिगजरथाश्च यस्मिंस्तदनीकं सैन्यमस्यामस्तीति तादृशो राजधानीम् ।

69. शस्त्रे = आयुधशिवायाम् । भृगुनिभैः = परशुरामतुल्यैः । उद्भासते = शोभते ।

70. अच्छाम् = निर्मलाम् । पद्यस्रजम् = काव्यमालाम् ।

71. मध्येरण्यम् = कुरुम्बवनस्य मध्ये—पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वेति (Pân. ii. 1, 18) अव्ययीभावः । अजाण्डखण्डैः = ब्रह्माण्डशकलैः ।

72. स्त्रैरवक्त्राः स्त्रयशीलवदना अध्वनीनाः पान्था येषु ते मार्गारामा मार्गोपवनानि । लोलम्बैः = भ्रमरैः ।

73. सर्वातिथ्ये = सर्वातिथ्यनामके गुणपुरस्थे सरसि । गन्धवाहः = वायुः ।

74. ऊहशाली = ऊहापोहसमर्थः । अङ्गयोनेः = मन्मथस्य । मानोद्रेकम् = अहङ्कारातिशयम् ।

। इति शुकसन्देशव्याख्यायां पूर्वसन्देशः समाप्तः ।

1. अथ पञ्चदशभिः श्लोकैर्गुणकापुरीं वर्णयति । वोच्योपान्ताम् = दर्शनीयपर्यन्तभागां दर्शनीयवस्तुवङ्गलामिति भावः । औरसीम् = उरसा निर्मितां स्वजाताम्—उरसोऽए चेति (Pân. iv. 4, 94) अए ।
2. दोर्दण्डाभ्याम् = वाङ्गदण्डाभ्याम् । रुक्मसालच्छलेन = स्वर्णप्राकारव्याजेन ।
6. मूर्च्छन्तः = समुन्मीलन्तः । मुरजनिनदाः = वाद्यविशेषघोषाः । उड्ढुतायैः = कम्पितायैः ।
9. आलोलन्त ईषच्चलन्तो मृदवः कोमलाश्च ये कराः किरणास्तेषां पदानि स्थानानि । अन्यत्र कराश्च पदानि च करपदं येषां तानि । अपितु = किन्तु ।
10. कुन्दच्छायम् = कुन्दानां छायां कान्तिम्—छाया वाङ्गल्य इति (Pân. ii. 4, 22) नपुंसकत्वम् ।
11. व्युष्टौ = अवसाने प्रभात इतियावत् । कुम्भसिन्दूरस्य = मस्तकालङ्कृतसिन्दूरस्य । युक्त्या = सम्बन्धप्रतिपादनेन ।
16. इदानीं प्रियामन्दिरं साभिज्ञानं वर्णयति श्लोकत्रयेण । आरोहमार्गः = सोपानमार्गः । राजत् = शोभमानं नीव्रं (नीध्रम्) = पटलप्रान्तो यस्य तत् । अवेहीतिशेषः ।
21. अथ क्रीडोद्यानं वर्णयति । आरात् = समीपे । चकोरस्येक्षणे इवेक्षणे यस्यास्तस्याः प्रियाया मानः कोपः स एव भानुः सूर्यः ।
27. अवाप्यन्ते स्त्रियः पुरुषाश्च येन स आवापः = समागमोपायः । विश्वयोनेः = ब्रह्मणः । नारीशिल्पस्य = स्त्रीनिर्माणस्य । विश्लेषो विरह एवाशीविषः सर्पस्तस्य विषेण या रूजो वेदनास्तासामौषधम् ।
30. अवर्णम् = आक्षेपम् । विधत्ते = तनोति । वन्धुः = सदृशः । दृष्टय एव भ्रमरनिकराः । माद्यन्ति = हृष्यन्ति ।
32. भीरुमध्या = कृशोदरी । चित्तयोनेः = मन्मथस्य । रतिप्राभृतम् = क्रीडार्थोपायनम् ।
35. वन्द्यस्तम्बरमेण = आरण्यकगजेन विलुलिता मर्दिता । सल्लकी-मञ्जरी = सल्लक्याख्यवृक्षविशेषमञ्जरी ।

37. अङ्गकैः = दयनीयैरङ्गैः—अनुकम्पायां कन् (Pāṇ. v. 3, 76).
त्रिकनतिलता = कार्मुकलता ।
41. अनिभृततरैः = अतिचञ्चलैः । आन्दोलयन्ती = चालयन्ती ।
चक्राह्वयशकुनयोः = रथाङ्गाह्वयपक्षिणोः ।
44. आलीजनेन = सखीजनेन । सास्रम् = सबाष्पं यथा तथा ।
संवाह्येते = द्यतोद्धर्तने भवतः ।
46. अथ तस्या मदनावस्थां बद्धधा तर्कयति । निह्युताङ्गी = तिर-
स्कृतावयवा ।
48. घटयसि = योजयसि । हन्तेत्यनुकम्पायाम् । अस्मान् = इह-
स्थावेवाऽऽवाम्—अस्मदो द्वयोश्चेति (Pāṇ. i. 2, 59) बद्धवचनम् । अनु-
गृहाण = सङ्घटय ।
54. अथ प्रियतमवार्ताश्रवणरूपशुभसूचकं निमित्तमाविर्भविष्यती-
त्याह । सन्देनोच्छ्रसितश्चलितः सिचयोऽम्बरं यस्य तादृशः ।
57. प्रमुख आदौ मधुरं यथा तथा । सरणिरणिकम् = सोत्कण्ठम् ।
58. सीताया हृदयदयितेन = रामेणेव । सेतोः = रामसेतोः । दु-
र्जाते = व्यसने । पवनजः = हनुमानिव । सेवितासे = लप्स्यसे ।
59. सूतिः = उत्पत्तिस्थानम् । अमृतविषजनितसुखदुःखसाङ्कर्या-
भिन्नः समुद्र एव शक्तो नान्य इति भावः ।
60. हे सुभु (सुभूः)—यद्यपि भूशब्दस्योवङ्स्थानिकत्वेन नदीत्वाभा-
वाद्दम्बार्थनद्योरिति (Pāṇ. vii. 3, 107) ह्रस्वो न भवति तथापि “ हा
पितः क्वाऽसि हे सुभु ” (Bhaṭṭi vi. 11) इत्यादाविव समाधेयम् ।
62. स्मरश्रमयीम् = पद्मादिप्रचुराम्—तत्प्रकृतवचन इति (Pāṇ.
v. 4, 21) मयट् । अन्तिकानीक्षणम् = समीपानवलोकनम् ।
64. अधिगुणे = अधिकलोभनीये । ते = त्वां स्मरत्—अधीगर्थदये-
शामिति (Pāṇ. ii. 3, 52) षष्ठी ।
66. मञ्जूनां मनोहराणां क्वाणानां निन्दानां स्वल्पितेन स्वल्पनेन
मसृष्टं स्रक्ष्णमभ्यन्तरमन्तर्भागो येषु तैः । आघूर्णिताक्षाः = भ्रान्तलोच-
नाः ।

70. अधिमणिशिलम् = मणिशिलायाम् — विभक्त्यर्थेऽव्ययीभावः (Pân. ii. 1, 6). फडिति शब्दानुकरणम् । फलयति = स्फोटयति ।

71. नहि न धारयामि = धारयाम्येवेत्यर्थः । त्वत्पदाभोरुहाभ्याम् = त्वच्चरणारविन्दाभ्यां शपे — झाघह्युङ्स्थाशपामिति (Pân. i. 4, 34) सम्प्रदानत्वाच्चतुर्थी ।

73. हे चण्डि = अत्यन्तकोपने । एकाहम् = एकमहः—राजाहस्स-खिभ्य इति (Pân. v. 4, 91) टच्, कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोग इति (Pân. ii. 3, 5) द्वितीया । भवत्याः—भीचार्यानामिति (Pân. i. 4, 25) अपादानत्वम् ।

77. उदग्रम् = उन्नतम् । अमृतस्यन्दस्य पीयूषप्रवाहस्य सन्दोहनानि सन्दोहनकारीणि । सम्पत्स्यन्ते = भविष्यन्ति ।

79. अथ सन्देशेषु विश्वासजननाय सन्देशाङ्गान्यभिज्ञानान्याह । द्युतलं स्वर्गतलं कषति स्पृशतीति तादृशे ।

82. मृगयतः = विचिन्वतः । मे = मामनादृत्येत्यर्थः—षष्ठी चानादरे (Pân. ii. 3, 38) इति षष्ठी ।

85. यत्र = वसन्ते । अलिना = भमरेण । अशोकस्य यष्टेः = शाखायाः ।

86. अथ प्रयोजनकथनपूर्वकमभिज्ञानमुपसंहरति । मा विषीद = सन्तुष्टा भवेत्यर्थः ।

87. मदिरा मदमिव हर्षणशीलोऽपाङ्गः कटाक्षो यस्यास्तादृशीति नायिकासम्बोधनम् । त्वत्तः—पञ्चम्यास्तसिः—विभक्तमित्यध्याहर्तव्यं शरीरमात्रेण भिन्नमित्यर्थः । उज्जृम्भताम् = वर्धताम् ।

88. विश्राण्य = वितीर्य = उत्केति यावत् । भूयः = पश्चात् । ऊर्ध्वम् = अनन्तरम् ।

89. अथ प्रमेयसर्वस्वमुपसंहरन्नाशिषं प्रयुङ्क्ते । पुनर्दर्शनानन्दलक्ष्मीः = भूयोविलोकनमुखसम्पत्तिः । तूर्णम् = अविलम्बेन ।

॥ इति शुकसन्देशव्याख्यायामुत्तरसन्देशः समाप्तः ॥

APPENDIX A.

The Five Sandeśas.

There exist in the Palace Library five सन्देशः, besides the most celebrated मेघ of Kâlidâsa, and the less known शुक् of Lakshmî-dâsa, of which I had the honour of submitting a MS. with commentary added lately. They are (1) सुभगसन्देशः, (2 and 3) two quite different हंससन्देशौ, (4) चातकसन्देशः, and (5) भ्रमरसन्देशः. सुभगः is a स्नातकः (?) messenger sent from Cape Comorin to a city which the author Nârâyana calls वृषपुरी, पौङ्गवी, etc. All these, सन्देशः, except the हंस of the renowned Venkateśa, Vedântâchârya of the Vaishṇavas, are productions of poets born in Malabar. It is impossible to determine whether Nârâyana, author of सुभगसन्देश, is the same most popular and well-admired author of प्रक्रियासर्वस्वम्, धातुकाव्यम्, नारायणीयम्, etc. But the latter's exceeding simplicity of style is not perceptible in सुभगसन्देश. This is the first stanza :

क्रीडारामे पुरविजयिनः कौतुकेन क्षपायां
 क्रीडन् चिप्लः कुचकलशतः सन्निगृह्य प्रियायाः ।
 मासान् कांस्विन्ननसिजशरैः शिञ्चितो दक्षिणाब्धेः
 कूले कूजत्परभृतकुले कोपि कामी निनाय ।

The celebrated नारायणभट्ट is too modest to boast in the manner the author of 'Subhaga-sandeśa' has done in this last śloka :

मुक्तारत्नं मलयमरुतश्चन्दनं च प्रसूय
 प्रख्यातादिक् कविमपि तथाऽसोष्ट कीर्त्तयि कनिष्ठम् ।
 विद्वत्प्रीत्यै वङ्गरसमुधास्यन्दिसन्देशकाव्यम्
 बद्धं तावद्विरतमभवत् तेन नारायणेन ।

The subject of all these Sandeśas (one of the two Haṅsa-sandeśas, and Châtaka-sandeśa excepted) is 'Love,' that

backbone of poetry. The arrangements are almost similar. The sudden separation of the lover from his sweetheart, his accidental meeting of some messenger, offering him hospitality, description of the towns, villages, rivers, mountains, etc., intervening between the destination and the spot wherefrom the messenger is despatched, and the nature of the message, are almost the same as in the masterly prototype of Sandeśas, the "Megha-dûta." The "Haṅsa-sandeśa" by Veṅkaṭeśa is in the usual form of this class of poems. Its first and last ślokas are the following :

वंशे जातः सवितुरनघे मानयन् मानुषत्वं
 देवः श्रीमाञ् जनकतनयान्वेषणे जागरूकः ।
 प्रत्यायाते पवनतनये निश्चितार्थः स कामी
 कल्याकारां कथमपि निशामाविभातं विषेहे ।
 सन्दिश्यैवं सह कपिकुलैः सेतुना लङ्घिताब्धिः
 पङ्कथीवे युधि विनिहते प्राप्य सीतां प्रतीतः ।
 राज्यं भूयः स्वयमनुभवन् रक्षितं पादुकाभ्यां
 रामः श्रीमानतनुत निजां राजधानीं सनाथाम् ।

The other "Haṅsa-sandeśa," whose author's name could not be found out, is quite of a different nature. The subject is a philosophical one. It is probable that some rival poet of the Vaishṇava Vedântâchârya has written this, as he (the Vedântâchârya) has composed a Nâṭaka named "Saṅkalpa-sûryodaya" to match the "Prabodhachandrodaya." The beginning and concluding ślokas of the philosophic Haṅsa-sandeśa are subjoined.

कश्चिन्मायामृगवशगतः कर्मणा मुह्यमानो
 भक्त्या शम्भोश्चरणभवया विप्रयुक्तो विषण्णः ।
 रामो यद्वज्जनकसुतया दण्डकारण्यभूमौ
 क्षेत्रेऽप्राप्ते क्वचन पुरुषः कल्पयामास वासम् ।

आत्मधानामृतमभिमतं जन्मतापोपशान्त्ये
 पायं पायं सपदि विसृजन् कृत्यशेषानशेषान् ।
 सङ्कल्पाद्यैः कलुषगरलैर्दुष्टसर्पैरदृष्टः
 खैरालोके विहर सुचिरं कर्मलेशैरलिप्तः ।

This Haṅsa-sandeśa has a short commentary consisting mostly of Anuṣṭup ślokas. The other four have no commentaries at all. The number of ślokas in both the "Haṅsa-sandeśas" is the same, viz. 110. "Subhaga-sandeśa" contains 130. All of these (the philosophic "Haṅsa" excepted) are divided into two parts, viz. the Pūrva and Uttara-sandeśas. The metre in all these is मन्दाक्रान्ता, invariably adopted by writers of Sandeśas. चातक-सन्देशः, fourth in the order, is a novelty in this class of poems. A poor Brāhman, probably a Nambūri, that lived in some northern part of Malabar, like many others, fled for refuge to Trivāndram, at that troublous time when Tippu invaded Malabar. He (the Nambūri) had an interview with the then reigning Mahārāja Rāma Varmā, but he was obliged to leave Trivāndram and go home without taking leave of the Mahārāja, on account of sudden illness. After recovery, he seems to have submitted this poem to the Mahārāja praying for patronage. It consists of 141 ślokas, of which the first and last are given below.

कथित् काले बलवति कलौ केरलाधे तुलुक्कि-
 राक्रान्ते तत्क(स्कर)रहतधनो भूसुरः कातरात्मा ।
 नश्यन्नानाविभवविधुरं नावलम्बं कुटुम्बं
 पश्यन् दोनो दिनमनुदृशां शोचनीयामयासीत् ।
 आमन्त्याऽथ द्रुततरममुं मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा तदाज्ञां
 व्यावर्तस्व प्रियसख ततः प्रागिमामेव भूमिम् ।
 देशानन्यान् पुनरभिमतान् याहि जन्मान्तरे त्वम्
 पक्षित्वे सत्यपि च सुलभाहार एव ध्रुवं स्याः ।

Then comes the last, भ्रमरसन्देशः. The author of this is Vāsudeva, a Keralīya Brāhman. The author of the Yamakakāvya युधिष्ठिरविजय and त्रिपुरदहन, is called by the same name. So also, the author of the प्रक्रियाकाव्य called वासुदेव-विजय, to which Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa refers in the beginning of his धातुकाव्य, thus :

उदाहृतं पाणिनिसूत्रमण्डलम्
 प्राग्वासुदेवेन तदूर्ध्वतोऽपरः ।
 उदाहरत्यथ वृकोदरोदितान्
 धातून् क्रमेणैव हि माधवाशयात् ।

There is no proof however as to the identity of the three Vāsudevas.

There are 192 ślokas in “Bhramara-sandeśa,” and the first and the last are :

हर्म्ये रम्ये बहलविगलच्चन्द्रिकायां निशायाम्
 मन्दं नन्दत्कुमुदसुरभी शीतले वाति वृते ।
 लोलापाङ्ग्या मनसिजकलाखेलनायासिताङ्ग्या
 साकं निद्रां सुष्ठतिमुलभां कोपि कामी सिषेवे ।
 सन्देशेऽस्मिन् कथमपि गुरु श्रीपदाश्लोजयुग्म-
 (ध्यान ध्वस्त) प्रबलतमसा वासुदेवेन बद्धे ।
 पूर्णे दोषैरपि यदि गुणानां कणाः सम्प्रथेर-
 ज्जेतान् प्रीता मनसि परिगृह्णन्तु सन्तो महान्तः ।

There is a striking resemblance in many of the ślokas in this to those in “Śuka-sandeśa.” It is certain therefore that either Vāsudeva, author of भ्रमर, has imitated Lakshmî-dâsa, author of “Śuka,” or *vice versâ*. It will be seen how well the sixth śloka in “Bhramara,” given hereunder, for instance, compares with the third one in “Śuka.”

ब्रूमः श्रीमन् भ्रमर भवते स्वागतं वैजयन्त्याः
 किं त्वं विष्णोरुरसि विकसद्विभ्रमायाः समायाः ।
 धम्मिल्लाद्वा परिमलसमासक्तमत्तालिपाली-
 केलीलोलद्युतरुकलिकासुन्दरादिन्दिरायाः ।

ART. XX.—*The Chinese Book of the Odes for English Readers.* By CLEMENT F. R. ALLEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.

THE *She King*,¹ usually translated the *Book of the Odes*, or the *Classic of Poetry*, is not so well known to the outside world as it deserves to be. It is one of the *Classics* or *Canons* of Chinese learning, and, like its companion books, is supposed not only to contain deep lessons of morality for the instruction of future ages, but to have been compiled, if not written, for the express purpose of their inculcation.² The events recorded or alluded to in it are said to have taken place between 1765 and 585 B.C. Confucius himself is acknowledged to have been the compiler. Ssü Ma ch'ien³ states: "The old poems amounted to more than 8000. Confucius removed those which were only repetitions of others, and selected those which would be serviceable for the inculcation of propriety and righteousness." In other words he brought out a revised and expurgated edition. Constant allusions to the *Odes* are found in the *Confucian Analects*, the Master on all occasions expressing the highest admiration for the work, and enjoining on his disciples the necessity of a thorough study of it. The *Odes*, he says, stimulate the mind,⁴ teach introspection, sociability, righteous indignation, filial piety

¹ I confess a preference for Sir Thomas Wade's system of transliteration, and would fain call the work the *Shih Ching*; but I am assured that this would convey no meaning to European students of Chinese.

² Quæcunque ex antiquorum temporum monumentis idonea ad revocandum pristinum rerum ordinem videbantur, in sex libros collecta edidit, ut inde reipublicæ administrandæ modum, morum disciplinam, et saniolem doctrinam discerent posterî.—Confucii Chi King, La Charme.

³ 司馬遷 B.C. 163-85.

⁴ 詩可以興. 可以觀. 可以群. 可以怨. 邇之事交. 遠之事君. 多識於鳥獸草木之名. Conf. *Analects*, xvii. 9.

and loyalty, and, lastly, natural history. But on another occasion he warns his disciples against the songs of Ch'êng (the 7th book of the 1st part) as licentious.¹ He told his son that he would not be worth talking to, if he did not know the Odes.² Mencius, although he does not urge his disciples to study these poems, frequently quotes them with respect.

With these examples before them, can we wonder that the Chinese, who have an exaggerated reverence for everything that bears the stamp of antiquity, should still continue to find in the Book all that is needed to teach the two fundamental attributes of Oriental perfection, viz. 禮 *Li* Propriety, and 義 *Yi* Righteousness?

There are several translations of the Book of the Odes into European languages. La Charme and Zottoli have each given a prose version in Latin, both showing a great respect for the views of the Chinese commentators. Callery calls the former, "La production la plus indigeste et la plus ennuyeuse, dont la sinologie ait à rougir." Rather a harsh judgment in my opinion, but La Charme's version is not to be compared to Zottoli's, which is an extremely useful work. In German there are the metrical translations by Friedrich Rückert and Victor von Strauss, while in English we have two translations by Dr. Legge, one in prose and the other in verse. We and all students of Chinese must not fail to express our deep and heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Legge for the years of labour which he has spent over the colossal task of translating the greater number of the Chinese classics. Each of us may humbly venture at times to differ as to the rendering of a certain passage, but which of us may dare to compare our labours or our knowledge of Chinese language and literature with his? No matter what further discoveries may be made, Dr. Legge's translations will ever retain their value, for in them we have the Chinese views and opinions of their own classics brought clearly before us, thanks to the

¹ 鄭聲浮. Conf. Analects, xv. 10.

² 不學詩無以言. Conf. Analects, Book xvi. 13.

Doctor's scholarly and exhaustive treatment of text and commentary. The metrical version of the She King made by Dr. Legge and his nephews is to my mind not quite so successful as his prose work. It is very unequal. Whenever the translator has allowed himself to shake off the trammels of Chinese prosody, he has produced some very pleasing verses, those in the Scotch dialect being particularly charming, for instance :¹

“ Says oor gudewife, ‘ The cock is crawin,’
 Quoth oor gudeman, ‘ The day is dawin,’
 ‘ Get up, gudeman, an’ tak a spy :
 See gin the mornin star be high,
 Syne tak a saunter roon’ aboot ;
 There’s rowth o’ dyukes and geese to shoot.

Lat flee and bring them hame to me,
 And sic a dish as ye sall pree.
 In comin times as ower the strings
 Your noddin’ heed in rapture hings,
 Supreme ower care, nor fasht wi’ fears,
 We’ll baith grow auld in worth and years.

An’ when we meet the friends ye like,
 I’ll gi’e to each some little fyke :
 The lasses beads, trocks to their brithers,
 An’ auld warld fairlies to their mithers,
 Some nick nack lovin’ hands will fin’
 To show the love that dwalls within.’ ”

Another beginning :²

“ The gudeman ’s awa’ for to fecht wi’ the stranger,”

is also well worth reading and remembering.

But in most of the poems the translator has allowed himself to be hampered and cramped by trying to follow the Chinese prosody, at any rate to the extent of making his English version consist of the same number of stanzas as the Chinese, and by translating verse by verse. I contend that

¹ Part i. Book vii. Ode 8.

² Part i. Book vi. Ode 2.

by taking a whole poem, and turning it into English with an utter disregard of the order of the lines, or even of the stanzas, it is easier to give a correct version of the original than by following Dr. Legge's perhaps more painstaking method. This I hope to prove later on.

I know of no other complete metrical version of the She King in English. Various gentlemen have tried their hands at translating one or two odes, Sir John Davis among others. A few translations have appeared in the *China Review*, some very excellent ones by Mr. Lister of Hong-kong, the author of a most interesting and valuable essay on the Odes; and some others by V. W. X., a pseudonym that is an open secret among European residents in China. This gentleman, although a ripe Chinese scholar, has attempted the impossible task of going closer to the original than even Dr. Legge has done, and of translating word by word. Sir John Davis says in reference to the She King, "In European languages there is a certain connection which allows literalness of rendering to be carried to a great extent, but a verbal translation from the one concerning which we now treat must of necessity degenerate into a horrible jargon, which few persons will undergo the disgust of perusing."¹ V. W. X. has proved this most conclusively. Here is one of his translations:²

"The flax spreads large
Creeping down the gorge,
As the leaves grow thick,
The macaws on wing,
Grouped in the bush,
There sweetly sing.

The flax spreads large
Creeping down the gorge
When full in leaf.
First reap, then soften,
Weave coarse or fine,
And glad weave often.

¹ Sir John Davis, "Poetry of the Chinese."

² Part i. Book i. Ode 2.

I'll beg my teacher
 To let me home.
 First wash my common,
 And clean my best,
 Which clean, which not,
 Then to parents blest."

This the translator calls one of the more harmonious odes. He explains the roughness of it by saying that a literal translation has been attempted in all possible cases. "It should also," he observes, "be borne in mind, that you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."

Here V. W. X. and I are at variance. I believe, and would fain show, that the She King is not a sow's ear, but a mass of silk, rough and tangled if you will, but still containing many beautiful threads, whereof the skilful workman may make use. In other words the She King consists of a collection of ballads, odes, satires, elegies, and lampoons (most of which were once sung to music), such as are found in all nations in their imperfectly civilized stages. The exigencies of this paper induce me to make the following arbitrary divisions, which however often overlap each other :
 1. Idylls, including songs and poems on love, conjugal affection, country occupations and festivals, the chase, and so on.
 2. Songs and poems relating to war. 3. Laudatory odes in honour of the deeds and glories of some great man, or the beauties and virtue of some princess. 4. Satires and lampoons, and moral lessons. 5. Festal and sacrificial odes. 6. Fragments, and corrupt and imperfect pieces.

The versification, as is to be expected, is rough, and the text in countless instances is doubtful and corrupt, for not only has it been subjected to the efflux of over 2300 years at least, but the original editions, if I may use the term, were destroyed at the burning of the books in B.C. 213.¹

¹ It must not be forgotten that the oldest of these poems have had to pass through three scripts before they could appear in their present form. The oldest style of Chinese character, the Ku Wên (古文), was in use until about 800 B.C., when in the time of 'Hsüan Wang (宣王), of the Chou dynasty, the Ta Chuan (大篆) or Large Seal character was introduced. This was succeeded

Fragments, the connection of which is unknown, are sometimes found by themselves, and at other times two or more are mixed together in such a way that no sense can be discovered in the poem as a whole; and occasionally we find a piece which becomes perfectly comprehensible if one stanza is omitted. But are not these flaws exactly what one expects in a work of this kind? Has not every old poem, Greek, Latin or English, hundreds of conjectural readings? Would the versification of Homer have passed muster in the time of Sophocles, or the rough diction of Beowulf or Cædmon compare with the elegant mastery of the English language shown by Tennyson and Swinburne? We all know King Canute's famous verse:

“Merie sungen the muneches binnen Ely
 Tha Cnut ching renther by
 Roweth cnihtes noer the land
 And here we these muneches sing.”

Gilbert à Becket says of Canute, “If he had known anything of sense or syntax, if he had been happy at description, or possessed the slightest share of imagination, he would have been a fair poet.” Perhaps so, but let us imagine it possible that the verse above is in a foreign language, and is to be translated into modern English. Would it be unfair to alter it, and make it run thus?:

“Merrily sung the monks of Ely
 When Canute the king was rowing thereby,
 Row to the shore, knights, said the king,
 And let us hear these good monks sing.”

So with archaic Chinese poetry. Translate it into English as rough as the original form, and I say that you give an

by the Hsiao Chuan (小篆) or Small Seal character, which lasted from about 225 B.C. to about 350 A.D., when the Chiai Shu (楷書) took its place. Mons. Terrien de Lacouperie informs me that he has compared the oldest version of the Shu King or Classic of History, as published in the 三字石經, with the present standard editions, and finds the discrepancies to amount to nearly 25 per cent. of the whole text. A comparison of the earliest and latest versions of the She King would surely show as large a proportion of error. See Prof. T. de Lacouperie, On the History of the Archaic Writing and Texts.

unfair idea to foreigners of the beauties that lie hid in the original. The first requisite, therefore, for a verse translation of the poetry in question is modern language, and clear expressions in honest flowing metre. It is, further, the duty of the translator to avoid, as much as possible, the use of Chinese names, which are so repellent to the English reader. Let him also be granted a good deal of freedom in his renderings of trees and flowers, or at any rate let him confine his exactness to foot-notes. The jujube, the dolichos creeper, the polygonum and the broussonetia are not ornaments to verse, still less are the T'ung, the Yi, and the Tzū trees.

When first a little-known language is studied, the natural impulse of the student is to place himself blindfolded in the hands of scholars, whose native language is the one which the student seeks to acquire, for he feels that they, surely, are the men who know their own language best. This view may satisfy him for a while, but a time comes when he learns that there is a better path to take. Men who know nothing but their own language are the unsafest of all guides to a thorough acquaintance with that language. Critical acumen and the power of comparison and discrimination are essential to correct knowledge. These qualities seem wanting in all Orientals, and in none more than in the Chinese, with whom a sort of literary imagination, which invents non-existent difficulties, and a hankering desire for these very difficulties, appear to have taken their place.¹ Mr. H. A. Giles has pointed this out so well in his *Essay on Chinese Poetry*. He says: "Chinese prose and poetry alike, to be of any literary value, must bristle from beginning to end with allusions to the events and personages of their own almost immeasurable past. More than this. It is barely allowable to call anything by its right name, some figure of speech or half-expressed quotation—and the more obscure the better—must be called in to do duty in the place of the universally tabooed spade." Are

¹ "Les Interprètes Chinois ne sont pas trop heureux à déchiffrer ces poesies. . . . Le stile en est tres obscur, et cette obscurité vient sans doute du laconisme, des métaphores, et de la quantité d'anciens proverbes, dont l'ouvrage est semé. Mais c'est cette obscurité la même, qui lui concilie l'estime et la vénération des savans."—Du Halde.

we to be surprised then when we find that the simplicity of old Chinese literature takes native scholars aback, scholars who invent allusions never dreamt of by the writers, and who must find meanings evolved from their own inner consciousness before they can make the books worthy of their high consideration?

European students of the other great languages of Asia have already found out these Oriental proclivities. Who would now accept the Chaldaic view of the Song of Solomon as an allegorical history of the Jewish people from the Exodus to the Messiah,¹ or the mediæval Jewish view that the book represented the union between the active intellect and the receptive or material intellect? Professor Max Müller has warned us that the Pandits' own view of Indian history and literature (in which no doubt he includes Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit) is more apt to mislead their pupils than to guide them. My friend Mons. Terrien de Lacouperie, Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology in the University of London, has been the pioneer of this path where Chinese literature is concerned. He has shown us, in his translation of the Yi King, that the only proper method of finding the real meaning of the older canonical books is to take the Chinese characters as they stand and turn them into English, without making use of gloss or comment to force the unhappy things into bearing a distorted and fantastic meaning which they were never meant to bear. His paper on "The Oldest Book of the Chinese" has struck us all as a revelation, and though Dr. Legge, Canon McClatchie, and some of our older sinologues, may feel a momentary unwillingness to give up the accepted, *i.e.* the Chinese, views in which they have been educated, yet I do not doubt that Mons. Terrien de Lacouperie's explanations and interpretations of the Yi King must eventually be received by all as the only correct ones. A similar procedure should be brought to bear on the She King. He who would make a translation which would give Englishmen a true idea of the beauties contained in the

¹ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, article Canticles, by T. E. Brown.

work, must of course study the commentaries, but must never give himself up blindly to their guidance, and allow them to take charge of him.

During the last few years I have occupied some of my leisure time in attempting to make a simple metrical English version of the She King, working on the narrow lines prescribed above, and Mons. Terrien de Lacouperie has done me the great honour to invite me to come forward this afternoon and give some account of my humble labours and their result. My translation at present only goes as far as the 2nd book of part ii. I would not have ventured to stand up before you until I had completed my task, but I have to return to China shortly, and this therefore is my only opportunity, and is one that I felt that I ought not to neglect.

The ballads of country life in old China may be paralleled by dozens of pieces in Percy's *Reliques*, and when one reads the accounts of rustic merry-making, one's mind naturally turns to such poems as

“ Come lasses and lads,
Get leave of your dads,
And away to the Maypole hie.”

The Chinese verses on lads and lasses and man and maiden are just as full of innocent freedom as the best of our own, but the most harmless bit of fun or courtship is at once pounced on by the commentator as showing the lewd manners of the State from which the poem is supposed to have come. If you will allow me, I will read my version of two odes, one being the account of the Spring and the other of the Autumn Flower Festival:

“ *The Spring Flower Festival*.¹

Gloomy winter's gone and past,
Streams that lately lay asleep,
In their ice chains fettered fast,
Now are running clear and deep.

¹ Part i. Book vii. Ode 21.

Large and level plains of grass
 On the further side outspread,
 Haunts of many a lad and lass
 Plucking flowerets white and red.

'Have you been across?' says she,
 'Yes,' he cries, 'indeed I've been.'
 'Come again and come with me,
 Let us two enjoy the scene.'

Every man and every maiden
 Sport together hour by hour,
 With a load of blossoms laden
 Each to each presents a flower."

*"The Autumn Flower Festival."*¹

'Tis fair and lovely weather,
 We will to town together,
 So let your hemp and spinning-wheel to-day untouched remain;
 For we are going straightway
 To near the eastern gateway,
 Where the white elms and the oak trees cast their shadow o'er
 the plain.

See man and maid advancing
 To meet each other, dancing,
 With motions quick and graceful they nimbly turn and wheel.
 Says he, 'You are as fair, love,
 As the blossom which you bear, love,
 Give me a flower in token that you care for what I feel.'"

Can one imagine anything more harmless or less suggestive of evil than the above? But what are the views of the commentators and their English disciples? The Little Preface says that the former ballad was directed against the prevailing disorder. The weapons of strife never rested, husbands and wives were torn from one another, lewd manners were prevalent, and there was no one to deliver the people from

¹ Part i. Book xii. Ode 2.

them.¹ Dr. Legge's heading is "A festivity of Ch'êng, and the advantage taken of it for licentious assignation." The verdicts on the latter piece are still severer. The Little Preface remarks: "This poem expresses disgust at the disorder which prevailed.² Through the evil influence of Duke Yü, who was addicted to sensual pleasure, men and women abandoned their proper employments, hurried to meet one another on the roads, and danced and sang in the market-places." Dr. Legge, with almost equal sternness, heads the poem, "Wanton associations of the young people of Ch'ên."

When in any of these odes, which may be included under the head of love poems, the heroine is not ashamed of her affection, she meets with scant mercy. Here, for example:³

"A maiden fair and bright
Comes to greet me, when the night
Has departed, and the eastern sky is red.
But lest some envious eye
Should presume to play the spy,
Soft and lightly o'er my pathway will she tread.
Delights fade all too soon,
Comes the evening, and the moon
Rises full and round, my darling dares not stay.
But swiftly will she pass
O'er my pathway in the grass,
Lest her footprints should our meeting-place betray."

The Little Preface remarks on this, that men and women of the State of Ch'i sought each other in lewd fashion, and Dr. Legge heads the piece as usual, "The licentious intercourse of the people of Ch'i." Lord Macaulay once wrote a poem, from which I quote one stanza:

¹ 制亂也。兵革不息。男女相棄。浮風大行。莫之能救焉。

² 疾亂也。幽公浮荒。風化之所行。男女棄其舊業。亟會於道路。歌舞於市井爾。

³ Part i. Book viii. Ode 4.

“O fly, Madonna, fly,
 Lest day and envy spy
 What only love and night may safely know.
 Fly, and tread softly, dear,
 Lest those who hate us hear
 The sound of thy light footsteps as they go.”

What would his lordship's feelings have been if he could have seen this in any collection of English poetry headed “The licentious intercourse of the English people”?

When the lady is coy, the commentators ignore her coldness and the passion of her lover, and go out of their way to speak of the virtuous manners prevailing at the time and place, and of the admirable qualities of the ruler, whose influence has brought about this improvement. Take this verse for example: ¹

“Where the poplars throw but a scanty shade
 On the banks of the Han, lives a lovely maid.
 I see her often, but find that vain
 Are all my efforts her heart to gain.
 Ah no, 'tis as easy a task to strive
 To cross the Han in a single dive,
 Or float on a plank down the Yangtzü's tide,
 As win this lady to be my bride.”

This shows, says the Preface, how the virtue of King Wên affected the States of the south.²

Love between husband and wife, bride and bridegroom, and even between betrothed couples, is a little more fairly treated. Conjugal affection is one of the five cardinal relations among mankind. No fault, therefore, is to be found with it; but even in these cases Chinese scholars cannot get free of the idea that any poem on this subject is more to celebrate the good qualities of the ruler of the State than the attachment of the two parties. These pieces give the joys and sorrows of married life in considerable detail. In some

¹ Part i. Book i. Ode 9.

² 文王之道被於南國.

the wives complain of their husbands' neglect and coldness, or of his attentions to some more favoured love or wife, for polygamy prevailed at the time when these ballads were written. We have also the longing of the wife for the safe return of her absent husband,¹ and her joy when he gets back, in strains that recall the Scotch poem, "There is nae luck about the hoose, when oor gudeman's awa."

Several of the odes are epithalamiums, among others Ode 1 of Book ii. Part i. This has been translated into verse by Sir John Davis as follows :

"The nest yon winged artist builds
The robber bird shall tear away,
So yields her hopes the affianced maid,
Some wealthy lord's reluctant prey.

The anxious bird prepares a nest,
In which the spoiler soon shall dwell.
Forth goes the weeping bride constrained,
A hundred cars the triumph swell.

Mourn for the tiny architect ;
A stronger bird hath ta'en its nest.
Mourn for the hapless stolen bride,
How vain the pomp to soothe her breast."

Dr. Legge's metrical version is more literal and simpler, in fact almost too literal and simple :

"In the magpie's nest
Dwells the dove at rest.
This young bride goes to her future home,
To meet her a hundred chariots come.

¹ The ladies among the ancient Chinese, as among the Aryan nations, would leave their hair dishevelled during their husband's absence :

"I scarcely care to deck my hair,
But let my locks disordered stray,
For whom should I be neat or fair
When my loved lord is far away?"—Part i. Book v. Ode 8.

"Ten months Ruujeet lay in Lahore.
Wah, a hero's heart is brass.
Ten months never did Chunda Kour
Braid her hair at the tiring glass."—Edwin Arnold.

Of the magpie's nest
Is the dove possest.

This bride goes to her new home to live,
And welcome a hundred chariots give.

The nest magpie wove
Now filled by the dove.

This bride now takes to her home her way,
And there numerous cars her state display."

Now surely the motive of this little piece is the same as that of King Cophetua and the Beggar-maid, the Lord of Burleigh, and a dozen similar poems. The Prince is the magpie, the strong handsome skilful bird, the peasant girl the dove, who does not fight the magpie and rob him of his nest, as the Chinese commentators say, and Sir John Davis implies, but who by her softness and gentleness persuades him to allow her to occupy the comfortable nest for which magpies are famous, as every birdsnesting schoolboy knows. A paraphrase seems necessary to bring out the force of the original, and I have therefore ventured to write this version, which I admit is not a close translation :

"The dove, that gentle timid bird,
Small wit hath she a nest to build ;
Unlike the pie, whose home well lined
Within, and framed with labour skilled,
Might seem a palace, yet the dove
Will to herself appropriate
The magpie's nest, and snug therein
Dwell in contentment with her mate.

My sweet, thou art the gentle dove.
Had fate's decree then nought more fair
For thee, than in these barren fields
A peasant's hut and toils to share.
My lands are wide, my halls are high,
And steeds and cars attend my call,
My dove within my magpie nest,
Thou shalt be mistress of them all."

Lastly, we have verses by the inferior wives in honour of the chief lady of the palace, although I am bound to confess that many of them have not a very genuine ring about them. There is, however, one very pretty farewell, supposed to be written by one widowed wife, when another lady, who was also a wife of the deceased, took her departure. This is it :¹

“She who for many years has been my friend,
 A gentle one and kind and most sincere,
 Departs for her own country, and an end
 Has come to all I once considered dear.
 Decorous was her person, though one love
 We shared, no jealous doubt nor angry hate
 Could e'er disturb her ; nay, she rather strove
 My zeal and care for him to stimulate.
 Far did I journey southwards, ere good-byes
 Were uttered, then she left me, and in vain
 I gazed at her departing, for my eyes
 Were blinded with the tears that fell like rain.
 I watched the swallows in their flickering flight,
 They too go southwards, when the summer's o'er ;
 They will return when spring is warm and bright,
 But my beloved friend comes back no more.”

Nor are poems wanting descriptive of country life and its labours and enjoyments. The best and most complete of these is the 1st Ode of the 15th Book of Part i., but it is too long to quote in full. The date assigned to this ballad is B.C. 1100 or thereabouts. It is a narration of a state of things some 700 years before that. It shows that the ancient Chinese had a great respect for the pursuit of agriculture,² a respect which theoretically, at any rate, their descendants still retain.

We also find short odes or songs illustrating various pursuits. There is the song of the plantain-gatherers,

¹ Part i. Book iii. Ode 3.

² It is worth noticing that even in the oldest poems there are scarcely any references to sheep. The ancestors of the Chinese, unlike their Aryan contemporaries or predecessors, were not a people among whom the chief shepherd was practically a king. See *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, Pictet.

several hunting-songs of the 'John Peel' type, and longer pieces describing the chase and celebrating the skill and prowess of the hunters. Fish and fishing are constantly alluded to, but this pursuit does not form the main subject of any ode. There is an account of a trapper, who was so stalwart a man that he might well be the body guard and comrade of a prince. We have likewise a little piece containing a dialogue between two carpenters, at least so I translate it:¹

A says :

"I have got to make a handle, but there is not any good
In beginning, for I have not got an axe to hew the wood.
Like a fellow who would marry, but his chance of wedlock's
shady,
For he does not know a person to present him to the lady."

B replies :

"Go to work and shape the handle, don't make any lame
excuse,
The pattern you've to copy is laid ready for your use,
Like a baffled suitor, say you, nay you're rather like a lord,
With his bride beside him and a feast set out upon the board."

All the Chinese critics say that this poem is in praise of a certain duke. Dr. Legge heads his metrical translation, "While there is a proper and necessary way for everything, men need not go far to find what it is." His verses are :

"In hewing an axe shaft, how must you act?
Another axe take, or you'll never succeed.
In taking a wife, be sure 'tis a fact
That with no go-between you never can speed.
In hewing an axe shaft, hewing a shaft,
For a copy you have the axe in your hand.
In choosing a wife, you follow the craft,
And forthwith on the mats the feast vessels stand."

I would refer you to the Marquis D'Hervey St. Denys's

¹ Part i. Book xv. Ode 5.

work, *Poesies de l'époque des Th'ang*, for a complete description of Chinese warlike poetry. I find among the odes in the She King, which relate to warfare, a few breathing out martial aspirations, but a greater number complaining of the hardships of the campaign, and expressing a homesick longing to get back again. Assuredly the feeling expressed in the Chinese proverb of to-day,

好鐵不打丁
好人不做兵

“You don't beat good iron into a nail, or make a good man into a soldier,” was known to the ancestors of the modern Chinese. Even in the most bellicose odes, the only thing celebrated is the pomp and gorgeous array of the army, and the success of some prince or general. There is not one word expressive of

“The stern joy which warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel.”

There is not even a description of a single combat between two men. Still less can we find any generous mention of the bravery of an enemy, for chivalry is utterly and entirely wanting. One cannot help feeling that these warlike odes have been made to order. On the other hand, the poems which describe the hardships of war are only too real and heartfelt. Their genuineness makes them pleasing. Here is one of the best in my opinion:¹

“Oh many a weary night we spent,
And many a dreary day,
On those eastern hills, with no roof o'erhead,
Save the carts under which we lay.

When the rains began, then the word was passed
That our service at length was o'er,
We might doff our armour and wear the clothes
That our wives had prepared once more.

¹ Part i. Book xv. Ode 3.

Yet a haunting fear would disturb my heart,
 This thought would flash to the brain,
 I have been long gone, shall I find all changed,
 When I visit my home again ?

Perchance the creepers and trailing weeds
 Have choked up my unused doors,
 And the woodlouse creeps, and the spider weaves
 His web o'er my empty floors.

The deer graze careless about the fields
 Where I pastured my sheep and kine,
 And around the desolate garden plots
 The lamps of the glowworm shine.

We marched along through the drizzling rain,
 We noted the signs of spring,
 On the mulberry leaves the silkworms fed,
 And we heard the oriole sing.

Its yellow plumage was shining bright
 As it glanced in a moment by,
 And we heard the cranes, as they caught their prey
 On the ant hillocks, scream and cry.

Ere I knew it, there was my home in sight,
 Since I such a sight had seen
 Three years had passed, yet the rooms were swept,
 And my dwelling was warm and clean.

And gourds were hanging, for me to eat,
 On the boughs of the chestnut tree,
 No moment while I was far away,
 My wife had forgotten me.

You may talk of the glories when youth and maid
 Are wed, and their troth is plighted,
 But not of the joy when two loving hearts,
 Once parted, are re-united."

3. Our next division contains the laudatory odes or poems celebrating the achievements of some king, prince, or chieftain, or the virtues and beauties of some princess. The

Chinese commentators, if left to themselves, would include the greater part of the She King under this heading, but even after an elimination of scores of pieces as having nothing to do with royalty or aristocracy, a considerable residue remains. Some of the pieces are curious, but the bulk of them are of no great interest to the general reader. Here is a little poem complete in one verse, which may remind you of something that you have heard before :¹

“ That pear-tree, woodman, spare,
Break not a single bough ;
Shao’s chief once rested there,
Leave it uninjured now.”

The legend of Hou Chi, especially as translated by Dr. Legge’s nephew, is very well worthy of perusal,² but is too long to quote.

4. We pass on to satires and lampoons and moral lessons. Satire in small and youthful communities is usually very personal in its application. In the personal satires and lampoons of the She King, although names are not often openly given, they can be easily fitted to the verse without much doubt as to the correctness of the application. For example, the heir-apparent of a certain duke was engaged to marry a lady ; but the father, inflamed by the reports of her beauty, had a tower built on the banks of a river which the lady had to pass on her way to the bridegroom’s home, enticed her into it, and kept her for himself. Afterwards he had his heir-apparent and another son murdered. These rather doggerel lines refer to the first of the two crimes :³

“ A fisherman for fish a trap may set,
And catch a goose entangled in the net.
This hunchback, too, contrived a snare to lay,
Another’s bride he stole and bore away.

¹ Part i. Book ii. Ode 5.

² Part iii. Book ii. Ode 1.

³ Part i. Book iii. Ode 18.

Beside the stream a lofty tower he built,
 Where he might safely perpetrate his guilt.
 No pleasant mate the lady found, alas!
 She gained instead this vicious bloated mass."

These lines allude to the second:¹

"The two youths journeyed down the stream;
 I noted, as they left the shore,
 Their shadows on the water gleam;
 Ah, shall we ever see them more?"

Floated their boats away from here.
 I watch for them in vain, and say,
 As they return not, much I fear
 Some danger met them on the way."

Can we not imagine these verses repeated from mouth to mouth among the people? I conjecture that the latter piece may be a fragment from a longer ballad.

Satire directed against classes and types of men, rather than against individuals, is more interesting than the personal attacks mentioned above. Sometimes a moral lesson is to be learnt from a natural object; from a quail, for instance, which will fight in defence of its chickens, or from a rat, which fills the place in the world which nature intended for it:²

"Nature has made the rat the worst of vermin,
 Teeth, limbs, and skin she gave unto the brute.
 Let it use these as nature's laws determine,
 No blame unto the rat we dare impute.
 But nobler gifts she gave to man to cherish:
 Dignity, self-control and love of right;
 And better were it that a man should perish,
 Than scorn these godlike gifts or hold them light."

A moral lesson is also drawn from the rainbow.³ The Chinese of that era held that the rainbow and other heavenly

¹ Part i. Book iii. Ode 19.

² Part i. Book iv. Ode 8.

³ Part i. Book iv. Ode 7.

bodies must not be pointed at, but be passed with averted eyes. Young ladies are warned that if they elope, they too will become objects to be passed with averted eyes. The lash of satire falls on stinginess, as shown by a rich bridegroom who would not afford leather shoes in winter, and made his bride make and mend his clothes for him.¹ The elegant officers who went in court dress to collect leaves and herbs for soup are also held up to ridicule.² Nor do dissipation, frivolity, pretence, and neglect of decent observances escape. Then the advice of Horace, 'Carpe diem,' forms the subject of more than one ode. Here is a specimen:³

"Great store you have of trailing robes and long,
Which lie and moulder useless and unworn.
Your cars are handsome and your steeds are strong,
But yet along the streets you ne'er are borne.

Courtyards it has, the mansion where you dwell,
And halls, where no one comes the dust to sweep,
With many a drum and sweetly ringing bell,
Which ever mute and voiceless lie asleep.

Why stint and spare, for surely it were best
With wine and dainties to prolong the day,
To cheer the hours, and give to mirth a zest,
So take your lute and sing a merry lay.

Think, all-destroying death comes creeping near,
When our most cherished goods, our hoarded stores,
Shall be the stranger's, who shall take our gear,
Shall spend our riches, and shall tread our floors."

We may also, perhaps, include under the head of odes conveying a moral lesson, those in praise of humility and contentment, and even those applauding a love of solitude and asceticism.

¹ Part i. Book ix. Ode 1.

² Part i. Book ix. Ode 2.

³ Part i. Book x. Ode 2. This ode has a burden prefacing each of the stanzas; but as I can find no congruity in it, I have suppressed it.

5. With regard to festal and sacrificial odes, I must throw myself on your mercy, and request your indulgence. These odes are mainly contained in parts 2, 3 and 4, which I have as yet examined too cursorily to be able to give a positive opinion on them; but by what I have read of them, I am led to believe that most of them might well be relegated to the category either of war pieces or of laudatory odes. The lines in Campbell's poem, "The Battle of the Baltic,"

"Now joy old England raise,
For the tidings of thy might,
By the festal city's blaze,
While the wine-cup shines in light,"

would assuredly have induced a commentator of the Chinese school to include the whole piece under the head of festal odes.

6. I pass on to the last division, namely, fragments and corrupt pieces. These are mainly found in the first part. Take the 3rd stanza of the 10th Ode of Book i. At the close of a pretty little set of verses, spoken by a wife delighted at her husband's return, are these lines. I quote Dr. Legge's prose version :

"The bream is showing his tail all red.
The royal house is like a blazing fire;
Though it be like a blazing fire,
Your parents are very near."

The commentators try in vain to torture a meaning out of the characters, by suggesting that the bream has torn its tail in its efforts to get up stream, and that the wife exhorts her husband to work as hard as the bream, although his rulers may be as cruel and all-devouring as fire, adding that he must not disgrace his parents, who are standing near watching him. Chu 'Hsi, followed by Strauss, says that the 'parents' are the same rulers, who are watching his exertions. Granting, for the sake of argument, that the lines do bear this horribly strained and distorted meaning, are they not utterly out of place in this conjuncture? Must we not cut them out remorselessly, nor allow them to spoil a pretty little

poem? Again, take the following ode, which this time I quote from Dr. Legge's metrical version :¹

“ Not for the stormy wind,
Nor rushing chariot's roar ;
But when I view the road to Chow,
I'm pained to my heart's core.

Not for the whirlwind's sweep,
Nor car's unsteady roll,
But when I view the road to Chow,
Deep sadness dulls my soul.

For him who fish can cook,
His boilers I would clear,
So him, whose heart beats westward true,
With these good words I cheer.”

Dr. Legge's translation is a thoroughly literal *construe* of each of the Chinese characters, but still I must confess myself as unable to understand the English version as I am the Chinese.

Another ode Dr. Legge translates as follows :²

“ Those officers of state
Have their carriers of lances and halberds,
But these creatures
With their three hundred red covers for the knees.

The pelican is on the dam,
And will not wet his wings.
These creatures
Are not equal to their dress.

The pelican is on the dam,
And will not wet his beak.
These creatures
Do not respond to the favour they enjoy.

¹ Part i. Book xiii. Ode 4.

² Part i. Book xiv. Ode 2.

Extensive and luxuriant is the vegetation,
 And up the south hill in the morning rise the vapours.
 Tender is she and lovely,
 But the young lady is suffering from hunger."

In his metrical version Dr. Legge has managed to write a comprehensible poem, but only by an immense amount of interpolation, and by a paraphrase so free, that it can scarcely be supported by the original. In this and in similar cases, is not the translator safer in saying boldly, "There is no meaning in this, I will pass on to the next"?

Such fragments as this:¹

"Through the fields the livelong day
 Mulberry planters idly stray.
 There is nothing here to do,
 Let me go away with you."

are comprehensible enough, but call for little remark. Is the translator bound to explain the allusions, or to fill up the missing portions? May he not be content to treat them as fragments only?

Many of the odes relating to men and their actions begin with a mention of some object of natural history. For instance:²

"The mulberry tree on the mountain grows,
 No beautiful youth like Tzū Tu I see.
 And down in the marshes the lotus blows,
 But this young madcap makes love to me."

Surely the allusions to the trees and the lotus plants were only put in to make a burden to the song after the fashion so common in ancient Scandinavian poetry; but the commentators say that the mountains and marshes were all furnished with what was proper to them. It was *not* so with the speaker and her friends. The very next ode begins thus:

"The withered leaves, the withered leaves,
 The winds are blowing them away;
 Give us the key-note of the song,
 You'll find us join you in the lay."

¹ Part i. Book ix. Ode 5.

² Part i. Book vii. Ode 10.

The commentators here change from the negative to the positive with startling rapidity, and say that this is metaphorical of the troubles which were afflicting the State. Not that I believe that the song has anything to do with State affairs, although this is Dr. Legge's interpretation.

I admit that in many cases mention is made of the bird on the bough, the flowers in bloom, the pines on the hill side, the elm trees in the meadow, or the fruit tree loaded with fruit, because either the person who is supposed to speak wishes to describe a scene before him, or the author desires to indicate a particular season, but many instances remain in which the only explanation is that in old Chinese poetry, as in old European poetry and its imitations, a burden is a favourite device of the poet.

My only aim has been to try and point out that the pieces of which the She King is composed are not rough archaic curiosities of no interest except to the specialist. Nor again are they like Chinese poetry of the present day, wonderful examples of verbal antithesis, but of no more real poetic value to any one except the unfortunate competitive examinees who have to compose verses on the same model, than the Latin and Greek verses at our schools and universities. With all their irregularities, I claim that they are poems not unworthy the attention of all true lovers of poetry. The prosody of the odes,¹ the chronology and history contained in the book, together with the examples found therein of primitive manners, culture, and religion,² I leave for the

¹ The secret of the prosody has yet to be discovered. I venture to think that the clue must be sought for in the Ku Wên, whence we shall find that certain characters, which are now monosyllabic, were once dissyllabic or even polysyllabic. I am indebted to Mons. Terrien de Lacouperie for this hint.

² I would call attention to one fact only, viz. that in the She King is perhaps the first mention of Sati [Suttee], unless the Mahâbhârata, which describes the sacrifice of Mâdrî, the best beloved wife of Pându, at her husband's tomb, is older. Ode 6 of the 11th book of the 1st part alludes to the death of a prince at whose grave three of the bravest warriors of the nation were put to death. Herodotus (book iv. 71) mentions a similar custom among the Scythians. When the king dies he is buried in the country of the Gerrhi. "In the remaining space of the grave they bury one of the king's concubines, having strangled her, and his cup-bearer, a cook, a groom, a page, a courier and horses, and firstlings of everything. A year afterwards fifty of the king's horses and fifty of his servants are strangled and stuffed with chaff, and stuck round the king's monument."

Ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακῶν τε μίαν ἀποπνίζαντες

researches of other and abler students, adding at the same time my humble testimony to the richness of the mine which they have to work ; but I hope that I may be spared to continue and complete my own task as far as my powers will permit me. I trust that I have said nothing to lay me open to the imputation of slighting the labours of those who have gone before me, or that would make me appear desirous to ignore the debt of gratitude which I owe to Dr. Legge in particular. I admit that there are, and must be, many errors and misconceptions in my translations ; but I beg you to believe that the book really is a difficult one, and so let me conclude with the words of King Alfred : “ And now he prays, and for God’s name implores every one of those whom it lists to read this book, that he would pray for him and not blame him, if he more rightly understand it than he could.”

θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἵπποκόμον, καὶ διήκονον, καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων σπαρχὰς. . . . Ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου αὐτῆς ποιεῦσι τοιοῦνδε τούτων ὧν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλιστεύοντας πεντήκοντα ἐξέλοντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες ἐμπιπλάσι ἀχύρων καὶ συρράπτουσι. κ.τ.λ.
Is this the origin of placing stone figures of animals and warriors round the graves of Chinese emperors and high officials ? See also Ibn Batuta’s account of the burial of the Khan of Tartary.

ART. XXI.—*Note sur les mots Sanscrits composés avec पति.*

Par J. VAN DEN GHEYN, S.J., M.R.A.S.

LE terme पति, maître, seigneur, entre fréquemment comme second membre dans les composés sanscrits. Il n'est pas toujours aisé de se rendre compte de la manière dont les deux parties du mot se sont soudées l'une à l'autre. Plusieurs cas présentent des difficultés qui ont mis la sagacité des grammairiens à la torture.

Nous voulons essayer de légitimer ces anomalies. Évidemment, ce travail ne doit porter que sur les composés dont la forme semble se refuser aux explications traditionnelles. Le plus souvent en effet, les termes sanscrits où entre le mot पति ont été créés sur le modèle des autres composés, c'est-à-dire ou par simple juxtaposition des thèmes (*dvandvas*) ou au moyen d'une désinence casuelle affectant le premier membre et indiquant le rapport qui existe entre les deux parties constitutives (*tatpuruṣhas*).

Ainsi ont été formés : d'après la première méthode, जीवपति, दंपति ;¹ d'après la seconde वाचस्पति, दिवस्वति.

¹ Ce mot दंपति nous fournit l'occasion de réfuter une erreur assez grave commise autrefois par Haug qui rapprochait du sanscrit le zend *dēngpaiti*. Haug faisait de *dēng* une contraction de *damas*, génitif d'un mot supposé *dam* "maison" (comparez *domus* ?). Or c'est là de l'arbitraire le plus complet : il est impossible que *dēng* représente jamais *dam*. Du reste ce dernier mot est inventé par Haug. Enfin le sens de "maître de la maison" donné par Haug à *dēngpaiti* ne saurait convenir à la phrase du Yaçna (xliv. 11 vers. 4). Il n'y est pas du tout question de chef de famille, mais de sage, de docteur de la loi : en tout cas, la version pehlevie donne tort à Haug. L'explication de Justi offre aussi des difficultés. Il pense que *dēng* est pour *dān*, *dān*, accusatif pluriel d'un mot *dā*, qui ne se rencontre que dans l'expression *hudā* (sanskrit सुदा) "doué d'une bonne sagesse." Cette racine *dā* se retrouve dans le grec *δάω*, *δαῖναι*, *δέδαα*. Mais encore une fois l'interprétation de Justi se heurte au sens de la phrase dans laquelle entre le mot *dēngpaiti*. Nous croyons préférable de voir dans *dēng* l'accusatif *dām* de *dā* "sagesse," ou même *dān* signifiant "sagesse." Dans ce cas, *dēngpaiti* serait "le maître de la sagesse, le chef de la loi sainte." Nous sommes ainsi d'accord avec la version pehlevie qui rend *dēngpaiti* par docteur, prêtre, connaissant la religion. Quoiqu'il en soit, le mot *dēng* n'en est pas moins un terme fort obscur et notre explication n'est pas autre chose qu'une conjecture plus ou moins plausible.

Les formations de ce genre n'ont besoin d'aucun éclaircissement. Mais il n'en est pas de même pour les six composés suivants: जास्यति, मास्यति, वनस्यति, राधस्यति, ऋतस्यति, रथस्यति. Ces termes résistent aux interprétations générales.

Plusieurs savants linguistes ont déjà tenté l'interprétation de ces mots, toutefois en passant et d'une manière assez incomplète on même peu satisfaisante. Nous voulons aborder la question de front et soumettre à un examen spécial les termes que nous venons de citer.

§ 1. जास्यति, मास्यति.

Il nous paraît convenable de commencer pour ces deux mots et de ne pas les séparer dans cette recherche, parce que leur nature tout à fait similaire permettra de leur appliquer les mêmes principes de solution.

Un mot d'abord sur les éléments formatifs *gnā* et *jā*. Le premier est un terme védique usité surtout au pluriel et signifiant "femme divine, déesse." *Gnāspati*, c'est donc l' "époux d'une déesse." Quant à *jā*, il veut dire "descendant." *Jāspati* par conséquent, c'est le chef de la race.

Il s'agit maintenant d'expliquer les formes *gnās* et *jās* des deux composés.

On a émis l'opinion que dans *gnāspati* l's doit se prendre comme lettre intercalée et l'on affirmait que souvent dans le Véda les consonnes *p* ou *k* admettent devant elles l'une des sifflantes, dentale ou linguale, comme on le voit par les noms propres *Br̥haspati*, *Brahmaṇaspati*. Cependant dans l'exemple en question on reconnaissait une attraction plus forte que celle de ce genre de *Sandhi*, attraction qui aurait lié euphoni- quement la sifflante *s* au son labial du *p* suivant.

Cette première explication est de tout point insuffisante. En effet pour bien des cas où la raison d'euphonie supposée existe, on ne constate pas d'insertion de sifflante. N'a-t-on pas *aṣvapati*, *dāsapati*? Bien plus. Comment justifier *jāspati* par la nécessité de l'intercalation d'une sifflante alors que le composé *prajāpati* vient évidemment contredire cette prétendue nécessité? Quant aux exemples cités de *Br̥haspati*,

Brahmaṇaspati, ce sont des composés du genre *tatpurusha*, car *br̥has* et *brahmaṇas* sont respectivement les génitifs de *br̥h* et de *brahman*.

Grassmann voyait dans *jās* le nominatif de *jā* : aussi traduisait-il *jāspati* par la périphrase suivante “la maison et son chef.”¹

Mais les règles de la composition des mots en sanscrit s’opposent à cette manière de voir. En effet aucun composé n’admet les mots au nominatif. Ou bien deux mots unissent leurs thèmes et le second seul prend les désinences casuelles ; c’est le cas des composés *dvandvas* ; ou bien il y a un rapport entre les deux membres, rapport exprimé par une flexion du premier ; ce sont les composés *tatpurushas*.

Voilà pourquoi, il n’y a, quant aux formes *gnāspati* et *jāspati*, que deux interprétations possibles, vu la formation ordinaire des composés sanscrits. *Gnās*, *jās* sont des génitifs, ou bien ils sont respectivement les thèmes des mots *gnā* et *jā*.

Ces deux explications ont été enseignées. Dans son *Dictionnaire*, Monier Williams prétend que *gnās* est un génitif abrégé, “*a shortened genitive*.” Il est moins affirmatif quand il s’agit de *jās*, car il note son opinion d’un point d’interrogation.² Mais la plupart des auteurs, comme Pictet,³ Böhtlingk et Roth,⁴ Lanman,⁵ sont unanimes à voir dans *jās* le génitif de *jā*.

Il est certain qu’il manque seulement à *gnās* et *jās*, pour être réguliers, d’avoir l’a bref au lieu de l’ā long, car le génitif classique est *gnas*, *jas*. Peut-être les anomalies ou plutôt les divergences de la déclinaison védique suffisent-elles à rendre compte de ce léger écart ?

L’école philologique contemporaine voit dans les formes *gnās* et *jās* la racine des mots *gnā* et *jā*. “Si l’on a égard, dit Johann Schmidt, à ce qu’enseigne Brugman de l’origine des formes comme *ushām* et *ushās* qu’il croit issues de **ushās-m*, **ushas-ns*, et de l’existence d’un thème *ushā*, on ne peut con-

¹ *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, p. 485.

² *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, sub verbo.

³ *Les Aryas primitifs*, t. iii. p. 381, 2nd. éd.

⁴ *Dictionnaire de St.-Petersbourg*, sub verbo *jāspati*.

⁵ *On Noun-Inflection in the Veda*, p. 448.

venablement douter que la racine du mot *jās* soit *jās* et non *jā*, qu'elle a gardé la sifflante dans les composés primitifs où celle-ci était protégée par *p*, mais l'a perdue régulièrement devant *m* et *ns*, et par suite *jās* a été assimilé par analogie aux thèmes en *ā* dont il se rapprochait du reste par le genre."¹

L'hypothèse d'une racine *jās* se fortifie encore du fait de l'existence du génitif *prajasas*, comme l'indique du reste le Dr. Schmidt ; mais il aurait pu faire remarquer encore que la langue sanscrite possède plusieurs autres racines monosyllabiques en *ās* ; telles sont *bhās* "lumière," qui a fourni le composé *bhāspati*, similaire de *jāspati* ; *kās*, "toux" ; *mās* "lune" ;² *çās* "chantre." Pour ces raisons nous pensons devoir nous rallier à l'explication du Dr. Schmidt, quant à *jāspati*.

Mais faut-il en dire autant de *gnās* ? Telle n'est pas notre conviction, car la solution précédente ne nous paraît pas présenter un caractère d'universalité suffisante pour pouvoir être appliquée à d'autres cas. C'est sans contredit la forme *prajasas*, qui constitue à nos yeux la preuve la plus solide de l'existence d'un thème *jās*.

Pour *gnās*, nous ne possédons pas cette preuve. Il est donc nécessaire de recourir à une autre interprétation.

Monier Williams nous paraît être dans le vrai en disant que *gnās* est un vrai génitif, mais il n'a pas démontré cette assertion. Essayons de fournir cette démonstration.

Grassmann, dans son *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*,³ fait une remarque très juste et qui nous semble ouvrir la voie à une solution satisfaisante. "Les formes *gnās*, *gnām*, dit-il, ainsi que *gnās* dans *gnāspati* doivent être prononcées plutôt en deux émissions de voix, comme *ganās*, *ganām*." Et conséquemment à cette observation, il met entre parenthèse, comme moins correcte, la forme *gnāspati* pour donner *ganāspati*. Pourtant ce dernier mot ne se rencontre pas dans le Rig-Véda ; il est créé par l'auteur. Lanman se rallie à cette explica-

¹ *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, B. xxv. 1 heft, p. 15.

² Lanman dit que *mās* de *mā* pourrait être le vestige d'une ancienne forme de participe. *On Noun-Inflection*, p. 492.

³ P. 415.

tion. “ Le prétendu génitif *g(a)nās* de *gnās-pati* a les mêmes anomalies que *jās*.”

A notre sens donc, *ganaspati* était l'exacte physionomie du mot et nous faisons de *ganas* le génitif de *ganā* que nous croyons être la forme primitive de *gna*. On ne remarque pas sans un certain étonnement que presque tous les idiomes congénères attestent l'existence d'une forme analogue à *ganā*. Le zend a *ghena*, contracté plus tard en *ghnā*; en vieux-prussien on trouve *ganna*, en slovène *shena* devenu *zona* pour le polonais. En gothique, il y a *qinō*; dans l'ancien haut-allemand *chēna*, *chona* et enfin le grec fournit *γυνή*, en dorien *γανά*, ce qui nous ramène à la forme primitive.

§ 2. वनस्यति, रथस्यति, राधस्यति.

Comme on sait, le mot **वनस्यति** signifie “ le maître de la forêt,” c'est-à-dire la plante par excellence. Le fameux dieu Sôma est invoqué sous ce nom à cause de son emploi comme plante sacrée dans les cérémonies du culte.

A première vue, on ne conçoit pas trop le mode de formation de ce composé puisque le sanscrit emploie le mot *vana* pour désigner la forêt. Il faudrait régulièrement *vanapati*.

M. Regnaud a éludé la difficulté qui se rencontre dans les termes que nous étudions en ce moment. Il suppose que *vanaspati* est composé de *vana* et de *spati*, forme primitive de *pati*. Pour lui cette hypothèse se fortifie du parallélisme que nous aurions en grec dans *πο* de *πόσις* et *σπο* de *δε-σπότης*, mais le latin *sponte* rend surtout cette conjecture plausible à ses yeux.¹

Nous pensons que le fait très fréquent de *s* initiale dans un groupe de consonnes ne trouve pas d'application ici. En tout cas le grec *δεσπότης* et le latin *sponte* ne sauraient suffire pour attester l'existence d'une forme sanscrite *spati*. Car *δεσπότης* est apparenté au sanscrit *dâsapati*, et le latin *sponte* appartient à une série thématique dans laquelle n'entre pas

¹ Remarques sur l'étymologie et le sens primitif du mot $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, dans les ANNALES DE LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE LYON, 1ère année, p. 54 du fasc. 3.

pati. Il n'est donc pas possible de se rallier à l'hypothèse de M. Regnaud, que du reste Corssen semble avoir devancé lorsqu'il décompose le mot sanscrit *vāstospati* de la manière suivante *vāsto-spati*.¹ C'est là une erreur profonde. *Vāstospati* est en effet composé de *vāstos*, génitif de *vāstu*, et de *pati*.

Pour revenir à *vanaspati*, la difficulté d'expliquer *vanas*, alors que la forme classique est *vana*, n'est qu'apparente, puisque, nous allons le démontrer, *vanas* peut être considéré ou comme un génitif ou comme une racine.

Il peut être le génitif d'un mot *van* réellement existant d'ailleurs dans la langue et dont on retrouve des traces au locatif et au génitif pluriel dans le Rig-Véda où nous lisons शिनो न वंसु² et गर्भो वनाम्.³ Nous voilà donc suffisamment autorisé à voir dans *vanaspati* la trace d'un génitif.

D'autre part rien ne s'oppose non plus à ce que nous voyions dans *vanas* une forme thématique. En effet en présence des composés *vanargu*, *vanarshad* on doit admettre un thème *vanar*. Dès lors on est amené à la possibilité d'un composé *vanarpati*⁴ devenu *vanaspati* par le phénomène connu de la liquide changée en sifflante. Mais il y a bien mieux, puisqu'à côté de *vanar*, nous avons aussi *vanas* qui donne directement *vanaspati*.

Nous admettons plutôt la seconde hypothèse, bien que la première soit irréprochable, parce que la seconde s'applique mieux aux composés suivants.

Il y a pour l'explication de *rathaspati* les mêmes difficultés que pour *vanaspati*, car la thème est *ratha*, "char."

Quoiqu'en disent Monier Williams⁵ et Böhtlingk,⁶ il ne faut pas songer à faire de *rathas* un génitif. Le premier de ces auteurs renvoie à *vanaspati* : le cas est bien différent puisqu'à côté de *vana* nous avons trouvé *van* et *vanas*.

Mais *rathas* ne serait-il pas le thème primitif de *ratha* ou du moins un thème coexistant avec lui? On trouve, ce

¹ *Aussprache*, t. i. p. 580.

² ix, 573.

³ lxxxvi, 35.

⁴ Comparez *aharpati*.

⁵ *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 831.

⁶ *Dictionnaire de St.-Petersbourg*, s. verbo *rathaspati*.

nous semble, la trace d'une telle racine dans celle du verbe *rathar-yati* qui accuse nettement une forme *rathar*. Et puis les mots *πέθος* en grec, *lithus* en gothique et *ratas* en lithuanien n'appuient-ils point la conjecture d'une forme archaïque *rathas* ou *rathar*? Le parallélisme de **vanarpati* a bien aussi sa valeur.

C'est encore de la même manière qu'il faut expliquer *rādhaspati*, car à côté de *rādha*, nous trouvons *rādhas*, comme *vanas* à côté de *vana*. Et ce fait constitue une probabilité de plus pour l'existence de *rathas* parallèlement avec *ratha*.

§ 3. ऋतस्यति.

Force nous est d'avouer ici notre impuissance. Ce terme résiste à toute explication, car *ṛtas* n'est pas un génitif et on ne retrouve aucun vestige d'un thème *ṛtas*.

Grassmann dit bien que *ṛtaspati* est une contraction de *ṛtasyapati*, mais cette explication est peu satisfaisante.

Pour nous, nous ne trouvons pas d'autre interprétation que celle de l'analogie. Mais il restera toujours à justifier pourquoi *ṛtaspati* s'est formé par analogie de *vanaspati*, *rathaspati*, etc., plutôt que sur le modèle de *jīrapati*, *aṣṛapati*, etc.

ART. XXII.—*Some Remarks on the Life and Labours of Alexander Csoma de Körös, delivered on the occasion when his Tibetan Books and MSS. were exhibited before the Royal Asiatic Society on the 16th June, 1884.* By Surgeon-Major THEODORE DUKA, M.D., F.R.C.S., late of the Bengal Army.

“THE dry old stick,” as we heard at our last meeting, here affectionately designated that great Orientalist, Horace Hayman Wilson, knew Alexander Csoma de Körös well, and was in frequent correspondence with this Tibetan scholar, when the latter was pursuing his studies at the Buddhist monasteries in Zanskar, particularly at Pukhtar, and afterwards at Kanum in Upper Besarh.

After Dr. Wilson’s return to England in 1833, and when he had become Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, there appeared in the first volume of the Society’s Journal, edited under his care, a biographical sketch of the early life and labours of Csoma, which account, even at the present day, is read with much interest by those who devote their attention to Oriental literature.

This sketch, however, is manifestly incomplete, because Dr. Archibald Campbell, referring to it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1843, at page 823, part ii., made the following remark :

“The number of the Royal Asiatic Society’s Journal containing the sketch, with the author’s manuscript *corrections*, is now in my possession, the corrections having been made by the subject of it before his death.”

This corrected copy of the Royal Asiatic Society’s Journal, alluded to by Dr. Campbell, is, I regret to say, not available ; but I have a copy of the original document written by Csoma, from which that sketch was compiled,

and this will be found, with many other as yet unpublished papers, in the Biography, which the late Mr. Trübner decided to publish in his Oriental Series.

I have neither time at my command, nor is it my intention to trespass now upon your indulgence, which I should be compelled to do, were I to bring forward all the necessary details, which would throw a sufficient light upon the works of that indefatigable student and successful labourer in the field of a real "terra incognita," as he used to call it. I wish merely to state at present, that the following words, written by Archibald Campbell, in December, 1843, hold good still:

"Since the death of de Körös, I have not ceased to hope that some member of the Society (of Bengal) would furnish a connected account of his career in the East. It is now more than a year and a half since we lost him, yet we are without any such record to show, that his labours were valuable to the literary association he so earnestly studied to assist, in its most important objects, as well as to show that his labours have been duly appreciated."

No surprise will therefore be felt that in the absence of a biography based upon trustworthy records, little is known of Csoma to this day. Extraordinary theories have been propounded regarding the real intentions and objects he had in view; his own countrymen especially, I might say, knew least of him, and were led to conceive opinions which, I believe, can be traced originally to some mistaken or misunderstood data of Baron Charles Hügel. This Austrian nobleman visited Cashmir in 1835. Among other things it was said, that after studying Tibetan "for nine years," Csoma "at last" discovered, to his "great vexation," that the language of Tibet was only an inferior dialect of the Sanskrit, or as Hügel puts it: "nur eine untergeordnete Sprache." These and similar opinions have repeatedly been propounded, and the strange conclusion come to, that Csoma was the victim of philological speculations, and spent his life-long labours in vain.

This is very plainly expressed in an interesting work recently published by Messrs. Trübner, I mean Ralston's Tibetan Tales.

But surmises, as I venture to call them, like the above, can hardly be allowed to stand in connection with Csoma's fame as a traveller and a man of scientific philology. In the preface to Ralston's book we meet with certain statements, philological, historical, and geographical, which on close examination will, without doubt, be pronounced mistakes; and although these cannot be detailed here now, yet it seems quite appropriate that, as the Royal Asiatic Society was the first scientific body in Europe which did the honour to Csoma of noticing his early career, any further remarks on the same subject, though almost half a century later, should, with your permission, be made before this Society.

When, a good many years ago, I landed in Calcutta, with an appointment from the East India Company, as Assistant-Surgeon in the Bengal Medical Service, I endeavoured to collect all the details I could regarding my learned countryman's career in the East; Mr. Arthur Grote, then President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Babu Rajendralála Mitra; the late Dr. Roër and others kindly rendered every assistance in my pursuit. So much was positively known, that Csoma started from Nagy-Enyed, in Transylvania, towards the end of 1819, travelled overland, often on foot, through Wallachia, Bulgaria, afterwards visited the island of Cyprus, and then Egypt. From the shores of Syria, his journey led through Bághdád, from Latakia to Aleppo, Mosul, Persia, Bokhara, Kulm, across the Bamian pass into Afghanistan. He arrived at Cabul on the 6th of January, 1822. And it was said that Csoma toiled through all this distance, through the parching plains of Central Asia and the snowy mountains of the Hindu Kush and the Himalas, simply in the endeavour of realizing a fanciful idea, namely, that of finding in Asia a nation speaking a dialect akin to his own Magyar tongue.

This was attributed to him particularly by some of his countrymen, and we find that the same happened recently in the case of Count Béla Széchényi when travelling in China; but I need hardly say that Csoma nowhere gave utterance to this chimera. What we find, however, as being the object of his researches, is comprised in these few words of his, taken

from the Preface to the Tibetan Dictionary, where he says that "he had not been sent by any government to gather political information, neither can he be accounted of the number of those wealthy European gentlemen who travel at their own expense for pleasure or curiosity; but rather that he was only a *poor student*, very desirous to see the different countries of Asia, the scene of so many memorable transactions of former ages, to observe the manners of several nations and to learn their languages. And such a man was he who, during his peregrinations, depended for his subsistence on the benevolence of others." Csoma gratefully acknowledges in that Preface his deep obligations to the British Indian Government, and he mentions by name all those English gentlemen who showed him any kindness on his arduous journey, and publicly expresses respectful thanks to all, for favours conferred upon him.

From Cabul, Csoma travelled through Peshawar, Lahore, Umritsir and Jamú to Kashmir, thence to Leh, towards Yarkand, intending to penetrate into Mongolia by way of North China; but in this endeavour he was prevented.

On his return journey from Leh towards Srinaggur, he met, accidentally, with William Moorcroft, in the valley of Dras. The two travellers spent five months and six days together, during which, Moorcroft put into Csoma's hands the *Alphabetum Tibetanum* of Giorgii, and the Hungarian, having found by this means, a vast, yet uncultivated field of Oriental learning, was induced to devote himself to the study of the Tibetan language, and signed an agreement with Moorcroft, by the terms of which, Csoma bound himself to prepare a Dictionary and a Grammar for the Government, and to this task he devoted the best years of his life.

The details of Csoma's prolonged studies at the various Buddhist monasteries, we shall pass over at present; it will be sufficient to mention here that when, in April, 1831, Csoma arrived in Calcutta, to arrange the result of his labours, much valuable assistance was rendered to him by Horace Hayman Wilson, and after Wilson's departure for Europe by James Prinsep, who, as numerous as yet un-

published documents testify, was a most appreciative and sympathizing friend of Csoma.

After Prinsep's death Dr. Malan, Professor in Bishop's College, Calcutta, and afterwards Mr. Henry Torrens, succeeded to the office of Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Both these names are intimately connected with Csoma's life history.

On his way to Lassa, for the purpose of obtaining access to the Libraries of the Dalai Lama, he died at Darjiling of Terai fever, on the 11th day of April, 1842; having just completed the 58th year of his age. He bequeathed his all to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the substantial tombstone in the Darjiling Cemetery bears an epitaph breathing the spirit of so much affectionate appreciation of Csoma's labours, an appreciation which Englishmen never grudge to bestow on real merit, be the subject of it a countryman or a foreigner.

This is the text of the epitaph, which can be so well read on the photograph of the tomb :

H. I.

Alexander Csoma de Körösi ¹
 a native of Hungary
 who to follow out philological researches
 resorted to the East
 and after years passed under
 privations such as have been seldom endured
 and patient labour in the cause of Science
 compiled a Dictionary and Grammar
 of the Tibetan Language
 His best and real Monuments
 On his way to H'Lassa
 to resume his labours
 he died at this place
 on the 11th April 1842
 aged 44 years ²

His fellow labourers the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 inscribe this Tablet to his Memory

Requiescat in Pace.

¹ This should be de Körös, without terminal *i*.

² Csoma was 58 years old at the time of his death.

Nine years after I had left Darjiling, where at one time I was stationed as Civil Surgeon in medical charge of the Sanatorium, I visited Csoma's tomb in February of last year, and to my great surprise found the old structure gone, an entirely new one having been put in its place.

The cemetery of Darjiling occupies part of the eastern slope of the ridge on the way to Takvár, looking towards Nepál. The Buddhist monastery, with its large prayer wheel, mentioned by Prof. Monier Williams at our last meeting, is in the Bhotia-busti on the western side of the slope leading towards the Lebong spur.

During the heavy rains, two years previous, a landslip occurred, in consequence of which several tombstones suffered damage. The late Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, Sir Ashley Eden, ordered the necessary repairs to be done; and I likewise learnt at Darjiling, from the officers of the Public Works Department, that Csoma's grave had been placed by the authorities on the list of *those public monuments*, which are for ever to remain under the care of the officers of Government.

Another act of English generosity towards the Hungarian, more than forty years after his death!

In Calcutta, through the courtesy of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the Government Secretary, especially of Mr. Durand, assisted by my friend Dr. George King, I was able to secure very valuable data, which at last rendered the completion of Csoma's biography possible. The Royal Academy of Sciences of Hungary testified an especial interest in the work. Apart from Csoma's own original letters, there are those of Mr. Moorcroft, Capt. Kennedy, Dr. Wilson, Mr. McNaughten, Mr. James Prinsep, Dr. Gerard, Dr. Malan, a correspondence with Mr. Brian H. Hodgson, Prince Essterházy, and others. All of which will be found in detail, in the Biography.

I feel that I owe apologies to the Society, after the long communication they have listened to already, for detaining you so long. But I venture to ask for a few moments more of your indulgence, to enable me to exhibit the valuable gift,

which, in the eyes of Csoma's countrymen, is priceless. This gift, which you see before you, was made by the Reverend Solomon Cæsar Malan, D.D., Oxford, Rector of Broadwindsor, Dorset, who, as we read in the papers, made the munificent donation to Oxford of his entire Oriental Library, consisting of 2000 volumes. Dr. Malan's gift of Csoma's Tibetan Books and Manuscripts, collected by him in the Buddhist Monasteries of Tibet, will, in the future, be treasured up in the Library of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences at Budapest. These books are the original foundations on which the Tibetan Dictionary and Grammar were based. They consist of

- 24 Prints
- 13 MSS. in capital (*d'vuchan*)
- 3 MSS. in small (*d'rumed*) characters

—
altogether 40 Pieces.

In conclusion, I shall add a few lines by way of extracts from Dr. Malan's letters, with which I was favoured on this subject; they throw a most pleasing light on the character of the Tibetan scholar, and on the feelings, full of sympathy, with which he was regarded by the writer of them.

Dr. Malan writes :

"April 5, 1884.—I am about disposing of my library, and I feel sorry to scatter about Csoma's Tibetan Books and Manuscripts, which he gave me in 1839, and which I have used and kept ever since for his sake. But it strikes me that Budapest would be the proper home for these treasures. There are some thirty volumes, and if you think they would be acceptable, and you would undertake to forward them, I will send them to you."

"In looking over them, they remind me of him. There was something so kind, so simple, and winning about his manner. But my impression was that he was not duly appreciated."

"April 17.—I shall be delighted to receive a copy of Csoma's life.

"If by Philology they mean the system now in vogue of

making languages, *one* language out of two or three, or *two* or three languages out of one; then Csoma was no 'philologist,' neither am I, assuredly. But he was far better than that. He was devoted to his one object, was master of several languages, and, over and above all, he has and shall have to the end the honour and credit of being the founder of Tibetan studies in Europe. He did not scrutinize the intricacies of hypotheses; he had too much sense for that. But he laid the foundation, and others only built upon it.

"The books leave this to-morrow. It has cost me 'a little' to say good-bye to them. But I feel that they ought to rest in your University, where I trust they will be taken care of and valued for dear Csoma's sake."

The catalogue is appended :—

TIBETAN BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

of the late ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KÖRÖS.

Presented to the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences at Budapest by the
Rev. S. C. MALAN, D.D., Vicar of Broadwindsor, Dorset.

| Current No. | Designation. | Title. | Remarks. |
|-------------|--------------|---|-------------|
| I. | Print | Esoteric Buddhism | 354 leaves. |
| II. | Print | Catechism of Buddhism | 57 " |
| III. | Print | Introduction to Religion | 81 " |
| IV. | Print | Elements of Religion | 61 " |
| V. | Print | Exoteric Philosophy..... | 181 " |
| VI. | Print | Ditto | 50 " |
| VII. | Print | Epochs of Buddhism..... | 31 " |
| VIII. | Print | Ditto larger | 59 " |
| IX. | MS. small | Cycles | 48 " |
| X. | MS. capital | Mode of Reckoning Years | 18 " |
| XI. | Print | Cycles | 42 " |
| XII. | Print | Lamp of Buddha's Way | 6 " |
| XIII. | MS. capital | On Emancipation | 11 " |
| XIV. | Print | Devotional..... | 23 " |
| XV. | Print | How to Read Sanskrit in Tibetan | 15 " |
| XVI. | MS. capital | Byakarana..... | 5 " |
| XVII. | Print | Tibetan Grammar | 27 " |
| XVIII. | Print | Commentary on Byakarana | 65 " |
| XIX. | Print | Ditto | 30 " |
| XX. | Print | Mirror of Piety..... | 122 " |
| XXI. | MS. capital | Explanation of Tibetan Words | 12 " |
| XXII. | MS. small | A Fragment | 3 " |
| XXIII. | Print | On Penitence of Nuns | 8 " |
| XXIV. | Print | Questions and Answers on Various Subjects | 13 " |
| XXV. | Print | Religious Treatise | 10 " |
| XXVI. | Print | Ditto | 20 " |
| XXVII. | MS. capital | Philosophical. Dialectic..... | 42 " |
| XXVIII. | MS. capital | Philosophical | 44 " |
| XXIX. | MS. capital | Ditto, a Fragment | 13 " |
| XXX. | Print | Introduction to Buddhism | 190 " |
| XXXI. | Print | Technical Terms of Religion | 10 " |
| XXXII. | Print | Names of Siva, Gotama, etc. | 29 " |
| XXXIII. | Print | Names and Praises of Manjusri | 10 " |
| XXXIV. | MS. small | Hundred Actions of Sakya | 197 " |
| XXXV. | MS. capital | On Emancipation, on After State | 28 " |
| XXXVI. | MS. capital | Arithmetic | 17 " |
| XXXVII. | MS. capital | Medical Treatise | 28 " |
| XXXVIII. | MS. capital | Theological Treatise, No. 1 | 29 " |
| XXXIX. | MS. capital | Ditto No. 2 | 30 " |
| XL. | MS. capital | Ditto No. 3 | 29 " |

Prints..... 24
 Manuscripts (capital letters) 14 d'vuchan.
 „ (small ditto)..... 3 d'vumed.

—
 Altogether 40 pieces.

ART. XXIII.—*Arab Metrology. V. Ez-Zahrâwy.* Translated and Annotated by M. H. SAUVAIRE, M.R.A.S., de l'Académie de Marseille.

(Bibliothèque nationale de Madrid, MS. arabe, Gg. 57.)¹

TRAITÉ SUR LES POIDS ET MESURES PAR EZ-ZAHRÂWY.

CINQUIÈME partie du *Livre contenant les vertus des aliments et des remèdes* par le cheikh éminent Diâ ed-dîn 'Abd Allah

¹ Le MS. de la Bibliothèque nationale de Madrid est d'une très belle écriture égyptienne des premières années du XVI^e siècle de notre ère. La copie en a été achevée le 4 du mois de *Chawwâl* de l'année 914 de l'hégire, par 'Aly ebn Byghout el Achrafy. C'est, paraît-il, le seul exemplaire des *Simples* d'Ebn el baytar qui contienne un chapitre sur les *Poids et mesures*, emprunté d'ailleurs au *Kétâb et-tasrif* d'Ez-Zahrâwy.

M. le Dr. Leclerc, dans son *Traité de la médecine arabe*, signale l'existence à la Bibliothèque Bodléienne, sous les Nos. 414 et 415, de l'ouvrage entier du célèbre médecin d'Ez-Zahrâ. Mais le savant orientaliste russe M. W. Tiesenhausen, qui a bien voulu collationner, à ma demande, le chapitre dont je donne ici la traduction, m'a informé que cette bibliothèque possède seulement quelques fragments de l'ouvrage d'Ez-Zahrâwy, dont il est fait mention dans le Catalogue imprimé, vol. i. pp. 134, 145, 288, Nos. 561, 634 et 92, et vol. ii. p. 165, No. 182, et que les Nos. 414 et 415 ne contiennent pas cet ouvrage.

Le fragment du MS. No. 92, sur lequel a été collationnée ma copie, se compose de cinq feuilles in 4°, copiées par une main européenne, sans indication de la bibliothèque où se trouve l'original.—Les variantes les plus intéressantes seront signalées dans ces notes et précédées des lettres BB.

On ne trouve à la Bibliothèque de Madrid que le premier volume de l'ouvrage d'Ez-Zahrâwy. Il a été copié à Tolède en l'an 1265 de l'ère espagnole (1237 de J.C.). On y lit au commencement: "Premier tome (*sefr*) du *Livre de l'explication pour qui ne peut composer*, sur la médecine, ouvrage que s'est efforcé de réunir Abou'l Qâsem Khalaf ebn 'Abbâs ez-Zahrâwy, que Dieu lui fasse miséricorde! Dans ce tome sont contenues la première dissertation (*maqâlah*) et une partie de la seconde" L'auteur dit dans sa préface qu'il a divisé son livre en trente dissertations, dont il énumère les titres. La XXX^e est intitulée: *Sur la dénomination des drogues, leurs synonymies, leurs succédanés, les mesures et les poids.*

Hadji Khalîfah fait ainsi mention du *Tasrif* (t. ii. p. 302 de l'édition Flügel): "التصريف لمن عجز عن التأليف", sur la médecine, un volume, par le Cheikh Abou'l Qâsem Khalaf ebn 'Abbâs l'Audalasy, le Zahrâwy, mort après l'année 400. L'auteur a divisé son ouvrage en trente dissertations qui traitent, la plupart, des médicaments composés, suivant la méthode des *Keunnâcheh* (pharmacopées). C'est un livre d'une grande utilité."

Le texte arabe qui traite des poids et mesures commence, dans le MS. Gg. 57, au r^o du 16^{me} avant-dernier feuillet. Il comprend six feuillets; je les numérotai de 1 à 6.

ebn Ahmad ebn Mohammad, le botaniste, de Malaga, connu sous le nom d'Ebn el baytar.¹

(fol. 1^o.) Or donc, commençons maintenant à mentionner les mesures de capacité et les poids qu'on rencontre dans les ouvrages de médecine, avec leurs diverses acceptions et dans l'ordre alphabétique. Cette mention se trouve dans le *Kétâb et-tasrîf* d' Ez-Zahrâwy. Nous dirons donc :

Au nom de Dieu clément, miséricordieux ! Abou'l Qâsem ez-Zahrâwy² a dit dans son *Kétâb et-tasrîf* (au

¹ On peut consulter sur Ebn el beytar (Diâ ed-dîn Abou Mohammad 'Abd Allah ebn Ahmad) Casiri, t. i. p. 275 et suiv., où l'on trouve les biographies de cet illustre médecin, empruntées à Abou'l féda et à Léon l'Africain ; d'Herbelot, p. 183, et surtout le Dr. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, t. ii. p. 225 et suiv.

Ebn el beytar *en-nabâty* (le botaniste) naquit à Malaga dans les dernières années du XII^e siècle de notre ère. Dès l'âge de 22 ou 23 ans, il quitta l'Espagne et parcourut une partie du Maroc et la côte septentrionale de l'Afrique jusqu'à Barqah. Il voyagea en Asie-Mineure et arriva en Egypte où régnait El Malek el Kâmel, l'ayyoubite. Ce prince le prit à son service et le nomma chef des herboristes et des médecins du Caire. A sa mort, Ebu el beytar passa au service d'El 'Adel II, puis d'Es-Sâleh Nadjm ed-dîn Ayyoub, qui avait enlevé la Syrie à son frère. Il mourut en 646 (1248 de J.C.).

Ebn el beytar a composé un grand nombre d'ouvrages ; le plus important est celui qui a pour titre *Djâmé' el mofrédût* "Collection des Simples." C'est, suivant les expressions de M. le Dr. Leclerc qui, sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, en aura sous peu achevé la traduction, le plus sérieux, le plus complet et de beaucoup le plus étendu que les Arabes nous aient laissé sur la matière médicale.

Quant au traité des poids et mesures qu'on lui attribue, le lecteur va voir qu'il appartient incontestablement à Ez-Zahrâwy. J'ajouterai que c'est le plus ancien monument arabe de ce genre que nous possédions.

² Abou'l Qâsem Khalaf ebn 'Abbâs Ez-Zahrâwy naquit à Ez-Zahrâ, localité voisine de Cordoue et fondée par 'Abd er-Rahman III en l'année 936 de notre ère. "C'était, dit Ebn Abî Osayb'ah, un médecin distingué, profondément versé dans la botanique et l'histoire naturelle. Parmi les nombreux ouvrages qu'il composa sur les sciences se rattachant à sa profession, le plus estimé est celui généralement connu sous le titre de *Kétâb ez-Zahrâwy*." C'est le même médecin Arabe si connu durant le moyen âge sous les noms d'Abucasis, Bucacis Galaf, Azaragi, etc., et dont les ouvrages furent traduits en latin. On lit dans la *Selâh* d'Ebn Bachkouâl, que le savant professeur Espagnol M. Codera y Zaidin édite si élégamment, p. 166 : "Khalaf ebn 'Abbâs ez-Zahrâwy, dont le *keunyah* est Abou'l Qâsem, a été mentionné par El Homaydy, qui a dit : C'était un homme éminent, religieux et savant ; la science dans laquelle il se plaça au premier rang est la médecine. Il composa sur cette matière un grand ouvrage célèbre, très utile, dont les superfluités ont été retranchées et qu'il intitula *Kétâb et-tasrîf léman 'adjaz 'an et-talîf* ; Mohammad ebn Hazm en a fait mention avec éloge. "Certes, a-t-il dit, si nous avançons qu'il n'a rien été composé en médecine de plus complet pour la théorie et la pratique sur les tempéraments, nous serions vrai." Il mourut dans l'Andalos (c'est-à-dire dans la capitale ou Cordoue) après les 400. Ebn Somayq l'a cité parmi ses maîtres."

L'erreur commise par Casiri, qui fait mourir Ez-Zahrâwy en l'année 500, a déjà été relevée plus d'une fois. M. Leclerc, dans la savante notice qu'il consacre à ce grand médecin (*Hist. de la Méd. ar.* i. p. 437 et suiv.), regarde comme peu éloignée de la vérité la date de 404 de l'hégire (1013 de J.C.) donnée par Léon l'Africain comme étant celle de sa mort.

chapitre consacré à l'explication des mesures de capacité et des poids qu'on rencontre dans les ouvrages de médecine, suivant leurs différents noms et par ordre alphabétique :

Il faut savoir que pour les choses liquides, fondantes, les mesures et les poids varient avec leur pesanteur ; en d'autres termes, la différence entre l'huile, le vin et le miel est très grande. En effet, le miel a un poids supérieur à celui du vin d'une quantité égale aux deux tiers de celui-ci.¹ Le miel pèse une fois² de plus autant que l'huile ou un petit peu moins, suivant les différentes qualités de miel. Le vin est plus lourd que l'huile : cet excédent est égal au neuvième du poids de ce dernier liquide.³ Le vin, le vinaigre et l'eau ont la même pesanteur ou à peu près, selon leurs variétés. Il en est de même des matières huileuses (*adhân*) et des corps gras (*samm*). Exemple : D'après ce que les anciens ont mentionné, soixante-douze ratls d'huile sont la contenance de la jarre d'Antioche ; il faut pour obtenir le même résultat un poids de vin de quatre-vingts ratls et, en miel, cent trente-six ratls⁴ ou un peu plus, suivant la différence de qualité du miel, d'après ce qui vient d'être dit.⁵

Conformément à l'analogie, le *rob'*, qui est chez nous une mesure contenant en blé ou autres grains dix *meudd* et demi, au *meudd* du Prophète, (fol. 1^e), que Dieu le bénisse et le salue ! sera plein avec seize ratls d'huile de douze

¹ Eliyâ dit $\frac{3\frac{1}{2}}{10}$; c'est aussi, comme on va le voir, la proportion donnée par Galien et Dioscoride.

² La moitié seulement d'après le Métropolitain de Nésibe, d'accord avec les deux auteurs précités.

³ Eliyâ et Êz-Zahrâwy indiquent le même rapport entre l'huile et le vin.

⁴ D'après le principe que l'auteur vient de poser, il faudrait, au lieu de 136 ratls, $133\frac{1}{3}$ ($=80 + \frac{2 \times 80}{3}$) ou 144 ($=72 \times 2$). Suivant la proportion fournie par les chiffres qu'il donne plus loin, on aurait $16:30::72:x=135$.

⁵ La jarre d'Antioche paraît avoir la même contenance que l'*ampore italique*, ou le double de l'*urna*. On lit dans les appendices aux Œuvres de Galien (Ed. de Venise, 1550), t. iv. p. 275, *Amphora italica habet (olei) libras 72; (vini) libras 80; (mellis) libras 108 (De mens. humid.)*.—Do. p. 277.—*Amphora habet libras 80 (Diosc., De mens. humid.)*, vini, p. 277.—*Idem est pondus aquæ et acetii. Aiunt autem, si aqua pluviali vas repleatur, minime fallax, sed justissimum pondus esse. Amphora habet libras 72. (Diosc., aquæ)*, p. 277.—*Amphora (mellis) habet libras 108 (alias 120) (Diosc., mellis)* p. 277. *Urna libras 40 (Diosc., De mens. humid., vini)*, p. 277.—*Urna habet libras 36 (Diosc., aquæ)* p. 277.—*Urna (mellis) habet libras 54 (alias 60) (Diosc., mellis)*, p. 277.

onces chacun et l'once de huit metqâls.¹ Il faudra pour avoir son plein de vin dix-huit ratls² et, de miel, trente ratls,³ un peu moins ou un peu plus.

Lettre *Alef* ١.

Estâr استار, *stater*—une copie porte *estârah*.—C'est (le poids de) six derhams et deux dâneqs,⁴ ou, dit-on, (de) quatre metqâls, ou, dit-on encore, (de) six derhams et deux tiers de derham, ou, suivant quelques-uns, (de) quatre metqâls et demi;⁵ d'après d'autres, (il est de) quatre derhams *kayl* et, suivant d'autres encore, (de) six derhams *kayl* et deux cinquièmes de derham.⁶ Mais ce surquoi les plus habiles et

¹ Ce ratl se compose par conséquent de 96 metqâls.—On verra dans la suite qu'Éz-Zahrâwy donne le nom de metqâl à la *darakhmy*. Il s'agirait donc ici du ratl du Roûm de 317gr., 808. On aura pour la jarre d'huile d'Antioche, pleine d'huile, $72 \times 317,808 = 22k. 882,176$ et pour celle pleine de vin 25k. 424,640. Ces chiffres correspondent au *madâmioun* de Casiri, No. 839 (Escorial 844). Cf. ci-après p. 10, note 6, p. 505, note 9, et p. 506, note 1.

² Les nombres 16 pour l'huile et 18 pour le vin ne sont pas en rapport. Si l'on conserve le premier, il faudra $17\frac{2}{3}$ seulement; si le chiffre 18 est le bon, on aura pour l'huile 16,2 ratls. El Moqaddasy, géographe du IV^e siècle de l'hégire, attribue également 18 ratls au *rob'* de l'Andalos, mais sans nous dire de quel ratl il entend parler ni s'il s'agit de vin. Avec le ratl du Roûm de 96 *darakhmy*, on aurait pour le *rob'* de 18 ratls, 5k. 720,544, et corollairement, pour le meudd du Prophète, plein de vin ou d'eau, 544gr., 813 $\frac{2}{3}$. Cette évaluation ne diffère pas sensiblement de celle qui nous est donnée par le plus grand nombre d'auteurs musulmans: 529gr., 68 ou 535,5653 $\frac{1}{3}$.—Mâr Eliyâ nous apprend que le ratl du Maghreb se composait de 96 *metqâls*, égaux à 137 $\frac{1}{2}$ derhams = 423gr., 744. En adoptant cette valeur pour le ratl, on aurait alors: jarre d'Antioche, pleine d'huile, = 30k. 509,568 et la même, pleine de vin, = 33k. 899,520.

Rob' de l'Andalos, plein de vin, = 7k. 627,392; meudd du Prophète, plein de vin = 726gr., 418.

³ La différence est ici de 2 ratls, car $18 + \frac{18 \times 2}{3} = 30$ et $16 \times 2 = 32$. Mais il faut tenir compte de la réserve faite par l'auteur et, en effet, le rapport entre l'huile et le miel ne saurait être constant, à cause des diverses qualités de ce dernier produit.

⁴ Le derham se composant de 6 dâneqs, l'estâr serait de 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams; telle est une des évaluations données par la *Madjmou'ah fi'l hésâb*, Escorial 844, El 'Antary et Jean fils de Sérapion. Mohammad ebn Isma'îl dit dans son commentaire de l'*Ardjôuzah* d'Avicenne que, pour les lexicologues, l'estâr est de 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams.

⁵ "Au poids de l'or, lesquels font 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams, au poids de l'argent" ajoute la *Madjmou'ah fi'l hésâb*. Tel est le poids de l'estâr adopté par le *Qâmoûs* et par les ouvrages de jurisprudence, comme représentant le 20^{me} du ratl de Baghdâd de 128 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams (= 397gr., 26); il est égal à 19gr., 863. Un autre estâr, de 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ derhams (= 20gr., 0837), est le 20^{me} du ratl de Baghdâd de 130 derhams (401gr., 674).—On lit dans un MS. ar. de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Gênes: Les habitants de l'Orient ont divisé aussi leur ratl en vingt *estâr*; chaque *estâr* est de quatre et demi de leurs metqâls.

⁶ 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams = $\frac{128}{20}$. On sait que 128 est le nombre de derhams donné au ratl par les Mâlékites. Cf. Maqrîzy, *Poids et mesures*, etc.

les plus savants médecins sont tombés d'accord et ce que l'auteur regarde comme certain, c'est que l'estâr pèse quatre metqâls.¹

Ebrîq ابريق, aiguïère. Elle contient, suivant les uns, six ratls² et, suivant d'autres, de dix-huit à vingt onces ou, suivant d'autres encore, entre dix-sept et vingt onces.

Oboûloûs ابولوس, obole—(on lit dans) une copie *oboûlos* ابولس.³—C'est, dit-on, un dâneq et demi et, suivant quelques-uns, un sixième de metqâl, ce qui fait trois qîrâts.⁴ D'autres disent que l'obole pèse quatre qîrâts⁵ et d'autres, dix *habbah*.⁶

Ebnoûs ابنوس. Il équivaut à quarante-huit ratls et, suivant quelques-uns, à vingt-quatre *gest*.⁷

Ezbâ ازبا. Il est égal à l'ebnoûs.

¹ Si, comme il est présumable, Ez-Zahrâwy entend parler de la darakhmy, cet estâr pèsera 13gr., 242.

Les appendices aux Œuvres de Galien portent : *Stater pendit drachmas 4. Appellantiq̄ ipsum Tetradrachmon* (Ex libris Cleop., *De pond. et mens.*).—*Dupondium etiam similiter pendit drachmas 4* (do. do.)—*Stater pendit drachmas 4 (Aliter de eisdem)*.—On trouve aussi 4 metqâls pour l'estâr des médecins dans la *Madjmoû'ah fî'l hésâb* et dans le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* d'Ebn el 'Attâr. D'après Jean fils de Sérapion (*Canon* d'Avicenne), l'estâr est égal pareillement à 4 metqâls.

² Nous ignorons de quel ratl veut parler l'auteur. Cependant comme la *Madjmoû'ah fî'l hésâb* donne cette même capacité à l'ebrîq, il est probable qu'il faut entendre le ratl de Baghdad. Escorial 844 dit 2 *mana*, c. à. d. 4 ratls.

³ J'ai rectifié sans hésitation la leçon ابولوس et ابولس que porte le texte. BB écrit ابولوس et ابولس, sans points diacritiques sous la seconde lettre. Nous trouvons ici la transcription évidente du grec ὀβολός, étranger à la langue arabe et surtout aux copistes. On le rencontre écrit ائبولوس et, correctement, ابولوس dans Escorial 844. Le و qui précède le س représente, en rendant la syllabe longue, l'accent de la dernière syllabe du grec.

Si les deux valeurs $1\frac{1}{2}$ dâneq et 3 qîrâts sont identiques, on aura pour ce dâneq 0gr., 3678 $\frac{3}{8}$ et, pour les 6 dâneqs, 2gr., 207, c'est-à-dire le poids que nous avons déjà trouvé ailleurs pour le derham *dokhl* de l'Andalos.

⁴ En effet, le metqâl ou la darakhmy contient 18 qîrâts. Voy. plus loin. Escorial 844 dit aussi 3 qîrâts ou 12 grains d'orge $0,1839\frac{1}{8} \times 3 = 0,04597\frac{1}{2} \times 12 = 0gr., 55175$. Tel serait le poids de l'obole.

⁵ 4 qîrâts de $0,1839\frac{1}{8} = 0gr., 7356\frac{3}{8}$ ou le $\frac{1}{3}$ du metqâl de 4gr., 414. Mais le qîrât de 4 à l'obole pourrait être celui de 0gr., 1379375.

⁶ On sait que le metqâl se divise en 60 *habbah*. La *habbah* du metqâl de $4,414 = 0,07356\frac{3}{8}$; celle de la darakhmy = $0,055175$.—Chez les Grecs, l'obole était, comme on le sait, la moitié du gramme ou scrupule et le $\frac{1}{6}$ de la drachme et, chez les Romains, un poids de 12 grains et le $\frac{1}{6}$ de la drachme.—*Obolus, siliquis* 3 (*Ceratium*, id est *siliqua*, græcè κεράτιον). App. de Galien, iv. p. 275.

⁷ Ez-Zahrâwy dit plus loin, en parlant du *gest*, que quelques auteurs donnent à cette mesure un poids de 2 ratls.

A'râbâ اعرابا.¹ Comme l'ebnoûs et l'ezbâ.

Oqiyah اوقية, once. Elle (pèse) onze derhams *kayl*,² qui sont huit *metqâls de l'argent*,³ et, en metqâls de l'or, sept metqâls et demi,⁴ car le metqâl est égal à un derham et demi *kayl*,⁵ ce qui fait deux derhams *dokhl* et trois *habbah*.⁶ A la mesure, elle est égale à neuf metqâls.⁷

Abân اباڤ.⁸ Cette (mesure) contient en miel deux *mann* et, en huile, un *mann* et demi.⁹

Okchoutâfon اڪشوتافون, oxybaphe,¹⁰—(fol. 2r^o) une copie (porte) *okchoufây* اڪشوفاي.—J'ai vu dans un livre, a dit l'auteur, (ce mot écrit) *okchoûnâfon*.¹¹ C'est également une

¹ BB اعرابا *aghrâyâ*.

² Ez-Zahrâwy est le seul à donner 11 derhams *kayl* à l'once; peut-être faut-il voir là une erreur de copiste ou l'omission d'une fraction.

³ Les *metqâls de l'argent* me paraissent être des *darakhmy*; d'où cette once = 26gr., 484; c'est l'once du Roum.

On lit dans les appendices aux Œuvres du Galien, iv. p. 275 et 276: *Uncia drachmas 8 quæ et Holcæ dicuntur.*—*Uncia apud Atticos continet drachmas 7. Apud Italos drachmas 8 (De pond. et mens.).—Uncia habet drachmas 8. Scrupulos 24 . . . Vocatur et alio nomine Tetrassaron Italicum, id est Quatrussis Italicus (Ex libri Cleop., De pond. et mens.). Uncia habet drachmas 8 (Aliter de eisdem).—Uncia habet drachmas 8 (alias 7½) (De mens. et pond. veterin.).—Uncia habet drachmas 8. Scrupulos 24 (Diosc., De pond.).*

⁴ Les 7½ metqâls de 4gr., 414 = 33gr., 105 et représentent l'once du ratl de Baghdâd de 128½ derhams de 3gr., 0898. On remarquera que cette once = 10 darakhmy et aussi qu'une leçon du MS. de Galien porte 7½. Il est évidemment question dans tout ce passage de deux onces différentes, l'une de 26gr., 484 (ou l'once du Roum), et l'autre de 33gr., 105 (ou l'once du petit ratl de Baghdâd).

⁵ $\frac{4,414}{1\frac{1}{2}} = 2,942\frac{2}{3}$. Ce poids se rapproche de celui de nombre de monnaies d'argent; mais pourquoi l'auteur le désigne-t-il sous celui de derham *kayl*, réservé au derham-poids? En ajoutant la fraction $\frac{1}{4}$ aux 11 derhams *kayl* ci-dessus, on aurait 2gr., 942⅔ × 11¼ = 33,105 ou, comme on l'a vu, l'once du ratl de Baghdâd de 128½.

⁶ Nous avons trouvé pour le derham *dokhl* 2gr., 207; les 2 font par conséquent 4,414; mais les 3 *habbah* semblent de trop. Comp. cependant ci-après, n. 4, p. 521.

⁷ Le texte porte *bé'l kayl* "à la mesure." Il faut se rappeler que, chez les Romains, la livre de mesure, *mensuralis*, se composait de 12 onces et que 9 onces de mesure correspondaient à 7½ onces pondérales ou de vin ou d'eau (cf. V. Queipo, *Syst. métr. de anc. peuples*, t. i. p. 508, et suiv.). Ce passage d'Ez-Zahrâwy prouverait que l'once métrique se subdivisait elle-même en 12 metqâls ou drachmes et que 9 drachmes métriques répondaient à 7½ drachmes pondérales.

⁸ Il est difficile de déterminer la vraie leçon. Si Ez-Zahrâwy écrit *Abân*, on trouve *Ayân* dans l'édition romaine du *Canon* d'Avicenne et *Anâb* dans les MSS. du *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*.

⁹ Le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* porte "2 *mana* pour le miel et 1 seul *mann* pour l'huile." Suivant Jean fils de Sérapion (*Canon* d'Avicenne), l'*ayân* (sic) de l'huile pèse 1½ *mann* et celui du miel, 2½ ratls; il y a évidemment une erreur.

¹⁰ BB اڪشوفون.

¹¹ BB اڪشوفافون. En changeant le ث, le ن ou le ف en ب, on aura اڪشوبافون, qui est la transcription exacte du grec *δξύβαφον*, égal à un cyathe et

mesure (*kayl*) et un poids (*wazn*). Sa mesure est de huit *darahma* (sic), c'est-à-dire metqâls, et son poids, de dix-huit qîrâts.¹ D'après quelques-uns, c'est treize derhams et, d'après d'autres, douze derhams *kayl*. D'autres disent que sa mesure est un qouâtoûs² (cyathe) et demi et le qouâtoûs,³ une once et demie.⁴

Olostoûr اولسطور. Il est égal à deux darakhmy et demie.⁵

Asâriouîn اساريون.⁶ C'est un metqâl de même que la darakhmy et aussi *l'oliqy*.

Asatoûn اسطون. On lit dans quelques ouvrages *astar'âloûn* اسطرعالون.⁷ C'est un demi-quest.

demi. Dans un précédent travail, je proposais de lire اسوتافون *asoûtâfon*, mot qui me semblait la transcription d'*acetabulum*. Quoique ces deux mesures, l'une grecque, l'autre romaine, soient les mêmes, c'est aux Grecs que les Arabes ont emprunté le nom qu'ils ont adopté. C'est d'ailleurs dans les ouvrages des médecins grecs qu'ils ont puisé, en les traduisant, leurs premières connaissances médicales.

¹ Quoiqu'Es-Zahrâwy, sous le mot *Kasoûnâ*, qui n'est que la répétition de كسونافون, abrégé par suite d'une erreur de copiste, erreur que notre grand médecin s'est borné à répéter, attribue de nouveau 18 qîrâts à l'oxybaphe-poids, c'est-à-dire 1 darakhmy, le texte est évidemment erroné. Eseuriâ 844 (839 de Casiri) nous apprend que l'oxybaphe contient 18 darakhmy d'huile, 2 onces et 4 darakhmy de vin et 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ onces de miel; ce qui concorde avec les App. de Galien: *Acetabulum habet (olei) drachmas 18; (vini) unc. 2, scrup. 12; (mellis) uncias 3, scrup. 9 (De mens. humid.)*. On sait que la drachme se composait de 3 scrupules.—*Acetabulum habet (ol.) drachmas 18; (vini) drach. 20; (mellis) unc. 3, drach. 3 (De mens. humid.)*.—*Acetabulum (mellis) habet uncias 3, drachmas que 3 (alias 2) (Diose., mellis)*.—On voit que la leçon qui donne 2, est mauvaise.—*Acetabulum, id est quarta pars cotyles, æquat uncias 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ (ou 20 darakhmy) (Diose., De mens. humid., vini)*.

On lit aussi dans le *Canon* d'Avicenne (éd. de Rome) sous le nom d'Es-Sâher (Yousef el Qass, qui vivait du temps du Khalife Abbâsîde El Moktafy billah, premières années du X^e siècle de notre ère): "l'*Eksoûnâfon* (sic) d'huile pèse 16 (lisez 18) darakhmy; celui de vin, 2 onces et $\frac{1}{4}$ darakhmy (lisez 4 darakhmy), et celui de miel, 3 onces et $\frac{3}{8}$ d'once.—Jean fils de Scrapion (*Canon*) dit aussi 18 darakhmy.

Dans les livres de Cléopâtre et dans Dioscoride, l'acétabule, dont la mesure égale le quart de la cotyle ou un cyathe et demi, pèse 15 drachmes. Faut-il croire que cette drachme était égale au metqâl de 4,414? 4,414×15=3,3105×20. Il s'agit ici de l'acétabule de vin. Ce qu'indique le mot *pondere*.

² BB فوايوس.

³ BB الفوايوس.

⁴ La valeur du cyathe donnée ici est conforme à celle qui figure dans Ese. 844 pour l'huile, soit une once et demie du Roûm 'ou 12 darakhmy = 39gr., 726.—App. de Galien: *Acetabulum habet sesquicyathum (De pond. et mens.)*.—*Acetabulum mensura habet cotyles quartam partem, cyathum 1 $\frac{1}{2}$: pondere drachmas 15 (Ex libris Cleop., De pond. et mens.) (Diose., De mens. et pond.)*.—On a pour l'oxybaphe ou acétabule de vin 66gr., 21.

⁵ 8gr., 27625.

⁶ BB اساريون.—C'est le grec ἀσάριον.

⁷ On serait tenté de reconnaître dans le premier le grec ὀστούν "os" et dans le second (omis par BB) ὀστράγαλος "osselet."

Oûn اون. C'est l'*oqiyah* (once).

Amon امن. Dans une copie, (on lit) *aboq* ابوق. Cette (mesure) est égale à dix *mody*.

Atiqy اطيقي,¹—dans une copie *Oliqy* اوليقي.² C'est le poids d'un metqâl,³ comme la darakhmy; ce qui fait six oboles.⁴

Erdabb اردب, ardeb. Il équivaut à trois *mody*;⁵ le *mody* se compose de cent soixante-douze⁶ *meudd*, au *meudd* du Prophète, que Dieu le bénisse et le salue! On dit que c'est à trois *mann* (qu'il équivaut).⁷ A Mesr, il est de six *waybah*, et la *waybah*, de quatre *rob*.⁸ Toutefois il y a le grand et le petit *erdabb*. Le grand comprend dix-huit *qest* et le petit, neuf *qest*.⁹

Abînah ابينة,¹⁰ pincée. C'est la quantité qui peut être saisie avec l'index et le pouce.

Atouîlin اطويلين.¹¹ On donne ce nom à trois onces et aussi à neuf onces et à un demi-*qest*.

¹ Serait-ce la transcription de ἀττική "attique," sous entendu "drachme" ?

² En grec δακή "poids d'une drachme (δραχμή)." La drachme grecque se composait de 6 oboles.—*Drachma quæ et holca etiam cognominatur* (Galien, iv. 275). *Drachma habet obolos 6* (Ex libris Cleop., *De mens. et pond. et De mens. et pond. veterin.*). *Drachma quæ et Holca dicitur, pendit scrupulos 3, id est obolos 6.* (Diosc., *De pond.*).—Jean fils de Sérapion (*Canon d'Avicenne*) donne également 6 oboles à la darakhmy.

³ Au lieu de وزن مشقال, BB porte par erreur نصف مشقال.

⁴ اوئولوسات (*sic*); BB اوئولوسات.—Il faut lire sans hésitation *oboûloûsât*.

Nous venons de voir que l'*oliqy* était aussi égale à un *assarion*.—Cf. la note 2.

⁵ *Artaba Ægyptia habet modios 5 (alias 3)* (Galien, *De mens. aridorum*, iv. 275). On voit que la traduction dont s'est servi Ez-Zahrâwy portait 3 modii.

⁶ BB porte 192. — Le *meudd* du Prophète étant égal à 171 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams (=529gr., 68), telle est du moins l'une de ses valeurs, on aura pour le *mody* 29485 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams et pour l'*erdabb* 88457 $\frac{1}{3}$ derhams=273k. 314,88. Si l'on adoptait le chiffre (peut-être plus exact) donné par le MS. de la B. Bodléienne, on aurait pour l'*ardeb* 98742 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams=305k. 095,68; ce qui est une des valeurs de l'*ardeb* (égal à 96 *qadh*) déduite du *qadh* de l'Andalos égal à 6 *meudd* (de 171 $\frac{2}{3}$ d.) dans Esc. 929 (ancien 925 Casiri). Comp. p. 523, note 7.

⁷ Les 3 *mann* font 6 ratls.

⁸ Voy. pour les différentes valeurs de l'*ardeb* d'Egypte mes *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, III^e Partie (inédite).

⁹ Ez-Zahrâwy fait le *qest* de 2, de 3 et de 4 ratls; mais même avec le *qest* de 4 ratls de 130 derhams, on n'aurait pour le *grand ardeb* que 9360 derhams, poids inférieur à celui indiqué par Ebn Fadl Allah pour l'*ardeb* du rif d'Egypte, lequel n'atteint pas 3 *waybeh*.

¹⁰ BB ابينة.

¹¹ BB اطويلين.

Asetoûnafos.¹ Il est égal à un *qafiz*, ce qui fait, en poids, quatre ratls.²

Lettre *Bâ* ب.

Bâqélâh باقلاد, en grec ancien, est le tiers d'un metqâl, soit six qîrâts.³ On l'appelle aussi *oloûyoûs* اولويوس.⁴ La (bâqélâh) de Mesr est égale aux deux tiers d'un metqâl, ce qui fait douze qîrâts.⁵ Celle d'Alexandrie est la moitié d'un metqâl, soit neuf qîrâts.⁶

Bâbousanah بابوسنة (fol. 2^v). Il représente deux darakhmy.⁷

Bondoqah بندقة, aveline, noisette. C'est le poids d'un metqâl, comme la darakhmy, exactement.⁸

Boûmos بومس. Il représente deux qîrâts.⁹

Bouqy بوقى équivaut à deux *gest*.

Bâbel بابل. Le grand se compose de cent cinquante *gest* et le petit, de vingt-quatre *gest*.¹⁰

¹ BB اسطونفس.

² Voyez sous *Qafiz*.

³ On voit qu'il s'agit ici de la darakhmy, de 18 qîrâts.

⁴ BB اولويوس.— Cette *bâqélâh* serait le double de l'obole, bien que *oloûyoûs* semble être le mot *obolos* mal transcrit.—Ebn el 'Awwâm (trad. Clément-Mullet) dit: “الفول la fève est le *bâqaly* الباقلى.”—L'orthographe des médecins arabes indiquerait qu'il faut prononcer *bâqala*, *bâqéla* ou *bâqella*. S. de Sacy, dans sa trad. d'Abd el Latif, p. 408, prononce *baqilla*.—C'est l'équivalent arabe du *κίμας* *κίμας* *ἑλληνικὸς* (do. p. 95).

⁵ *Fabæ ægyptiæ magnitudo pendit obolum et semis* (Galien, Diosc., *De mens. et pond.*, iv. p. 277).—Si l'expression “et semis” signifiait “une demi-drachme,” on aurait $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$ (ou une obole) = $\frac{5}{6}$ de drachme ou de metqâl-darakhmy. Eu ce cas, les auteurs arabes seraient d'accord, sur le poids de la fève égyptienne, avec les appendices aux Œuvres du médecin de Pergame.

⁶ La *Madjmou'ah fi'l hésâb* emploie, en parlant des diverses *bâqélâh*, derham au lieu de metqâl; ce qui confirme qu'il s'agit bien ici de la darakhmy (= 3gr., 3105). Ez-Zahrâwy nous dit d'ailleurs expressément que le metqâl est la darakhmy.—*Denarius italicus habet drachmam 1* (Galieu, *Ex libris Cleop.*, *De pond. et mens.*).—Le qîrât de la darakhmy = $\frac{3,3105}{18}$ = 0gr., 1839 $\frac{1}{6}$. On aura donc : pour la *bâqélâh* grecque 1gr., 1035; pour celle de Mesr, 2gr., 207 et pour celle d'Alexandrie, 1gr., 65525.

⁷ Soit 6gr., 621.

⁸ Suivant les différents auteurs, on rencontre la *bondoqah* comme l'équivalent d'un metqâl, d'un derham ou d'une darakhmy.

⁹ 0gr., 3678 $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹⁰ Le grand écale donc 300 cotyles ou 25 *chous*, soit, en huile, 71k. 506,8 et, en vin, 79k. 452.—Le petit est le quadruple du *chous*; il pèsera, en huile, 11k. 441,088 et, en vin, 12k. 712,32.

Grand barîliouïn بريليون كبير.¹ Il correspond à neuf onces.²

Bâros بارس.³ Il équivaut à cinquante *gest*.⁴

Banâdimouïn d'Antâlyah بناديمون الانطالي.⁵ C'est une jarre de la contenance de quarante-huit *gest*.

Bâtarinamouïn باطرينمون. C'est une *darakhmâ* (sic).⁷

Basâton بساطن.⁸ Le plus grand est de huit *gest*⁹ et le plus petit, d'un *mody* et un tiers.¹⁰

Lettre Tâ ت.

Tamrah تمرّة. Elle représente un metqâl et demi.¹¹

¹ BB بيليون.—En grec βαρύλλιον.

² 9 onces du Roûm = 238gr., 356 ; ce qui est le poids de la cotyle d'huile. Voy. Eliyâ.

³ Transcription du grec βάρος.

⁴ Soit le $\frac{1}{3}$ du *bâbel* ou 100 cotyles. Le *bâros* d'huile pesait 23k. 835,6 ; celui de vin, 26k. 484.

⁵ L'ancienne *Attalia* de Pamphylie, auj. Satalie.

⁶ Ce terme a une grande ressemblance avec *mâdamyoun* ماداميون, médimne, qu'on trouve dans Esc. 844 (ancien 839 de Casiri) et qui est aussi égal à 48 *gest*. Le *gest* d'huile pesant, d'après Ez-Zahrâwy comme d'après Eliyâ, 18 onces (= 476,712), on aura pour le *banâdimouïn* d'huile d'Antâlyah (peut-être faut-il lire *antâky*, d'Antioche, ou encore *italiqy* "italique," comp. ci-devant la jarre d'Antioche d'une contenance identique) 22k. 882,176 et pour celui de vin, 25k. 424,64. Don V. Vazquez Queipo, dans son remarquable ouvrage intitulé *Syst. mètr. des anc. peuples*, t. ii. pp. 74 et 376, dit que, d'après le pèbliscite conservé par Festus, le *quadrantal* ou *amphore* remplie de vin, dont le poids fut fixé à 80 livres, devait contenir *près de 26 litres*. 317gr., 808 (ou le ratl du Roûm) \times 80 = 25k. 424,64. L'illustre métrologue espagnol ajoute que "le conge pesait 10 livres et contenait 6 sextaires et le quadrantal, 48," *ce qui est conforme aux évaluations de nos auteurs arabes*. Toutefois il donne à la livre romaine le poids de 325gr. Dans un récent travail (*Sur les notations pondérales des pères d'Avignon et de Bernay, et La livre romaine*) mon savant ami M. L. Blancard vient de prouver que "La livre romaine n'était pas uniforme dans les provinces, et qu'elle y était généralement plus faible que la livre étalon de la région centrale, qui s'était elle-même affaiblie avec le temps." On y trouve citée la demi-livre, ΛΙΤΡΑΣ "avec l'indication consacrée de la moitié," que M. Chabouillet a décrite sous les No. 319 de son *Catalogue général* et qui a été trouvée à Beyrouit ; elle pèse 157 grammes, 51 centigrammes ; *ce qui donne une livre de 315 grammes* 02. M. G. Schlumberger (*Mouvements byzantins inédits*) donne des livres byzantines de 305gr., 60 ; 309gr., 50 ; 313,56 ; 318 et 321gr.

⁷ 3gr., 3105.

⁸ BB بساطر.

⁹ Les 8 *gest* d'huile de 476gr., 712 = 3k. 813,696. Pour le vin, on a $8 \times 529,68 = 4k. 237,44$.

¹⁰ On a vu ci-devant, p. 500, note 2, que les calculs donnent pour le *meudd*, plein d'eau ou de vin, d'Ez-Zahrâwy, 544gr., 813 $\frac{5}{8}$. Le *mody* se composant de 192 *meudd*, on aurait ici pour le petit *basâton* $544,813\frac{5}{8} \times 256 = 139k. 472,310\frac{5}{8}$; ce qui est impossible. Il faut sans doute lire *meudd* au lieu de *mody* : on aura alors $544,813\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{3} = 726gr., 418\frac{5}{8}$ soit un peu moins du $\frac{1}{3}$ du grand. Peut-être encore faut-il lire 2 *meudd* (مُؤدَيْن) et $\frac{1}{3}$.

¹¹ $3,3105 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 4gr., 96575$.

Tâmaqsagtâ تامقسقتا.¹ Il équivaut à trois metqâls.²

Lettre *Tâ* ث.

Tânoû ثانو.³ Il correspond à six darakhmy, c'est-à-dire six metqâls.⁴

Talâlat asâbé ثلاثة أصابع, trois doigts, pincée. Cette (quantité) est comprise entre un tiers de metqâl et un demi-metqâl. On dit qu'elle va jusqu'à deux metqâls, lorsqu'on (la) prend avec trois doigts complètement.⁵

Lettre *Djîm* ج.

Djawzah جوزة, noix. La *djawzah* employée sans restriction égale sept metqâls.⁶ La *djawzah* du roi (royale) est de six metqâls.⁷

Djyâtah جياطة. Elle a le poids de dix metqâls.⁸

Djarrah جررة, jarre, amphore. La jarre d'Antioche contient quarante-huit *qest*.⁹ On dit qu'elle est pleine avec soixante-douze ratls d'huile, quatre-vingts ratls de vin et un nombre de

¹ Dans différents MSS. du *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* dont je dois la communication à l'extrême obligeance de M. le docteur W. Pertsch de Gotha, on trouve ce terme écrit *Yâmaqsagtyâ*, *Bamaqsaliya* et *Tamafsa'ataba*.

² $3,3105 \times 3 = 9\text{gr.}$, 9315.

³ BB ثانتى.

⁴ 19gr., 863.

⁵ C. à d. "en serrant les doigts," comme le porte le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*. On a ainsi pour cette pincée de 1gr., 1035 et 1gr., 65525 à 6gr., 621. Esc. 844 dit "2 darakhmy."

⁶ Tel est le poids attribué à cette *djawzah* par Esc. 844. L'auteur de ce traité porte "darakhmy."—Jean fils de Sérapion (*Canon d'Avicenne*) et le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* disent qu'elle pèse 14 *chîmoûnah*. $7 \times 3,3105 = 23\text{gr.}$, 1735.

⁷ Ez-Zahrâwy est également d'accord pour le poids de la *noix royale* avec la *Madjmoû'ah fî'l hésâb*, Esc. 844 et le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* (Esc. 844 dans l'extrait de la Pharmacopée d'El 'Antury et le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* écrivent 9 au lieu de 7); mais il ne l'est qu'en partie avec Cléopâtre et Dioscoride. *Nux etiam regia pendit drachmas 4* (Galien, Ex libris Cleop., *De pond. et mens.* iv. 276). *Nux regia similiter pendit drachmas 4* (do. *Aliter de eisdem*). *Nucis basilicæ seu regie magnitudo pendit drachmas 7* (do. Diosc., *De mens. et pond.* iv. 277). La *Madjmoû'ah fî'l hésâb* et Esc. 844 font mention de la *noix nabatécenne*, dont le poids était celui d'un metqâl ou d'une aveline (ou darakhmy). $3,3105 \times 6 = 19\text{gr.}$, 863 comme le *tânoû* ou *tâneq*. C'est aussi le poids du *petit mestrân* pleine d'huile, cf. J.R.A.S. Vol. XII.

⁸ 33gr., 105. C'est le poids de l'once de Baghdâd en corrélation avec le ratl de $128\frac{1}{2}$ derhams.

⁹ $48 \times 476,712 = 22\text{k.}$ 882,176. C'est le *madamioun* (médimne) d'Esc. 844. Pleine de vin, elle contient 25k. 424,64.

rats de miel variant entre cent trente-six et cent quarante rats.¹

Djalqôûs جلقوس, chalque.² C'est le demi-sixième d'un metqâl³ et, dit-on, les trois huitièmes d'un qîrât,⁴ ce qui fait une demi-obole⁵ et, dit-on encore, le quart d'un qîrât et le huitième (fol. 3r^c) d'un qîrât.⁶

Djôûch جوش,⁷ qu'on appelle aussi *djouâoch* جوأوش. Il contient huit *gest*.⁸ L'*italiqy* الاطليقي (l'italique) contient six *gest*⁹ ou, dit-on, six rats; mais il est plus exact (de dire) neuf rats.¹⁰

¹ Voy. p. 497, n. 5. 72 rats du Roûm = 22k. 882,176; 80 rats = 25k. 424,64; 136 à 140 = 43k. 221,888 à 44k. 493,12. Ez-Zahrâwy nous a donné en commençant, pour la jarre d'Antioche pleine de miel, "136 ou un peu plus."

² Il est impossible de ne pas reconnaître ici le χαλκοûs des Grecs, *chalcus* en latin, l'*æreus* des appendices de Galien. Ez-Zahrâwy aura cru voir un point sous le ح du mot حلقوس dans le MS. qu'il avait sous les yeux ou plutôt les premiers traducteurs des ouvrages grecs en Syriaque ont-ils représenté le χ par un *g* dur qui sera devenu un ج en arabe.

³ Ne doit-on pas supposer que les copistes ont écrit نصف pour ثمن et qu'il faut lire ثمن سدس مثقال, c. à d. $\frac{1}{48}$? $\frac{3,3105}{48} = 0,06896\frac{7}{8}$.

⁴ Les $\frac{3}{8}$ de 0,1839 $\frac{1}{8}$ = 0,06896 $\frac{7}{8}$.

⁵ Le texte porte *ofoûloûs* pour *oboûloûs*, et le copiste a écrit نصف "demie" au lieu de ثمن "huitième." En effet le chalque était chez les Grecs le huitième de l'obole. *Æreus habet semi-oboli quartam partem* (Galien, *Ex libris Cleop.*, *De pond. et mens.* iv. p. 276). L'obole pesant 0,55175 ou $\frac{3,3105}{6}$, le $\frac{1}{8}$ de l'obole = 0,06896 $\frac{7}{8}$.

⁶ Ou les $\frac{3}{8}$. C'est une répétition, exprimée en d'autres termes, de la valeur qui vient d'être donnée au chalque. Comp. avec قلقوس *qalqos*, plus loin.

⁷ Cette orthographe donne lieu à la même observation faite à propos de جلقوس (Voy. la note 2). C'est le *χοûs* des Grecs.

⁸ Nous venons de voir que les 8 *gest* d'huile pèsent 3k. 813,696 et les 8 *gest* de vin, 4k. 237,44. Ce *djôûch* serait donc la même mesure que le *basâton* et le *câdoûs*. Chus habet chœnicas 2. Sextarios 8. Ut medimnus contineat chœnicas 48. Sextarios 192 (App. aux Œuvres de Galien, *De pond. et mens.* iv. 276).

⁹ On a pour les 6 *gest* d'huile 2k. 860,272 et pour les 6 *gest* de vin 3k. 178,08. Le *djôûch italique* devient le *hoûs* d'Eliyâ (le *chous* ou conge). Apud Italos autem Chus invenitur, qui mensura quidem Sextarios 6. Cotylas 12 habeat: pondere vero aquæ pluvialis, quæ minimè fallax est drachmas 720 (App. aux Œuvres de Galien, do. iv. 276). Congius habet, mensura quidem cotylas atticas 12, sextarios 6, chœnicas 4, pondere drachmas 720 (do. Ex libris Cleop., *De pond. et mens.* iv. 276). Chus habet sextarios 6 (do. *De mens. humid.*, iv. 276). 720 metqâls de 4,414 = 3k. 178,08.

¹⁰ Si l'on divise 2k. 860,272 par 9, on a pour le ratl 317gr., 808; ce qui est le ratl du Roûm. On voit de plus que le *gest* d'huile est égal à 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ratl du Roûm. D'ailleurs Eliyâ dit *expressément* que le *hous* contient en vin 10 rats du Roûm et corollairement, en huile, 9 rats. Chus habet (olei) libras 9; (vini)

Lettre *Hâ* ح.

Hommosah حمصه¹, pois-chiche. C'est le tiers d'un derham *kayl*.²

Hazmah حزمة. C'est une poignée (*qabdah*) qui remplit la paume de la main.

Habbah حبه, grain. La *habbah* de l'argent est, par rapport à la *habbah* de l'or, une quantité égale et ses trois septièmes.³

Halqoun حلقون. Elle est égale à une darakhmy.

Lettre *Khâ* خ.

Kharroûbah خربزه. Elle a le poids de quatre *habbah*⁴ et, dit-on, de trois *habbah* et demie.⁵

Khamyâ خميا. La grande pèse trois onces⁶ et la petite, six metqâls.⁷

Khâlytoûly خاليتولى.⁸ Il comprend trois *gest*, au *gest roûmy*.⁹

Khoûroch خورش. Il est égal à six *gest*.¹⁰

libras 10; (mellis) libras 13½ (App. aux Œuvres de Galien *De mens. humid.*, iv. 275). Chus id est congius (vini) libras 10 (do. Diosc., *De mens. humid.* iv., 277).

¹ BB حمصه.

² $\frac{3,0898}{3} = 1\text{gr.}, 0299\frac{1}{3}$. Mais il est probable qu'Es-Zahrâwy a voulu parler

de la darakhmy dont le tiers = 1gr., 1035 soit 2 oboles, comme le scrupule.

³ On sait que le metqâl ou poids servant à peser l'or pèse 1½ derham ou poids servant à peser l'argent. Conséquemment les deux *habbah* ou $\frac{1}{15}$ de chacun d'eux sont dans ce même rapport. Toutefois l'auteur s'exprime mal: c'est la *habbah* de l'or qui contient 1½ fois le poids de celle de l'argent.

⁴ Cette *kharroûbah* pesant 0gr., 2207 (voy. ci-après sous *Darakhmy*), on aura pour la *habbah* 0gr., 055175. C'est la *kharroûbah* "au poids de Syrie" d'Esc. 844.

⁵ 0gr., 055175 × 3½ = 0gr., 1931125, soit le qîrât compris 16 fois dans le derham de 3,0898. Cf. *Guide du Kâteb*, fol. 80^o, et mes *Matériaux*, II^e Partie.

⁶ Il s'agit évidemment de 3 onces du Roûm et de la mesure pleine d'huile = 79gr., 452; cette capacité est celle du grand mystron (*moûsatroûn*) d'Eliyâ. Ce métrologue nous dit que la contenance en vin de cette dernière mesure est de 3½ onces du ratl *roûmy* (= 88gr., 28) = 20 metqâls (de 4,414).

⁷ 6 metqâls darakhmy = 19gr., 863, c'est-à-dire le petit mystron d'huile.

⁸ BB خاليمولى.

⁹ On aura pour le *khâlytoûly* d'huile 1k. 430,136 et pour celui de vin 1k. 589,04; c'est la moitié du *chous*.

¹⁰ Cette mesure est donc la même que le *djouch itatîqy* et le *houûs* d'Eliyâ. Le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*, MS. ar. No. 2005 de la Bibl. de Gotha, porte خروس; d'après l'auteur (Ebn el 'Attâr), chaque *gest* serait égal à 7½ ratls.

Kharsafâ خرسفلا — une copie (porte) *Kharsafâ*. — Il équivaut à trois ratls ;¹ (on lit dans) une copie deux tiers de ratl.²

Lettre Dâl د.

Darakhmy درخمي,³ drachme. C'est le poids d'un metqâl et, dit-on, d'un derham *kayl* et d'un dâneq ;⁴ d'autres disent dix-huit qîrâts.⁵ (L'expression) "metqâl" est plus générale et de meilleur style (*afsaḥ*). Elle renferme trois *gharâma*.⁶ Il a été dit encore que c'était le derham en grec بالرومية, ce qui fait quinze *kharroubah*.⁷ La *darakhmy* représente également deux derhams moins un tiers, en derhams de l'Andalos.⁸

Dâneq دانق. C'est le sixième d'un derham *kayl*, ce qui fait, d'après le calcul des Grecs (Younâniyn), le quart d'un derham *dokhl*.⁹

Derham درهم. Il égale quinze *kharroubah*, soit dix-huit qîrâts, ce qui fait un derham et demi *dokhl*.¹⁰ L'exactitude

¹ 3 ratls du Roûm = 953gr., 424 ; ce qui fait 2 qest.

² $\frac{2}{3}$ ratl du Roûm = 211gr., 872. Si l'auteur a eu en vue le ratl de Baghdâd de 397gr., 26, on a pour les 3 ratls 1191k., 78 ou le petit *qest* de vin d'Eliyâ et pour les $\frac{2}{3}$ du même ratl 264gr. 84 ; ce qui est la contenance de la cotyle en vin.

³ Ce nom pourrait aussi être prononcé *darakhma* et même si l'on place sur le م un *fathah* et sur le ب un *sokoûn*, *darakhmay*.

⁴ Si le texte portait "un qîrât" au lieu de "un dâneq," on aurait 3gr., 0898 (ou le derham *kayl*) + 0,2207 (ou 1 qîrât du derham *kayl*, c'est-à-dire $\frac{3,0898}{14}$) = 3,3105 ou la *darakhmy*, soit 18 qîrâts de 0gr., 1839 $\frac{1}{8}$. — Telle qu'elle est donnée, l'équation fait ressortir le derham *kayl* à 2gr., 8375 $\frac{1}{2}$. Comp. note 6, p. 514, ci-après.

⁵ On a ainsi pour le qîrât de la *darakhmy* $\frac{3,3105}{18} = 0,1839\frac{1}{8}$. Cf. Tableau des *Qîrâts* dans mes *Matériaux*, II^e Partie. On sait que le qîrât est la silique, en grec κεράτιον. *Drachma habet siliquas* 18 (Galien, iv. p. 275 ; *Ex libris Cleop., De pond. et mens.*, iv. p. 276).

⁶ BB عسرامى. — Le *gharâma*, en grec γράμμα, est le scrupule. *Gramma id est scrupulus seu scriptulum* (Galien, iv. p. 275). *Drachma habet scrupulos* 3 (Galien, *De mens. et pond.* ; *Ex libris Cleop., De pond. et mens.* ; *De mens. et pond. veter.* ; Diosc., *de pond.*). $\frac{3,3105}{3} = 1gr., 1035$.

⁷ $\frac{3,3105}{15} = 0,2207$. Comp. p. 507, note 4 ci-devant.

⁸ Il faut sans doute entendre par "un tiers" un tiers de *darakhmy*. Le derham de l'Andalos ou *dokhl* pesant 2gr., 207, on a $2,207 \times 2 - 1,1035$ (ou le $\frac{1}{3}$ de la *darakhmy*) = 3,3105.

⁹ Par derham *kayl* Ez-Zahrâwy me paraît entendre ici la *darakhmy*. En effet $\frac{3,3105}{6} = 0,55175 = 2,207$ (ou le derham *dokhl*) divisé par 4.

¹⁰ Il s'agit encore de la *darakhmy*. $15 \times 0,2207 = 18 \times 0,1839\frac{1}{8} = 1\frac{1}{2} \times 2,207 = 3gr., 3105$.

est qu'il est (égal à) un derham dokhl et quatre dixièmes.¹ On dit aussi qu'il contient soixante *habbah*, à la *habbah* de l'argent.

Dawraq دَوْرَق. Il a été dit que le *dawraq* d'Antioche² comprend huit *khoûroch*³ et le *khoûroueh*, (fol. 3e°) six *gest roûmy*.⁴ Il a été dit aussi que le grand *dawraq* chez les *Roûm*, pèse trois ratls⁵ et, dit-on, un ratl⁶ et le petit, un demi-ratl.⁷ Le grand *dawraq*, dans l'Iraq, pèse quatre ratls⁸ et, dit-on, six ratls⁹ et le petit deux ratls,¹⁰ comme le *gest* exactement.¹¹ On dit encore que le *dawraq* est le *qoûtouly*.¹²

Dinâr دِينَار. C'est un metqâl et un tiers.¹³ On dit aussi vingt-quatre qîrâts; ce qui fait quatre *gharâma*.¹⁴

Destedjeh دَسْتَجِه. C'est une poignée qui remplit la paume de la main ou autrement dit une *hazmah*.¹⁶

Daqâsyâ دَقَاسِيَا. Elle est (égale à) sept metqâls.¹⁷

Lettre *Dâl* د.

Dâra دَارَا. C'est, dans l'Inde,¹⁸ dix ratls de douze onces chacun.

¹ Ici au contraire l'auteur veut parler du derham *kayl* de 3gr., 0898, attendu que $2,207 \times 1,4 = 3,0898$. On voit que les métrologues arabes confondent continuellement le derham et la darakhmy.

² BB الانطالي d'Antâlyah (Satalie).

³ Je suis ici la leçon ثمان du MS. d'Oxford; il est probable que je me suis trompé en lisant ثمانون sur le MS. de Madrid. Esc. 844 dit formellement que le *dawraq italicqy* (italique, ce qui est peut-être la vraie lecture) se compose de 8 *djôuhîn* et le *djôuhîn*, de 6 *gest roûmy*. On a ainsi pour le *dawraq* 48 *gest roûmy* ou la jarre d'Antioche (l'amphore) = 25k. 424,64 de vin.

⁴ $529,68 \times 6 = 3k. 178,08$ ou le *hoûs* de vin d'Eliyâ.

⁵ 3 ratls du Roûm = 953gr., 424; ce qui représente 2 *gest* d'huile.

⁶ 317gr., 808. ⁷ 158gr., 204.

⁸ Puisqu'il s'agit de l'Iraq, le ratl est évidemment celui de Baghdâd. Les 4 ratls de $128\frac{2}{3}$ derhams = 1k. 589,04.

⁹ Eliyâ donne 6 ratls "de Baghdâd" au grand *gest* de vin; ce qui fait 2k. 383,56.

¹⁰ = 794gr., 52 ou cinq cotyles de vin.

¹¹ Ez-Zahrâwy fait mention (voir plus loin) d'un *gest* de 2 ratls.

¹² BB فوطلي.

¹³ Par metqâl il faut encore entendre ici la darakhmy. Eu effet 3gr., $3105 \times \frac{1}{3} = 4gr., 414$.

¹⁴ $\frac{4,414}{24} = 0gr., 1839\frac{1}{6}$ (cf. la note sous *Derham*). $\frac{3,3105}{4} = 1gr., 1035$.

¹⁵ BB دَسْتَجِه. Ce mot est dérivé du persan دست "main."

¹⁶ Voy. ce mot.

¹⁷ De $3,3105 = 23gr., 1735$.

¹⁸ BB بالهندي "en (poids) indien."

Derkhâneh ذرخانه.¹ Elle correspond à un *gest* et demi.²

Lettre Râ ر.

Ratl. Il (se compose de) douze onces; ce qui fait un demi-*gest*.³ Le ratl des *Roûm* est de onze onces et quart,⁴ et, a-t-il été dit, de neuf onces.⁵ Le ratl de Baghdâd comprend cent vingt-huit derhams *kayl* et quatre septièmes,⁶ soit vingt *estâr*.⁷ Le ratl *mesry* compte cent quarante-quatre derhams *kayl*;⁸ le ratl Syrien, six cents derhams *kayl* représentant deux ratls et un tiers.⁹ Le ratl d'Alep est égal à quatre-cent quatre-vingt-cinq derhams, ce qui fait trois ratls, un demi-ratl et un quart de ratl.¹⁰ Le ratl de la médecine correspond à cent vingt derhams.¹¹

Lettre Zâ ز.

Zawraq زورق, mesure de capacité (*kayl*) contenant un qafîz et un tiers.¹²

¹ BB ذرخانه.

² En faisant le *gest* de 529gr., 68 (vin), on aurait pour cette mesure 794gr., 52 ou le $\frac{1}{3}$ du grand *gest* plein de vin d'Eliyâ.

³ Au *gest* de 2 ratls.

⁴ Le ratl roûmy de l'auteur étant égal à 102 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams, on aurait pour cette once 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ derhams = 28gr., 2496.

⁵ Nous pouvons supposer qu'il s'agit ici du ratl *métrique*, de même que nous avons vu l'once *métrique* composée de 9 metqâls.

⁶ C'est le petit ratl de Baghdâd = 397gr., 26. Pour celui-ci et pour les ratls *mesry*, Syrien et d'Alep (sauf correction), Ez-Zahrâwy est d'accord avec les autres métrologues que nous connaissons.

⁷ Composés chacun de 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ derhams ou 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ metqâls = 19gr., 863.

⁸ 444gr., 9312.

⁹ Le ratl Syrien = 1k. 853,88. Au lieu de 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ ratls, Ez-Zahrâwy aurait dû dire 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ *mann*, soit 4 $\frac{2}{3}$ ratls (de 397gr., 26).

¹⁰ Le ratl d'Alep ne compte, d'après le *Guide du Kâteb* et autres ouvrages, que 480 derhams (= 1k. 483,104), lesquels composent aussi le ratl Syrien donné par le *Qâmoûs*. Ces 480 derhams représentent bien 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ratls de 128 derhams ou *Mâlêkîtes*. Aussi y a-t-il lieu de penser, quoique le MS. d'Oxford et celui de Madrid portent 485, que le nombre unitaire "cinq" a été ajouté, dans l'origine, par un copiste.

¹¹ S'agirait-il ici de la darakhmy? On aurait alors pour ce ratl 397gr. 26 ou le petit ratl de Baghdâd. Le *Guide du Kâteb* fait mention d'un ratl roûmy de 120 derhams, et El 'Antary (Esc. 844), d'un ratl arabe de 12 onces de 10 derhams chacune et qu'il dit être celui de l'Iraq. 120 x 3,105 = 397gr., 26. La darakhmy est bien d'ailleurs le derham en usage en médecine.

¹² Le grand qafîz et un tiers (voy. plus loin) donneraient pour cette mesure 69k. 736,152 $\frac{2}{3}$; le petit qafîz et un tiers répondraient à 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ ratls (de Baghdâd de 397,26) = 2k. 118,72 = 4 *gest* de vin d'Eliyâ.

Lettre *Sîn* س.

Sanoûfos سنوفس. Il (équivalent à) trois¹ ratls et trois quarts.²

Siliqoun سيلقون. C'est une demi-once (fol. 4r^o) et, dit-on, vingt *ouboûloûs* (oboles),³ ce qui fait trois metqâls et un tiers⁴

Sâmoûnâ سامونا.⁵ Son poids est d'un *gharama* et demi.⁶

Sâd ساد. Il contient un *mody* et demi.⁷

Sokoradjah سكرجه. La grande est de six onces et la petite, de trois onces.⁸ D'après quelques-uns, elle serait de quatre metqâls;⁹ d'autres disent qu'elle comprend de deux tiers d'once à une once.¹⁰

Sâsînâ ساسينا, Vingt-deux *gest*, a-t-il été dit.¹¹

Sattoûdj سطوج—on dit aussi *tassouâdj* طسوج,¹² ce qui est plus correct. Il (pèse) deux *habbah* et demie.¹³

Satîmoûs سطييموس—une copie (porte) *satînoûn* سطينون. Il contient quatre *gest*.¹⁴

Satâtos سطاٹس.—Il est égal à quatre darakhmy.¹⁵

¹ Le nombre manque dans BB.

² $3\frac{3}{4}$ ratls de Baghdâd = 1k. 489,725 ou le $\frac{1}{4}$ du dawraq de vin d'Eliyâ.

³ Les 20 oboles de 0,55175 = 11gr., 035. L'once serait donc de 22gr., 07 et le ratl, de 264gr., 84 ou $\frac{1}{2}$ *gest* de vin (=80 darakhmy). La demi-once du Roûm = 13gr. 242 soit 24 oboles. *Silicis unciæ dimidium* (alias uncia $1\frac{1}{2}$) (Galien, *De mens. et pond. veterin.*, iv. p. 276).

⁴ $3\frac{3}{4} \times 3,3105 = 11gr., 035.$

⁵ BB ساموتا. Dans le *Canon* d'Avicenne, on lit شاهوثة; Jean fils de Sérapion égale ce poids à une demi-darakhmy. Il donne, en effet, à la *djawzah* (=7 metqâls-darakhmy) 14 *châmoûnah*. Ailleurs il la fait de 0,55175 puisqu'il dit que la bâqêlâh mesriyeh = 4 *châmoûnah* = 2gr., 207.

⁶ $1,1035 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 1,65525$ ou une demi-darakhmy. Voy. la note précédente.

⁷ Le *sâd* aurait ainsi la contenance d'un demi-ardeb. Voy. notes 5 et 6, p. 502.

⁸ La *Madjmou'ah fi'l hésâb* et Esc. 844 donnent aussi 6 onces ou $\frac{1}{2}$ ratl à la grande *sokoradjah*, et 3 onces ou $\frac{1}{4}$ de ratl à la petite. Les 3 onces du Roûm (=79gr., 452) représentent le grand mystron d'huile ou le tiers de la cotyle. Aux 6 onces correspond le tiers d'un *gest* d'huile.

⁹ Elle ne serait plus que le $\frac{1}{6}$ de la petite ou 13gr., 242.

¹⁰ 17gr., 656 à 26gr., 484. Jean fils de Sérapion (dans le *Canon* d'Avicenne) et le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* donnent à la *sokoradjah* $6\frac{1}{4}$ *estâr*. L'*estâr* de Jean fils de Sérapion étant de 4 metqâls (darakhmy?), ou aura pour la *sokoradjah* $3,3105 \times 4 \times 6\frac{1}{4} = 82gr., 7625.$ Quant au *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*, son *estâr* est de 4, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ou $4\frac{1}{2}$ metqâls, suivant les manuscrits.

¹¹ $529,68 \times 22 = 11k. 652,96.$

¹² Cette dénomination est la plus générale.

¹³ Esc. 844 dit aussi $2\frac{1}{2}$ *habbah*; mais Esc. 929 et la *Madjmou'ah fi'l hésâb* attribuent au *tassouâdj* 2 *habbah* ou 4 grains d'orge. Cf. aussi mes *Matériaux*, 1^{re} Partie, p. 105. Le *tassouâdj* de la darakhmy = 0gr., 1379375 ou $2\frac{1}{2}$ *habbah* de 0,055175.

¹⁴ 4 *gest* de 529gr., 68 (vin) = 2k. 118,72.

¹⁵ *Darakhmyât*.—13gr., 242 ou une demi-once du Roûm. Comp. sous *Sokoradjah*.

Sanamá سناما. Le grand (équivalent à) six onces¹ et le petit, (à) trois onces.²

Sa'bâr سعبار. Il se compose de vingt *oulos* (sic).³

Lettre *Chîn* ش.

Cha'châlah شعشاله. Son poids en vin ou en vinaigre est égal à neuf onces; en huile, à un ratl et demi⁴ et, en miel, à trois ratls.

Lettre *Sâd* ص.

Sâ' صاع. Chez les *Roûm*, il contient dix *gest*⁵ et, chez les Arabes, quatre *meudd*, au *meudd* du Prophète, que Dieu le bénisse et le salue! Cette (mesure) pèse cinq ratls de Baghdâd.⁶

Sarfah صرفه.⁷ La grande équivalent à quatorze *samoûnâ*,⁸ —une copie (porte) *sanamá*.⁹—La petite équivalent à six *châmy*,¹⁰ —une copie (dit) *metqâls*.¹¹

¹ Comme la grande *sokoradjah*.

² Comme la petite *sokoradjah*.

³ Il faut évidemment lire *oboûlos* (oboles); ce qui rend le *sa'bâr* égal au *siltqoûn*.

⁴ Ce paragraphe contient évidemment une erreur: le vin étant d' $\frac{1}{5}$ plus pesant que l'huile, la *cha'châlah* de ce dernier liquide ne peut peser $1\frac{1}{2}$ ratl, alors que cette mesure de vin pèse 9 onces. Il faudrait donc lire 20 onces pour le vin, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ratl étant égal à 18 onces. La mesure dont il s'agit représenterait ainsi le *gest* d'Eliyâ. On pourrait encore supposer que les copistes ont omis عشرة "dix" après تسع "neuf"; l'on aurait alors 19 onces pour le vin et le vinaigre, ce qui se rapprocherait de la valeur exacte, sans aucun changement à apporter aux évaluations suivantes.

⁵ $529,68 \times 10 = 5k. 296,8$.

⁶ Les auteurs musulmans donnant généralement à cette mesure le poids de $5\frac{1}{2}$ ratls de Baghdâd (= 2k. 118,72), il faut supposer que les copistes ont omis la fraction. Cf. sur les différents poids du *sâ'* mes *Matériaux*, III^e Partie.

⁷ La *Madjmou'ah fi'l hésâb*, le *Canon* d'Avicenne et le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* portent *sadfah* صدفة.

⁸ BB ساموتا. Jean fils de Sérapion et Cohen el 'Attâr écrivent *châmoûnâ*. En multipliant 1,65525 par 14, on a pour la *sarfah* ou *sadfah* 23gr., 1735 = 7 *metqâls-darakhmy*.

⁹ Cette leçon est évidemment fautive; car, ainsi que nous l'avons vu, le grand *sanamá* = 6 onces et le petit, 3 onces.

¹⁰ Le *Canon* d'Avicenne porte 7 *châmoûnât*, pl. rég. de *châmoûnah*, et un MS. du *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*, 7 *chawâmîn*, pl. irrég. Les 6 *châmy* (mot corrompu par le copiste) = 9gr., 9315.

¹¹ $3,3105 \times 6 = 19gr., 863$. C'est le poids que la *Madjmou'ah fi'l hésâb* donne à la grande *sadfah*; l'auteur inconnu de ce traité cite l'opinion d'Ebn Samadjoûn, qui attribue 3 *metqâls* à la petite = 9gr., 9315.

Lettre *Dâd* ض.

Damádoúnah ضمدوننه. Il (comprend) douze *qest* et demi.¹

Daras ضرس. Il (équivaux à) deux metqâls.²

Lettre *Tâ* ط.

Tâliqoun طاليقون. C'est la même chose que le *qentâr* : cent ratls et, dit-on, cent quinze ratls.³

Tassouâdj طسوج. C'est le poids de deux habbah et demie.⁴

Le grand *taroubolyoun* الطروبليون الكبير⁵ (fol. 4v^o) contient trois *masatoûn*.⁶ Le *tarabolyoun*⁷ juif est un demi-*qest*.⁸

Tâtartîmouryoun طاطرظيموريون. C'est le poids d'un metqâl, exactement comme la *darakhmy*.⁹

Tarâr طرار. C'est un vase de la contenance (*qadr*) de trente derhams *kayl*.¹⁰

Lettre *Dâ* ظ.

Dabily ظبيلي.¹¹ Il est identique à la *kachîdjamah* كشيجمه—une copie (porte) *kahîlah* كحيله¹²—et, comme le *sâ*, il contient quatre *meudd*.

Lettre *'Ayn* ع.

'Armoû عرموا.¹³ Le grand contient quinze *mody*—une copie

¹ BB supprime la demie.—529,68 × 12½ = 6k. 621.

² = 6gr., 621.

³ BB "125 ratls." Suivant la nature des marchandises, le quintal est souvent, en Orient et dans les Etats Barbaresques, supérieur à 100 ratls.

⁴ Voy. ci-devant sous *Sattoûdj*.

⁵ Paraît être la transcription du grec *τροβλιον*, qui signifie "plat, assiette"

⁶ *من المسطون* (sic) ثلاثة. Le dénominateur de la fraction aurait-il été omis par les copistes?—3 *mystron* de vin = 264gr., 84.

⁷ BB الطروبليون.

⁸ Le ½ *qest* de vin = 264gr., 84; par conséquent le *taraboulyoun* juif serait égal au grand.

⁹ Chez les Grecs, le *tâtartémorion* représentait ¼ d'obole.

¹⁰ Je suis porté à croire qu'Ez-Zahrâwy a encore ici confondu, comme à propos de la *hommosah*, le derham *kayl* avec la *darakhmy* et qu'il s'agit de cette dernière. En effet 30 *darakhmy* = 99gr., 315. Or ce poids représente exactement 4½ petits *mystron* de 22gr., 07 (vin).

¹¹ BB ظبيلي.

¹² BB الكحيله.

¹³ BB عرموا.

(emploie le terme) *meudd*—; le petit comprend sept *qest* et demi,—une copie (porte) neuf.¹

Lettre *Ghayn* غ.

Gharâma غرامى ; on dit aussi غرما.² Elle est (égale à) six qîrâts, comme la *bâqêlâh*, ce qui fait le tiers d'un metqâl.³ On dit aussi qu'elle équivaut à trois qîrâts⁴ et que, dans la *gharâma*, il y a un *qalqîs*.⁵ Suivant quelques-uns encore, la *gharamâ* est le tiers d'un derham *kayl* et le sixième du tiers;⁶ suivant d'autres, c'est le quart du derham *kayl* et deux dâneqs.⁷ *Gharma* غرمى, sous cette forme, a dit quelqu'un, représente un demi-derham.

Lettre *Fâ* ف.

Fîdjy فيجى. Il contient dix darakhmy (*darakhmyât*), c'est-à-dire dix metqâls.⁸

Fâledj فالج,⁹ par un *djîm*. C'est le huitième d'un *qafîz* au (*qafîz*) de Baghdâd.¹⁰

¹ Les $7\frac{1}{2}$ *qest* de vin = 3k. 972,6; les 9 *qest* = 4k. 763,52. Les 15 *mody* donneraient 192 *meudd* × 15 = 2880 *meudd*, chiffre excessif; aussi la leçon "meudd" me paraît-elle préférable. Le *meudd* de l'auteur étant, ce semble, de 529,68 (voy. n. 6, p. 502) on aurait pour le grand 'armou 7k. 945,2 ou le double du petit. Il est à remarquer que le *meudd* d'Éz-Zahrâwy est égal au *qest* de vin.

² C'est le γράμμα (gramme) ou scrupule des Grecs, tiers de la drachme. Comp. note 6, p. 508.

³ C'est-à-dire d'une darakhmy, voy. sous *Baqêlâh*. La *gharâma* (le gramme) égale donc bien 1gr., 1035. Ce passage d'Éz-Zahrâwy me permet de corriger dans ma traduction de Mâr Eliyâ le tableau comparatif de différentes mesures des liquides, où il faut lire *gharâma* et non *gharâfy*. Il faut en outre corriger ainsi: 20 *gharâma* (de 1,1035) pour le petit *mestrân* et 3 onces 8 *gharâma* pour le grand *mestrân*. Galien porte 6 drachmes 2 scrupules (= 20 scrupules ou grammes pour le petit *mystrom* et 3 onces 8 scrupules pour le grand.

⁴ 3 qîrâts de $0,1839\frac{1}{8}$ = 0gr., 55175.

⁵ On verra plus loin que le *qalqîs* (BB قرقيس) = 3 qîrâts.

⁶ Les $\frac{7}{18}$ de 3,0898 = 1,2015 $\frac{8}{9}$. Si l'auteur avait voulu parler de la darakhmy, on aurait 1,2874 $\frac{1}{2}$. Mais en donnant au derham *kayl* la valeur trouvée à la note 4, p. 508, c'est-à-dire 2gr., 8375 $\frac{5}{7}$, on retrouve pour le gramme 1gr., 1035.

⁷ $\frac{3,0898}{4} = 0,77245$; $\frac{3,3105}{4} = 0,827625$; $\frac{4,144}{4} = 1,035$. Les 2 dâneqs représentent $\frac{1}{3}$ de derham.

⁸ Dans un MS. du *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*, appartenant à la bibliothèque grand-ducale de Gotha, on lit فنج et dans un autre (No. 2006), فينج. La contenance est de 33gr., 105 ou $1\frac{1}{2}$ petit *mystrom* de vin.

⁹ BB فاهج.

¹⁰ Le *fâledj* serait donc la même mesure que le *makkoûk*. Cf. mes *Matériaux*, III^e Partie.

Fidjôu فيجوا.¹ Ce (poids) égale deux metqâls et demi, soit trente-deux *djalqôus*;² le *djalqôus*³ est le demi-sixième d'un metqâl.

Fanáqos فناقس.⁴ Il est égal à douze *gest*.⁵

Faldjîrât فليجيارات.⁶ Il pèse cinq derhams *kayl* et demi.⁷

Lettre Qâf. ق.

Qest قسط,⁸ sexte, sextaire. Il est égal à trois ratls, en prenant pour base du calcul le derham *kayl*.⁹ Quelques (auteurs) l'ont fait égal à quatre ratls¹⁰ et d'autres, à deux ratls.¹¹ Le *qest* des *Roûm*, à la mesure بالكيل, égale deux ratls et, au poids بالوزن, un ratl et deux tiers.¹² Pour les choses (fol. 5r^o) sèches, il pèse, chez les *Roûm*, huit onces.¹³ On dit

¹ BB فيجوا.

² BB حلقوأس. Au lieu de 32, il faudrait 30, car $\frac{30}{12} = 2\frac{1}{2}$. Nous avons vu que le *djalqôus* (chalque) = 0gr., 275875. 30 chalques = $3,3105 \times 2\frac{1}{2} = 8$ gr., 27625. Nous avons fait remarquer toutefois qu'il est plus probable que le chalque soit égal à $0,06896\frac{2}{3}$; on aurait alors pour les 30 ou le *fidjou* 2gr., 0690625, soit le $\frac{1}{4}$ de la valeur précédente.

³ BB الجلفوس.

⁴ BB فناقس.

⁵ Ce qui fait un double *hoûs*.

⁶ BB فليجيارات.

⁷ Le mots "et demi" manquent dans BB. J'ignore quelle valeur *Ez-Zahrâwy* attribue ici au derham *kayl*.

⁸ Du grec ξέστρης.

⁹ Il s'agit par conséquent du ratl de Baghdâd. *Eliyâ* nous dit aussi que le petit *qest* de vin pèse trois de ces ratls (de 397,26) = 1k. 191,78.

¹⁰ 4 ratls de Baghdâd = 1k. 589,04 ou 20 *mystron* d'huile.

¹¹ 2 ratls de Baghdâd = 794,92 ou 10 *mystron* d'huile.

¹² On ne peut admettre évidemment ici que le ratl du *Roûm* (= 317gr., 808). Les 2 = 635gr., 616 et un ratl et deux tiers = 529gr., 68; ce dernier est le *qest* de vin d'*Eliyâ*.

Nous trouvons dans ce passage la livre métrique ou *mensuralis* et la livre stathmique ou de poids si bien expliquées par Don V. Vazquez Queipo (t. i. p. 508 et suiv.), qui a élucidé avec beaucoup de science ce passage de Galien: "*Nuncupatur enim à Romanis æquivocè ponderalis ut ita dicam, libra solidorum, et mensuralis libra liquidorum: quæ copiosissima in tota urbe ex materia cornua constat.*" La livre d'huile était à celle de vin ou d'eau :: 9: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. C'est dans ce même rapport que se trouvent 2 et 1 $\frac{2}{3}$. Comp. ci-devant note 7, p. 500.

Le passage d'*Ez-Zahrâwy* reproduit presque le suivant tiré des Appendices aux Œuvres du médecin de Pergame: *Oribasius vero ex Adamantiî sententia sextarium Italicum, vini quidem MENSURA uncias 24 (ou 2 ratls) PONDERE libram 1 ac uncias 8 (1 $\frac{2}{3}$ ratl) habere: Mellis vero mensura libras duas et dimidiam pendere (De mens. humid. iv. 275). Sextarius habet libram 1, uncias 8. (Diosc., De mens. humid., viii).*

¹³ 8 onces de 26gr., 484 = 211gr., 872. El 'Antary *apud* Esc. 844 attribue également 8 onces au *qest* d'*Antályah*.

que le grand qest comprend quatre ratls, au (ratl) de l'Iraq,¹ et, dit-on, trois ratls,² et le petit, un double *qoutouly* قوطولان. Le double *qoutouly* équivaut à deux ratls, à la mesure, et à un ratl et deux tiers, au poids.³ Le qest d'Antioche est égal à un ratl⁴ et, en poids, à dix-huit onces.⁵ Il est de vingt-quatre onces chez les droguistes.⁶ Quant au qest (servant) à mesurer les liquides, celui de l'huile contient dix-huit onces; celui du vin, vingt onces, et le qest du miel, trente-six onces.⁷

Qoutouly قوطولى,⁸ cotyle. C'est, à la mesure, un ratl et, au poids, dix onces.⁹ Dans quelques villes du pays de Roûm, il est, à la mesure, égal à neuf onces et, au poids, à sept onces et demie.¹⁰ Il représente six *qouatoûs* (cyathes).¹¹ Le *qoutouly* d'Alâyah,¹² l'auteur l'a mentionné dans le tableau parmi les mesures des liquides.¹³

¹ Comme ci-dessus note 10, p. 515.

² $397,26 \times 3 = 1k. 191,78$. C'est le petit qest de vin d'Eliyah.

³ Voy. n. 12, p. 515. *Sextarius mensura habet cotylas 2. pondere drachmas 120* (Galien, *Ex libris Cleop., De pond. et mens.*, et Dioscoride, *De mens. et pond.*). Les 120 drachmes de 4,414 égaleriaient 529 gr., 68 ou le qest de vin d'Eliyah.

⁴ La proportion $7\frac{1}{2} : 9 :: 1\frac{1}{2} : x$ exigerait $1\frac{1}{3}$ ratl.

⁵ Les 18 onces du Roûm = 476gr., 712, attribués par Eliyah et par Ez-Zahrâwy lui-même (voy. ci-après) au qest d'huile.

⁶ 24 onces ou 2 ratls du Roûm = 635,616.

⁷ Sauf pour ce dernier chiffre, qui est de 27 onces chez Eliyah et qu' Ez-Zahrâwy égale au double du poids de l'huile, notre auteur est d'accord avec le métropolitain de Nésibe; Eliyah donne pour le miel le chiffre de Dioscoride: *Sextarius (mellis) habet libras 2 et uncias 3 (alias 1\frac{1}{2})*. *Sextarius habet (olei) uncias 18; (vini) uncias 20; (mellis) uncias 27* (Galien, *De mens. humid.* iv. 275 et 277). Esc. 844 à propos de la mesure "appelée *qestes*, qui est le *qest*," donne 18 onces pour l'huile, 20 onces pour le vin et 27 onces pour le miel.

⁸ En grec *κοτύλη*.

⁹ Nous avons en effet $9 : 7\frac{1}{2} :: 12$ (ou le ratl) : $x = 10$ onces. La cotyle de vin d'Eliyah pèse 10 onces.

¹⁰ Voy. notes 12, p. 515, 3 et 9, p. 516. *Cotyle, mensura quidem habet cyathos 6, pondere vero drachmas 60. Uncias 7\frac{1}{2}* (Galien, *Ex libris Cleop., De pond. et mens.*).

¹¹ Conforme à Eliyah et à Galien. D'après ces mêmes auteurs, la cotyle contient 9 onces d'huile (=238gr., 356); 10 onces de vin (=264gr., 84) et $13\frac{1}{2}$ onces de miel (=357,534). Esc. 844, le *Canon* d'Avicenne (Es-Sâher), etc., donnent également ces contenances à la cotyle.

¹² Le texte porte *الععلاني* et BB *الععلاني* et l'on trouve la même répétition ci-dessous pour le *qentâr*. C'est la même leçon représentée par les mots *النيلاني* ou *العيلاني* d'El Djabarty à propos d'un ratl. Je n'hésite pas à lire dans tous ces passages *العلايي* "d'Alâyah," avec le *Guide du Kâteb*. La ville d'Alaïah, qui fait actuellement partie de l'Eaylet d'Adana, était comprise du XI^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e siècle, dans les Etats des Sultans Seldjouquides d'Iconium, sur le littoral, au N.O. du royaume de l'Arménie.

¹³ J'ignore où se trouve ce tableau dont la découverte nous serait précieuse.

Qentâr قنطار, quintal. Il contient cent ratls comme le *tâlîouïn* طاليون.¹ Le qentâr d'Alâyah² se compose de soixante-dix *mann*, ce qui fait cent quarante ratls.³ Le *Métely*⁴ comprend deux cent douze ratls.⁵

Qouôoullâs قوطولاس—une copie (porte) *qouâtoûs*.⁶ Il est égal à cinquante-quatre onces *kayl*.⁷

Qâdoûs قادوس.⁸ Il contient huit qest.⁹

Qouâtoûs قواؤوس¹⁰ ou, suivant une copie, *qâboûs* قابوس.¹¹ C'est une mesure de capacité (*kayl*) contenant une once et demie.¹²

¹ Sous la lettre *Tâ*, ce poids est écrit *tâlîqouïn*. Ce mot serait-il la transcription du grec *τάλαντον* ?

² Voy. note 12, p. 516.

³ Le *Guide du Kâteb* nous a appris que le ratl d'Alâyah se composait de 180 derhams, soit pour son qentâr 18000 derhams. Or les 140 ratls de Baghdâd de 128 $\frac{1}{2}$ derhams donnent exactement 18000 derhams.

⁴ المطلي, de Mételin ? Il faut sans doute lire *mesry*.

⁵ 212 ratls de 128 $\frac{1}{2}$ = 27257 $\frac{1}{2}$ ou 100 ratls de 272 $\frac{1}{2}$ derhams. Nous n'avons jamais rencontré ce ratl. Mais si nous substituons dans le texte 112 à 212 (erreur probable de copiste), nous obtiendrons alors un ratl de 144 derhams, lequel est en effet le ratl *mesry*. $\frac{128\frac{1}{2} \times 112}{100} = 144$.

⁶ قواؤوس ; BB قوانوس.

⁷ Cette mesure ne saurait être un cyathe, les 54 onces *kayl* c'est-à-dire du ratl de Baghdâd (de 128 $\frac{1}{2}$) représentant 1k. 787,67.

⁸ En grec *κάδος*, "mesure de dix congés, ou peut-être synonyme du *métrète*, ou, selon d'autres, de l'*amphore*." ALEXANDRE.

⁹ 529,68 × 8 = 4k. 237,44 ; ce qui représente 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *hoûs* de vin d'Eliyâ et le *djôûch* de l'auteur, voy. note 8, p. 506. Cependant en faisant le *qest* égal à un ratl de Baghdâd (= 397,26) on aurait pour les 8 qest 3k. 178,08 ou exactement le *hoûs* de vin d'Eliyâ ; peut-être est-ce cette valeur qu'il faut donner au *djôûch* et au *basâton* d'Ez-Zahrâwy.

¹⁰ BB قواؤوس.

¹¹ BB قابيس.

¹² C'est le poids du cyathe plein d'huile d'Eliyâ = 39gr., 726 = 12 darakhmy. Esc. 844 donne au cyathe, comme le Métropolitain de Nésibe, 12 darakhmy pour l'huile ; 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *oqiyah* pour le vin ; et 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *oqiyah* pour le miel. *Cyathus* (græcè *κυαθος*) *habet* (*olei*) *drachmas* 12 ; (*vin*) *drachmas* 12 *scrup.* 4 ; (*mellis*) *unc.* 2, *drach.* 2 (Galien, *De mens. humid.*, iv. 275). *Cyathus* *habet* (*olei*) *unc.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$; (*vin*) *drach.* 13 *scrup.* 1 ; (*mellis*) *drach.* 18 (Cleop., *De mens. humid.*, iv. 277). Quoique en d'autres termes, les mesures données au cyathe par Cleopâtre sont les mêmes. Elles se retrouvent dans le *Canon* d'Avicenne sous le nom d'Es-Sâher, si l'on rectifie toutefois le texte imprimé, évidemment fautif, pour le poids du vin. Cleopâtre s'exprime ainsi : *Cyathus* *habet* *drachmas* 10, *sive* *unciam* 1 $\frac{1}{4}$, *scrupulos* 30, *obolos* 60, *lupinos* 90, *siliquas* 180, *æreos* 480. *Est autem cyathus sexta pars cotyles* (*De pond. et mens.* iv. p. 276) ; cet auteur a en vue le cyathe pondéral, de même qu'il parle de la cotyle pondérale : *cotyle, mensura quidem habet cyathos* 6, *pondere vero drachmas* 60, *uncias* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$, *scrupulos* 180, *obolos* 360, *lupinos* 540, *siliquas* 1080, *æreos* 2880. Le cyathe pondéral étant de 10 drachmes, le cyathe métrique sera de 12. Les 12 darakhmy = 39,726 ou le cyathe d'huile d'Eliyâ.

Qîrât قيراط.¹ C'est le tiers du huitième d'un metqâl, soit trois *habbah*.² Il entre dans le derham dokhl douze de ces qîrâts.³ Le qîrât, a dit quelqu'un, est une *kharroûbah*.⁴ Il a été dit aussi que c'était la vingt-quatrième partie du metqâl.

Qa'b قعب. C'est un vase dont la capacité (*qadr*) égale celle de la grande *sokoradjah*. On dit aussi qu'il est égal au *gest*.

Qay'ioûn قيعيون.⁵ Il contient dix ratls.⁶

Qalqos قلقس (fol. 5v°). Il équivaut à trois qîrâts, ce qui fait huit *djalqôus* ;⁷ il équivaut aussi au sixième d'un metqâl, exactement comme l'obole.⁸

Qartamânâ قرطمانا — une copie (porte) *qarsîk* قرصيك. Il se compose à Antâlyah (Satalie) de quarante-huit *gest* et contient huit *djoûch*.⁹

Qadh قدح. Il est égal à un ratl et quart.¹⁰

Qafîz قفيز. Le grand comprend vingt-quatre *sâ'*, soit vingt-quatre *kayladjah* ou huit *makkoûk*, ce qui fait quatre-vingt-seize *meudd*, au *meudd* du Prophète,¹¹ que Dieu le bénisse

¹ *Ceratium, id est siliqua, græcè κεράτιον* (Galien, iv. 275).

² S'agit il ici du metqâl de 4gr., 414? Le qîrât sera de 0gr., 1839½ et la *habbah*, de 0,061305½.

³ $0,1839\frac{1}{2} \times 12 = 2gr., 207$, valeur que nous avons déjà trouvée pour le derham *dokhl*.

⁴ 18 de ces qîrâts ou *kharroûbah* forment la *darakhmy*. *Sub verbo*, Ez-Zahrâwy nous dit que la *kharroûbah* = 4 *habbah*. *Qostâ apud Madjmoû'ah f'îl hésâb*, Esc. 844, El 'Antary, Jean fils de Sérapion (*Canon d'Avicenne*), etc., donnent au qîrât 4 grains d'orge. C'est aussi ce qu'on lit dans Galien: *Siliqua habet sitaria, id est granula 4* (iv. 275). Cf. au surplus le *tableau des différents qîrâts*, dans *Matériaux*, II^e Partie.

⁵ BB قيعيون.

⁶ Si Ez-Zahrâwy a eu en vue le petit ratl de Baghdâd, cette mesure contiendra 3k. 972,6 ou le tiers d'un *koûz*.

⁷ 3 qîrâts (de 0,1839½) = 0,06896½ × 8 = 0gr., 55175 ou une obole. — BB جلفوس.

⁸ On lit dans le texte ايلوس, évidemment pour ابلوس, comme le porte d'ailleurs BB qui écrit الابلوس. $\frac{3,3105}{6} = 0,55175$.

⁹ En effet le *djoûch italiqy* (italique) ou *hoûs* d'Eliyâ (*chous*, conge) est formé de 6 *gest*. Le *banâdimouân* d'Antâlyah comprend également 48 *gest*, ainsi que la jarre d'Antioche.

¹⁰ $397,26 \times 1\frac{1}{4} = 496gr., 575$ ou $11\frac{1}{4}$ cyathes de vin. Cette contenance diffère de celle donnée au *qadh* par les autres métrologues musulmans.

¹¹ Si nous adoptons le poids du *meudd* du Prophète (544gr., 813½), déduit du poids de la jarre d'Antioche, nous trouverons que le grand *qafîz* pèse 52k. 302,116½; le *sâ'* et la *kayladjah*, 2k. 180,445½; et le *makkoûk* 6k. 537,764½. Ces valeurs sont inférieures à celles données par Eliyâ.

et le salue ! En poids, il égale deux ratls (*sic*). Le petit qafiz est égal, en poids, à quatre ratls.¹

Qatb قتب. Il contient un quart de mody.²

Qariounioun قريونيم.³ Il renferme trois onces, exactement comme le grand *mosatroûn*.⁴

Qafaliân قفليان. Le grand pèse cinq metqâls ;⁵ le moyen, quatre metqâls ;⁶ et le petit, un demi-metqâl.⁷

Qadjalanâros قجلنارس.⁸ C'est une darakhmy et demie, c'est-à-dire un metqâl et demi.⁹

Lettre *Kâf* ك.

Kaff كف, paume de la main, poignée. Il égale six darakhmy.¹⁰

Kouz كوز. Il équivaut à six qest et, dit-on, à six ratls. D'autres disent qu'il est égal à deux cotyles.¹¹

Karânoûs كرانوس (*sic*)—un auteur a écrit *farânoûs* فرانوس.¹² C'est une once et demie.¹³

Karfoûlioun كرفوليون.¹⁴ Trois onces.¹⁵

Kasioun كسيون. Dix darakhmy.¹⁶

Kcurr كتر. Le grand contient trente mody, ce qui repré-

¹ Le petit qafiz étant égal à 4 ratls, il est évident que le grand devra être supérieur à 2 ratls et que le copiste a fait erreur.—4 ratls de Baghdâd de 397,26 = 1k. 589,04 ou 6 qest de vin d'Eliyâ. Voyez aussi *asetoûnafos*.

² D'après Ez-Zahrâwy, le mody se compose de 192 *meudd* du Prophète. Le *qatb* sera donc de 48 *meudd* ou un demi-qafiz, soit 26k. 151,058 $\frac{2}{3}$.

³ BB قريونيم.

⁴ Le grand *mystron* d'huile d'Eliyâ pèse, en effet, 3 onces (du Roûm) = 79gr., 452.

⁵ 5 metqâls-darakhmy = 16gr., 5525, ou la moitié de l'once du ratl de Baghdâd de 128 $\frac{1}{2}$ derhams.

⁶ 4 metqâls-darakhmy = 13gr., 242, ou la moitié de l'once du ratl du Roûm.

⁷ $\frac{1}{2}$ metqâl-darakhmy = 1gr., 65525.

⁸ BB قجلنارس.

⁹ 4gr., 96575.

¹⁰ 19gr., 863 comme le petit *mystron* d'huile. La même évaluation se trouve dans Esc. 844.

¹¹ Ces évaluations diffèrent beaucoup de celles d'Eliyâ. Il est difficile d'ailleurs de savoir de quel *qest* et de quel ratl Ez-Zahrâwy veut parler. Esc. 844 donne au *kouz* d'huile 48 *estâr* et à celui du moût de raisin, 60 *estâr*.

¹² BB فرانوس.

¹³ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ once (du Roûm) = 39gr., 726 ou le cyathe d'huile d'Eliyâ ; ce qui porterait à croire qu'Ez-Zahrâwy a eu sous les yeux une corruption de قواثوس.

¹⁴ BB كرفوليون.

¹⁵ 3 onces (du Roûm) = 79gr., 452 ou le grand *mystron* d'huile d'Eliyâ.

¹⁶ 33gr., 105 ou l'once du ratl de Baghdâd de 128 $\frac{1}{2}$.

sente cinq mille sept cent soixante *meudd*,¹ au *meudd* du Prophète, que Dieu le bénisse et le salue ! Le petit équivaut à cinq *meudd*.² Le grand *keurr* de Baghdâd correspond à soixante *qafîz* de huit *makkoûk*.³

Kayladjah كليلجة. Cette (mesure) est égale, comme le *sâ'*, à quatre *meudd*⁴ et, dit-on, à un *ratl* et demi.⁵ La *kayladjah* équivaut aussi à cinq *ratls*,⁶ (fol. 6v°) ce qui fait trois *makkoûk*,⁷ soit quatre *qadh* d'un *ratl* et un tiers.⁸

Kasoûnâ كسوننا. Des gens ont prétendu que c'était le poids de dix-huit *qîrâts*;⁹ d'autres, qu'il était égal à douze *derhams*.¹⁰

Kasoûnoûs كسونوس¹¹—(on lit) dans une copie *Kanasâ* كنسا.

¹ Soit 30×192 ou 3138k. 126,994 $\frac{2}{3}$. Ce passage nous prouve que la leçon "192" (voy. plus loin sous *Mody*) est la bonne et qu'Ebn el Baytar aurait pu se dispenser de faire mention des 172 *meudd* attribués au *mody* par un manuscrit. Tout comme les autres, le célèbre botaniste de Malaga se bornait à copier, sans s'assurer de leur exactitude, les valeurs qu'il avait sous les yeux.

² امداد. Les 5 *meudd* de 544gr., $813\frac{2}{3} = 2k. 724,068\frac{2}{3}$.

³ Cette évaluation du *keurr* de Baghdâd est celle adoptée par la plupart des jurisconsultes et autres écrivains musulmans. Voy. mes *Matériaux*, III^e Partie, Mesures. Je profiterai de ce passage pour rectifier une erreur de traduction dans Ed-Dahaby où j'ai rencontré كرسون ; ces deux mots que j'ai représentés comme le nom d'une mesure sous la forme *karsatoîn* me paraissent devoir être traduits par *keurr soixante*, *keurr settoân*, quoique le texte lui donne la valeur de deux *qafîz* !

⁴ Ce qui fait $\frac{1}{4}$ du *qafîz*, comme on lit dans le *Kétâb el hâwy*.

⁵ Tâbet ebn Qorra, apud la *Madjmoû'ah fi'l hésâb*, et le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* donnent aussi 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* à la *kayladjah*. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratl* de Baghdâd de 128 $\frac{2}{3}$ *derhams* = 595gr., 89.

⁶ $128\frac{2}{3} \times 5 = 642\frac{2}{3}$ *derhams* = 1k. 968,3 ; cette valeur est celle donnée à la *kayladjah* ou $\frac{1}{4}$ du *qafîz* par le *Kétâb el hâwy*. Voy. *Matériaux*, III^e Partie. Nous devons pourtant faire observer que le *sâ'* est égal à 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ *ratls* ; 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ *ratls* de 128 $\frac{2}{3}$ = 685 $\frac{2}{3}$ *derhams* = 2k. 118,72 : ce poids est celui de la *kayladjah* de Soûr, d'après El Moqaddasy. La lecture 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ *ratls* se trouve confirmée par ce qu'ajoute ensuite Ez-Zahrâwy, à savoir que cette mesure se compose de 4 *qadh* d'1 $\frac{1}{3}$ *ratl*.

⁷ وهى ثلاثة مكوك (sic). La grammaire exigeait après ثلاثة le pluriel مكوكات. Il y a donc lieu de supposer que le copiste s'est trompé et qu'il faut lire وهى ثلث مكوك "ce qui fait un tiers de *makkoûk*." Nous trouvons en effet dans plusieurs auteurs et ci-après sous *Makkoûk*, que cette mesure contient 3 *kayladjah*. 2k. 118,72 $\times 3 = 6k. 356,16$. Telle est une des valeurs que lui donnent la *Résâlat ech-chamsiyah* et El Moqaddasy. Cf. mes *Matériaux*, III^e Partie.

⁸ Sous *Qadh*, Ez-Zahrâwy nous a dit que cette mesure pesait 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ *ratl*. Faut-il voir une erreur dans sa première évaluation ? $1\frac{1}{3} \times 4 = 5$; mais si nous admettons qu'il faut lire 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ *ratls*, le *qadh* sera alors de 1 $\frac{1}{3}$. Cette dernière valeur du *qadh* ou $\frac{1}{36}$ de l'*ardeb* mesry résulte exactement du poids (50k. 849,28 = 16457 $\frac{2}{3}$ *derhams*) donné à l'*ardeb* d'Égypte par le *Qâmoûs*. Plus loin cependant, sous *Waybah*, Ez-Zahrâwy confirme le poids d'1 $\frac{1}{3}$ *ratl* pour le *qadh*.

⁹ $0,1839\frac{2}{3} \times 18 = 3gr.$, 3105 ou la *darakhmy*. Cf. note 1, p. 501.

¹⁰ $3,3105 \times 12 = 39gr.$, 726 ou le *cyathe* d'huile d'Eliyah.

¹¹ BB كسونوس.

Il contient en huile vingt-sept derhams; en vin, trente derhams; en miel, cinquante-quatre derhams et demi.¹

Lettre *Lâm* ل.

Lamoûradîqy لمورديقى.² Cela fait neuf onces.³

Lettre *Mîm* م.

Metqâl مشقال. Il est égal à un derham et demi *kayl* et à deux derhams *dokhl* et trois *habbah*, ce qui fait vingt-cinq *qîràts*.⁴

Makkoûk مكوك. Il égale douze *meudd*⁵ et contient trois *kayladjah*⁶ et, dit-on, quatre ratls et demi;⁷ ce qui fait, au poids, quinze ratls.⁸ On dit aussi que c'est un demi-ratl du *qafiz*⁹ et, dit-on encore, le quart du *rob'*, à la mesure,¹⁰ ce qui est, en poids, quatre ratls.¹¹

Mann من mine. Le grand équivaut à quatre ratls, et le petit, à deux ratls, à la mesure.¹² Chez les *Roûm*, il est

¹ BB supprime la demie après 54. Le *kasounoûs* égale $1\frac{1}{2}$ oxybaphe. Son poids en huile est de 89gr., 3835; en vin, de 99gr., 315 et en miel, de 180gr., 42225; car je suppose que, par derham, Ez-Zahrâwy entend la darakhmy.

² BB لمورديقى.

³ 9 onces (du Roûm) représentent la cotyle d'huile d'Eliya.

⁴ Faut-il supposer l'omission de la fraction $\frac{1}{2}$? $25\frac{1}{2}$ qîràts de 0gr., $1839\frac{1}{8}$ = 4gr., 6347 ou le *metqâl mesry*. Ce *metqâl* = $1\frac{1}{2}$ derham *kayl* (de 3,0898). Il est aussi égal à $4,414$ (ou $2,207 \times 2$) + 0,2207. La *habbah* serait de 0gr., $0735\frac{2}{3}$; c'est celle de l'or ou $\frac{4,414}{60}$.

⁵ Les 12 *meudd* de 544gr. $813\frac{5}{7}$ = 6k. 537,764 $\frac{2}{7}$. En donnant au *meudd* le poids plus général de 529,58 (lequel coïncide avec le *qest* de vin), on aura pour le *makkoûk* 6k. 356,16. Voy. note 7, p. 520.

⁶ Voy. note 7, p. 520.

⁷ On se rappellera que l'auteur vient de donner $1\frac{1}{2}$ ratl à la *kayladjah*.

⁸ $4\frac{1}{2}$ ratls (à la mesure?) ne peuvent faire 15 ratls au poids. Ces 15 ratls du *makkoûk* paraissent correspondre aux 5 ratls qu'Ez-Zahrâwy attribue à la *kayladjah*. Le MS. de la Bodlienne ajoute ici, "et, dit-on, quatorze ratls dans un *makkoûk*."

⁹ L'expression "un demi-ratl du *qafiz*" signifierait-elle un huitième du *qafiz*? Le texte est ainsi conçu: *ويقال انه نصف رطل من من التفيز*; dans BB le second *من* est supprimé.

¹⁰ ربع الربع بالكيل. Je ne sais s'il faut traduire comme je l'ai fait (le *rob'* n'étant égal qu'à $10\frac{1}{2}$ *meudd* du Prophète) ou par "le quart du quart" c'est-à-dire $\frac{1}{16}$ (du *qafiz*?). Le sens ne me paraît pas clair. D'après la proportion entre la livre métrique et la livre stathmique, nous devrions retrouver dans cette expression $4\frac{2}{3}$ ratls.

¹¹ 4 ratls de 397gr., $26 = 1k. 589,04$.

¹² Les mots بالكيل manquent dans BB.

de vingt onces,¹ et, de vingt-six onces, à la mesure.² Pour Galien, il est égal à cent metqâls, au poids,³ pour les choses sèches. A Alexandrie, le mann est de trente onces et, dit-on, de vingt onces.⁴ Chez les droguistes, il est de vingt-une onces. Le mann d'Ardabil⁵ est de neuf ratls. [Le mann],⁶ a-t-il été dit, est de deux ratls et le ratl, de douze onces, ce qui fait cent vingt derhams, aux derhams de la mesure.⁷ Le mann, a-t-il été dit encore, est égal à quarante *estâr* et le ratl, à vingt *estâr*.⁸

Mosatroun مسطرون⁹ (*μύστρον*, *mystrum*, *mystre*)—on dit aussi *mosatoûn* مسطون. (fol. 6v^o) Le grand contient trois onces¹⁰ et le petit, six metqâls, qui sont six darakhmy.¹¹

Mal'aqah ملعته, cuillerée. Elle est égale à un metqâl¹² et,

¹ Tâbet ebn Qorrah, *loc. cit.*, fait aussi le mann *roûmy* de 20 onces, ainsi qu'El 'Antary (Esc. 844). *Mina Romana* (*habet uncias* 20 (Galien, *iv.* 275). Plus loiu (note 4) nous verrons Dioscoride égalier les 20 onces de la mine d'Alexandrie à 160 *holca* (ou darakhmy); ce qui nous donne pour l'once du Roûm les 8 darakhmy (de 3,3105).

² BB porte 16 onces, comme le mann d'Antâlyah, suivant El 'Antary (Esc. 844).

³ *Attica mina habet uncias* 12½, *drachmas* 100 (Galien, *Ex libris Cleop., De pond. et mensuris*, *iv.* p. 276). Les 100 darakhmy = 331gr., 05 ou 10 onces du ratl de Baghdâd de 128½ derhams et 12½ onces du Roûm de 26gr., 484.

⁴ *Mina Alexandrina pendit uncias* 20, *id est holcas* 160 (Galien, *Diosc., De pond.* *iv.* 277). Esc. 844 accorde à deux reprises 30 onces à la mine d'Alexandrie.

⁵ BB الاردبلي.

⁶ Je restitue ici d'après BB les mots entre crochets.

⁷ Les *derhams de la mesure* désignent dans ce passage des darakhmy. 120 × 3,3105 = 397gr. 26 ou le ratl de Baghdâd de 128½ derhams.

⁸ Sur le ratl composé de 20 *estâr* et corollairement le mann composé de 40, on peut voir ci-devant sous *Estâr*, et mes *Matériaux*, II^e Partie, Poids.

⁹ Eliyâ écrit موسطرون et Esc. 844 مصطرن et مسطرن.

¹⁰ Les 3 onces (=79gr., 452) représentent le grand *mystron* d'huile; la même mesure de vin pèse 20 metqâls (de 4,414) ou 3½ onces du Roûm (=88gr., 28); celle de miel à le poids de 4½ onces (=119gr., 178). Les métrologues arabes sont d'accord sur la contenance de ces mesures. Tous donnent 3 onces au grand *mystron* d'huile et 3½ au grand *mystron* de vin; pour ce dernier, quelques-uns s'expriment en des termes différents: ainsi, Es-Sâher (*Canon* d'Avicenne) dit 3 onces et 8 *gharâma*, comme Esc. 844 (où il faut lire 8 au lieu de 18), et Eliyâ ajoute que les 3½ onces = 20 metqâls. *Mystrum magnum habet (ol.) uncias* 3; (*vini uncias* 3; *scrup.* 8; (*mellis uncias* 4½ (Galien, *De mens. humid.* *iv.*, 275).

¹¹ 6 metqâls-darakhmy = 19gr., 863. C'est le petit *mystron* d'huile (Esc. 844, Es-Sâher, Jean fils de Sérapion, *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*). *Mystrum parvum habet (ol.) drachmas* 6; (*vini drachmas* 6 *scrup.* 2; (*mellis drachmas* 9 (Galien, *De mens. humid.*, *iv.* 275, 277). Pour le vin, Esc. 844 porte 10 *gharâma*; il faut lire 20 (=22gr., 07) avec Es-Sâher (*Canon* d'Avicenne, où on lit *'arâma* au lieu de *gharâma*).

¹² C'est la cuillerée de médicament (=3gr., 3105), Tâbet ebn Qorrah, *loc. cit.*, *Madjmou'ah fi'l hésâb*, Commentaire de l'*Ardjoûzah*, Esc. 844, 'El Antary (do.), Jean fils de Sérapion (qui ajoute "ou un derham"), *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*. *Cochlearium habet drachmam* 1 (Galien, *Ex libris Cleop. et aliter de eisdem*, *iv.* 276). *Cochlearium habet scrupulos* 3 (do. Diosc., *De mens. et pond.* *iv.* 277).

dit-on, à deux derhams *kayl*.¹ On dit que la grande contient une demi-once² et la petite, quatre derhams *kayl*.³ Quelques (médecins) ont dit : La *mal'aqah* correspond à quatre metqâls de miel⁴ et à deux metqâls, quand il s'agit de médicament.⁵

Monaynah منينه.⁶ Il contient, dit-on, un *mana*—une copie (porte) qu'il contient neuf *mana*.

Mody مدي, *modium*, muid. Il se compose de cent soixante-douze *meudd*—(on lit dans) une copie cent quatre-vingt-douze *meudd*,⁷ au *meudd* du Prophète, que Dieu le bénisse et le salue !

Mâouch ماش. Il renferme vingt *gest*.⁸

Lettre *Noûn* ن.

Navâh نواه. Elle est les deux tiers d'un metqâl;⁹ quelques-uns disent six qîrâts¹⁰ et d'autres, les deux cinquièmes d'un derham *kayl*.¹¹

Naytal نيطال—on dit aussi *nâtel* ناطل.¹² Il comprend douze metqâls, ce qui fait une once et demie.¹³ Il contient aussi dix-sept derhams *kayl* moins un tiers¹⁴ et deux *estâr*,¹⁵ a dit quelqu'un.

Naysabât نيسباط. Le grand représente cinquante qentârs¹⁶ et le petit, quinze *gest*.¹⁷

¹ Le copiste a écrit درهمان; mais BB porte درهما. Ces derhams *kayl* seraient-ils des darakhmy, comme le metqâl, ou bien des $\frac{1}{2}$ darakhmy = 1,65525 ? Nous allons voir que la petite *cuillerée* contient 2 metqâls.

² $\frac{1}{2}$ once (du Roûm) = 13gr., 242 = 4 darakhmy-metqâls.

³ Comp. note 1. D'après le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân*, la petite *cuillerée* = 2 metqâls.

⁴ 13gr., 242; *Madjmoû'ah fi'l hésâb*, Tâbet ebn Qorrah (do.), le Comment. de l'*Arâdjôuzah*, Esc. 844, El 'Antary (do.), Jean fils de Sérapion.

⁵ 6gr., 621. *Cochlearium facit scrupulos 6* (Galien, *De mens. et pond. veterin.*, iv. 276).

⁶ *Monaynah* pourrait signifier "petit mann."

⁷ 192 est la bonne leçon, puisque 30 *mody* font 5760 *meudd* ou un *keurr*. Voy. ci-devant sous *keurr*. 529,68 × 192 = 101k. 698,96.

⁸ 529,68 × 20 = 10k. 593,6 pour cette mesure pleine de vin.

⁹ 2gr., 207.

¹⁰ 6 × 0,1839 $\frac{1}{5}$ = 1gr., 1035 ou la moitié de la valeur précédente. La *Madjmoû'ah fi'l hésâb*, Esc. 844, El 'Antary (do.) et le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* disent aussi $\frac{1}{5}$ derham, 6 qîrâts, 2 dâneqs.

¹¹ Les $\frac{2}{5}$ de 3,0898 = 1gr., 2359 $\frac{1}{5}$. Le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* dit $\frac{1}{5}$ derham *kayl*.

¹² C'est le terme qu'on trouve dans la *Madjmoû'ah fi'l hésâb*. Jean fils de Sérapion (*Canon* d'Avicenne) porte *naytal*; le *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* donne les deux.

¹³ $1\frac{1}{2}$ once du Roûm ou 12 darakhmy-metqâls = 39gr., 726 ou le cyathe d'huile.

¹⁴ $16\frac{2}{3} \times 3,0898 ? = 51gr., 448\frac{2}{3}$.

¹⁵ 2 *estâr* de 19gr., 863 = 39gr., 726 = $1\frac{1}{2}$ once du Roûm.

¹⁶ Nous ignorons de quel qentâr il s'agit. Celui de Baghdâd de 39k. 726 × 50 donnerait 1986k. 300 !

¹⁷ 15 *gest* de 529,68 = 7k. 945,2.

Lettre *Hâ* هـ.

Hamach همش. Six qîrâts.¹

Haymân ديمان.² Vingt-cinq *estâr*.³

Lettre *Wâou* و.

Waybah وبة. Elle contient quatre *rob'* et, dit-on, deux *makkoûk*. Son poids est de trente ratls,⁴ ce qui fait vingt-quatre *qadh*, le *qadh* pesant un ratl et quart.⁵

El asatiqy الاسطيقى (l'asiatique ?) est égal à six *qest*.⁶

Warsi'ou'n ورسيعون. Il contient deux *darakhmy* et demie, c'est-à-dire deux *metqals* et demi.⁷

Lettre *Yâ* ي.

Yamîná يمينا. Sa contenance est des trois quarts de l'once et, dit-on, d'un petit *mosatoûr* (sic).⁸

Fin⁹ des mesures et des poids, par la grâce de Dieu (fol. 7r^o) bienveillant et compatissant. Louange à Dieu Seul et que Dieu bénisse notre Seigneur Mohammad, sa famille et ses compagnons et leur accorde de nombreux saluts !

Fin du livre béni.¹⁰

¹ 0,1839½ × 6 = 1gr., 1035 ou le tiers de la *darakhmy*.

² 2 MSS. du *Menhâdj ed-deukkân* écrivent *hemyân*.

³ 25 *estâr* de 19gr., 863 = 496gr., 575.

⁴ Les 30 ratls de Baghdâd de 397gr., 26 représentent 11k. 917,8 soit le *koûz* de vin d'Eliyâ. Nous avons vu ci-devant le *makkoûk* du poids de 15 ratls ; ce qui fait 30 ratls pour les 2. Le poids de cette *waybah* est celui donné par El Moqaddasy à la *waybah* de Mesr "égale à 15 *mana* (de 257½ *derhams*).⁵ Cf. *Matériaux*, 3^{me} Partie.

⁵ Voy. sous *Qadh* et note 8, p. 520.

⁶ Les 6 *qest* de 529,68 = 3k. 178,08 ou le *hoûs* de vin d'Eliyâ. On remarquera que cette mesure, qu'il m'est impossible de déterminer, n'est pas ici à son rang alphabétique. Peut-être son nom a-t-il été perdu par les copistes.

⁷ 8gr., 27625.

⁸ Les ¾ de l'once du Roûm = 19gr., 863 soit le petit *mystron* d'huile.

⁹ BB supprime tout ce passage, qu'il remplace par *والله اعلم* "Dieu en sait plus."

¹⁰ Le MS. de Madrid porte ensuite : "Disons maintenant quelques mots du traitement des chevaux, d'une manière abrégée." Un petit traité d'hippiatrie termine, en effet, le volume.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SIXTY-FIRST

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 19th of May, 1884,

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. RAWLINSON,

K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

Members.—The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report to the Members of the Society that, since their last Anniversary Meeting, held in the Society's House on May 21, 1883, there has been the following change in, and addition to the Members of the Society.

They have to announce with regret the loss by *Death*, or other causes, of their *Resident* Members—

W. Spottiswoode, Esq., Pres.R.S.
E. B. Eastwick, Esq., M.A., C.B., F.R.S.
T. Chenery, Esq., M.A.
N. Trübner, Esq.
J. Westwood, Esq.
Sir E. Clive Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
C. Milligan, Esq.

of their *Non-Resident* Members,

T. W. H. Tolbort, Esq.

and of their *Honorary* Members,

Prof. Olshausen, of Kiel.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in announcing that they have elected as *Resident* Members,

Sir Patrick de Colquhoun, Q.C., LL.D., V.P.R.S.L.
 Habib Anthony Salmone, Esq.
 Rev. J. G. Woodward.
 Sir Louis Jackson, C.S.I.
 Rev. E. Baronian.
 Wilberforce H. Wyke, Esq.
 Frederick Conway, Esq.
 Miss Edith Simeox.
 Rev. J. L. Bigger.
 J. Cotter Morisou, Esq., M.A.
 Muhammad Abd ul Jalil, Esq.
 Lestock Reid, Esq.
 Harbhamji of Morvi, Trin. Coll., Cambridge.
 Capt. C. T. Hatfield, late Dragoon Guards.
 S. A. Kapadia, Esq.
 H. A. Tufnell, Esq.
 Theodore Duka, M.D.
 Colonel C. Ratcliff, F.R.S.L., &c.
 The Rev. Dr. Wace, D.D., Principal of King's College, London.
 Sir Walter H. Medhurst, K.C.B.

and as *Non-Resident* Members,

Capt. John Humphrey.
 David Ross, Esq., C.I.E.
 H. A. Hughes, Esq.
 T. Watters, Esq.
 H. H. Waghji Thakúr of Morvi.
 Nawab Abd al Hak Sirdar Dilar Jung.
 Selig Ram Bias.
 R. G. Alford, Esq.
 H. Fauld, Esq., of Tokio.
 Alexander Cumine, Esq.
 G. A. Grierson, Esq.
 Oscar Frankfurter, Esq., Phil.D.
 Pandit Shyámaji Krishnavarma, Esq., Ball. Coll., Oxford
 L. Myriantheus, Esq.
 Dr. Bhawáni Singh, Oodeypur.
 Mehta Takht Singh, Oodeypur.
 Philip E. Brito, Esq., of Colombo.
 C. H. Tawney, Esq.
 Rev. S. Mateer.
 Robert Gordon, Esq.
 Monseigneur C. de Harlez.
 M. J. Van den Gheyn.
 Mirza Mehdy Khan.
 H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore, G.C.I.E.
 Rev. Colin S. Valentine, M.D.
 M. Longworth Dames, Esq.

Capt. C. A. Moloney, C.M.G.
Rev. Henry Lansdell.
Fahrir uddin Ahmed.
S. M. Habib Ullah.
Mr. Jogendra Mitra.
Ram Das Sen, Zemindar of Berhampore.
J. B. Buchanan, Esq.
Clement F. R. Allen, Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Pakhoi, China.
H. Holbein Hendley, Esq. (Surgeon-Major).
Adhar Singh Gour, Downing College, Cambridge.

and as an *Honorary* Member,

Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji.

The Society has, therefore, elected fifty-six new Members against a loss of eight.

On the personal history of some of those whom we have lost, and of other distinguished Oriental Scholars, not members of the Society, who have been taken from us during the past year, a few words will now be said.

Sir Edward Clive Bayley, who died April 30, the only son of Edward Clive Bayley, Esq., and the grandson of Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq., of Hope Hall, Manchester, was born at St. Petersburg, in October, 1821, and, having greatly distinguished himself at Haileybury, entered the Indian service early in 1842, and, after a stay of a few months in Calcutta, commenced his official career at Allahabad. Thence he was transferred to Meerut, and held, subsequently, appointments at Bulandshahr and Rohtak. During this portion of his life he suffered much from ill health, and was compelled to pass many months in the Hills. But this enforced absence from duty was not one of idleness, as it enabled him to explore a wide extent of the Himálayas, then but little known to English travellers.

On the annexation of the Panjab, Sir E. Clive Bayley was one of the officers selected by Lord Dalhousie, for the post of Deputy Commissioner, in these newly acquired districts, and, entering on his duties in Gujarát, in April, 1849, had an opportunity of exhibiting that earnest regard for the welfare of the people among whom he was placed, which

was a marked characteristic of his career in India. Thus, observing that one of the chief industries of the country, the manufacture of arms in steel inlaid with gold, would be wholly destroyed, owing to the necessary prohibitions of the Government, in the then disturbed state of the country—and that, from this cause, a large portion of the population were out of employment and in distress—he, at once, encouraged the people to apply their artistic skill to the making of ornaments, boxes, and other useful articles, at the same time, procuring large orders for such objects from England and from different parts of India. Thus it was that native skill—the outcome of long practice—was not lost, and a new and beautiful art created, which still flourishes extensively in this part of India.

In November, 1849, he was appointed Under-Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, and held this post for two years. His friend, Sir Henry Elliot, was at that time Foreign Secretary, and the two friends were wont to devote many leisure hours to those historical researches which were afterwards embodied in "The History of India as told by its own Historians." Of this valuable work, Sir H. Elliot, as is well known, was only able to print the first volume—the "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India," Calc. 1850. Eight more volumes have been since issued, under the editorship of Prof. Dowson, between 1867 and 1877. The ninth volume had been entrusted to Sir E. Clive Bayley (whose assistance in his researches Sir H. Elliot had always fully acknowledged); and this is, we hear, nearly, if not quite, ready for the press. In working out the details of this volume, Sir Clive was in constant correspondence with friends in India as well as in England, so that all its details might be set forth as efficiently as possible.

In November, 1851, Sir E. C. Bayley became Deputy Commissioner of the Kangra District of the Panjab, then

but recently under British rule; but, from the state of his health, was compelled, after two years and a half, to take furlough to England in April, 1854. During his residence in England he employed his time in the study of Law, and was called to the Bar in 1857.

Shortly after the breaking out of the Mutiny, he returned to India, and was ordered, in Sept. 1857, to Allahabad, where he acted as one of the Under-Secretaries in Sir John Peter Grant's Provisional Government, before the regular establishment of the Official Government of the N.W. Provinces, and, for the following eighteen months, held various appointments in that city. Leaving Lucknow, he was appointed Magistrate at Allahabad, and while he was in this position he entirely designed a beautiful building for the accommodation of the natives, while waiting for cases on trial before the Courts there; as previously, they had no place of shelter. For this building, he had the use of money, derived from the sale of arms, etc., bought in, owing to the Arms Act, under which great quantities of weapons were broken up and sold. His design was in the best style of the old Muhammadan buildings at Delhi and Agra, and for it he made all the plans and measurements himself. His ideas were carried into execution, during the two following years, by his friend and successor, Mr. W. Johnson, and two slabs were inserted in the building to commemorate alike its erection and its designer. So perfect, indeed, is its workmanship, that, some years hence, it will probably be quoted as a fine specimen of the art of one of the Muhammadan Rulers! In April, 1859, he was appointed Judge in the Futtehghurh District, and, shortly afterwards, went to Lucknow as Judicial Commissioner, in the absence of Mr. (now Sir George) Campbell. Subsequently, after a brief residence as Judge, at Agra, he was summoned to Calcutta by Lord Canning, in May, 1861, to act as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, pending the arrival of Sir Henry Durand, and, after a brief em-

ployment on other duties, became Home Secretary in March, 1862, a post involving much arduous labour, which he held for the following ten years, when he was selected by Lord Northbrook to fill a temporary vacancy in his Council. In the following year, 1873, he was appointed by the Duke of Argyll to be an ordinary member of the Supreme Council, a post he retained till he finally retired in April, 1878, after thirty-six years in the Government service. During his long life in India Sir E. Clive Bayley was the devoted friend of the natives, and, in all the different posts he held, their welfare was his chief object. Many were the native gentlemen with whom he had formed sincere and lasting friendships; and one enduring regret he had in leaving India was, that it deprived him of a mutual intercourse, which they and he alike equally appreciated. During the hours not demanded of him for official work, he had studied deeply the history of the people, their traditions, their literature, their arts, and their archæology;—and, while collecting a valuable cabinet of Coins, illustrative of many branches of Indian Numismatics, he had become one of the chief authorities for the Numismatic history of India.

He was created K.C.S.I. on January 1, 1877.

Of the zeal with which he followed up his favourite pursuit of Numismatics, the accompanying list of papers published by him, at various dates, is a sufficient evidence: possibly there may yet be others which have escaped our notice.

Thus, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, are printed the following notices of Coins or Antiquities:

————— Note on some Sculptures found in the district of Peshawar. Vol. xxi. 1853, p. 606.

————— Note on two Inscriptions at Khunniara in the Kangra District. Vol. xxiii. 1854, p. 57.

————— Notes on Babu Rajendralala Mitra's translation of a Bactrian Inscription from Wardak in Afghanistan. Vol. xxx. 1861, p. 347.

————— Remarks on Babu Rajendralala's interpretation of some Bactro-Buddhist Relics from Rawal Pindi. Vol. xxxi. 1862, p. 184.

————— Memorandum on and tentative reading of the Súc Vihár Inscription from near Bháwalpúr. Vol. xxxix. 1870, p. 65.

————— Note on two Coins from Kausambhi. Vol. xlii. 1873, p. 109.

————— Further Note on the same. Ibid. p. 191.

————— Note on two Muhammadan Coins. Ibid. p. 311.

————— Note on a hoard of 543 Sassanian Coins in the possession of Colonel H. Hyde, R.E. Vol. xliii. 1874, p. 99. And, in the *Proceedings* of the same Society,

————— Remarks on Mr. E. Thomas's letter, "On the Derivation of Arian Alphabets." Vol. xxxvi. 1867, p. 43.

————— Do. on a Coin of Ghiyás-ud-din A'zam Sháh. Vol. xliii. 1874, p. 156.

————— On Sculptures discovered by Gen. Cunningham at Bharhut. Vol. xliv. 1875, p. 44.

————— Do. on Rajendralala Mitra's account of a Copper Plate Inscription of the time of Skanda Gupta. Ibid. p. 45.

————— Do. on an Inscribed Stone obtained by Capt. R. Beavan in the Chandra District. Ibid. p. 62.

————— Do. on a paper by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, "On Human Sacrifices in Ancient India." Vol. xlv. 1876, p. 55.

To the *Journal of this Society* he contributed two papers "On the Genealogy of Modern Numerals," the first, published in Vol. XIV. 1882, p. 335; the second, in Vol. XV. 1883, p. 1. The third and concluding paper on this subject was in preparation, but cannot, we fear, now be printed.

To the *Numismatic Chronicle* he contributed "Remarks on certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindú Kings of Kábul, expressed in the Gupta era, and in Arabic or Quasi-Arabic Numerals," 3rd series, 1882, vol. ii. p. 129; with a "Postscript" to same paper, *ibid.* p. 291.

Sir E. Clive Bayley was five times President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and for three years, since his return to England, Vice-President of this Society. He was, also, appointed by Lord Mayo Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, and held that office for five years.

Mr. E. B. Eastwick, M.A., C.B., F.R.S., etc., who died at Ventnor, July 16, 1883, was born in 1814 and received his earliest education at the Charter House, where he was in the First Form with the present Dean of Christ Church, and with Dr. Elder, the late Head Master of that Scholastic Institution.

In 1832, he competed for the Scholarship at Balliol College, Oxford, and, though unsuccessful, remained there as a Commoner till he obtained a Postmastership at Merton in the next year, after having been second for the Lusby Scholarship at Magdalen Hall. He was not, however, destined to complete an University career, so brilliantly commenced, as, having received an Indian appointment, he left Oxford, and arrived at Bombay, as a Cadet of Infantry, on June 5, 1836. During the next few years he distinguished himself highly, by his aptitude in acquiring the chief languages spoken in the Presidency of Bombay. Thus, he passed as Interpreter, successively, in Hindustáni, Hindi, Maráthi, Persian, Gujaráti and Kanarese, between 1837 and 1842, and thus secured appointments which were but the just recognition of his linguistic abilities. During this period, too, he acted as Assistant Political Agent in Káthiáwád and in Upper Sind, at the latter place having charge of the Shikarpur Treasury, and of many hundred of Baluchi prisoners; he, also, during the same period, drew up a report on the revenues of Khairpur (for which see Sind Blue Book, pp. 279-293). Having joined Sir Henry Pottinger at Nankin in 1842, he had the opportunity of bringing thence a letter from Sir H. Pottinger to Lord Ellenborough (then Governor-General of India) with the news of the Peace with the Chinese Government.

During these years, too, he did good literary work, including a translation of *Hissar-i-Sanjar*, or *History of the Arrival of the Parsis in India*, and of the "*Zartusht Namah*" or life of Zoroaster (which was published in the late Dr. John Wilson's "*Parsi Religion*"); a *Sindi Vocabulary*, which was lithographed by the Bombay Government and, subsequently, reprinted in the *Transactions of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, with other papers in the *Bombay Journal*.

Towards the end of 1843, failing health compelled him to return to Europe, where, taking up his residence at Frankfort, he so rapidly acquired a thorough knowledge of the German language, that he was able to translate Schiller's "*Revolt of the Netherlands*" (Frankfort, 1844, republished in Bohn's *Standard Library* in 1846), and Prof. Bopp's "*Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Family of Languages*" in 3 vols. (Frankfort, 1845), a second edition of which was called for in February, 1854.

On his return to England, Mr. Eastwick was appointed, in 1845, Professor of Urdu in the East India College at Haileybury, and, five years later, its Librarian. During his residence at Haileybury he published a *Hindustani Grammar*, 1847 (with a 2nd edition in 1854); "*Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*" (1849, 2nd and 3rd editions in 1850 and 1851); a new edition of the *Gulistán*, with a vocabulary of the Persian text (1849); an edition (with vocabulary of the Hindi Text) of the *Prem Sagar* and a translation of the same (1851); a memoir of Pir Ibrahim Khan and a translation of the *Bagh-o-Bahár* (1852): in the same year, also, a translation in prose and verse of the *Gulistán*; and a catalogue of the Ouseley MSS. in the Bodleian Library. These works were followed by several others, which demonstrate, in a remarkable manner, the wide and varied reading of Mr. Eastwick.

Thus, we find among these, a translation of the *Anvar-i-Suhaili* (1854), which was highly praised by M. Garcin de

Tassy, himself no mean judge of such performances; an Autobiography of Lutfullah, which was translated into French and German and subsequently republished in Tauchnitz's "Standard Authors"; an edition of the Book of Genesis (for the Bible Society) in the Dekhani Dialect (1858), with articles in the eighth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica on the N.W. Provinces, Oudh, Persia, Panjab, Sind, etc., together with the first edition of Mr. Murray's Handbook for the Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

In 1859 Mr. Eastwick was for some time Assistant Secretary in the Secret Department of the India Office, and, in the commencement of the following year, held a similar post in the Political Department.

In May, 1860, Mr. Eastwick was appointed Secretary of Her Majesty's Legation in Persia, where he remained for about three years. What he did and what he saw during this period is pleasantly told in his "Journal of a Diplomat," published in 2 vols. in 1864. We can only notice here the chief ministerial work in which he was engaged during this period; but this will show that this distinguished Oriental scholar was also an excellent man of business, whenever the occasion called for the exercise of business talents. Thus, in March, 1861, he undertook and successfully accomplished a special mission to the Caspian provinces, drawing up on this occasion a report "On the Commerce of Persia" (see "Reports of Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation"); and, at the same time, taking on himself the additional duties of the Consulate and Translator's Office at Tehrân. In the autumn of 1862, he proceeded on a special mission to Khurásán, and drew up, on his return thence, a very interesting Trade Report. Subsequently, he was, for a brief period (Dec. 9, 1862, to Jan. 23, 1863), Her Majesty's Chargé-d'Affaires at the Persian Court.

It should be remembered that, while holding this position, it was Mr. Eastwick's good fortune to complete (mainly by his

personal influence with the Persian monarch) the Treaty by which the Persian Government undertook to construct a line of telegraph from the Persian frontier near Baghdad to India, *at its own expense, but under the control of English officers* (see Correspondence presented to the House of Commons, Feb., 1864). Negotiations had been carried on, but without result, by the late Mr. Alison, for a considerable period: the concession was ultimately accorded freely to Mr. Eastwick by the Sháh, as a mark of his goodwill. Mr. Eastwick had good right to be proud of a success, to the value of which the congratulatory letters of Colonels Kemball and Stewart, who were fully acquainted with all the details of this matter, bore ample testimony. Lastly, he obtained from the Persian Government the settlement of the case of Mír Alí Nakí Khán, which had been eight years pending. For his services in Persia he was created C.B. On his return to England, in 1864, he was appointed the Commissioner for settling a loan to the Government of Venezuela, and, subsequently, wrote, at the request of Mr. Charles Dickens, "Sketches of Life in a South American Republic," for *All the Year Round*, 1865-6, papers deemed so interesting that they were republished in a separate volume in 1867 and 1868.

In July, 1866, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Cranborne (now Lord Salisbury), nominated Mr. Eastwick his Private Secretary, and, in 1868, he was elected as the Conservative Member for the Boroughs of Penryn and Falmouth, a seat he retained till 1874. In 1875, the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of M.A., "as a slight recognition of distinguished services."

In 1878 he published the first volume of the "Kaisarnamah-i-Hind," the "Lay of the Empress," the dedication of which to herself Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to order, and, towards the close of 1882, he was able to bring out the second volume of this magnificent work.

With the exception of the preparation and publication of the "Kaisar-namah-i-Hind," the later years of Mr. Eastwick's laborious life were almost wholly occupied with journeys to India (and it is simply marvellous to those who had the privilege of knowing him that, with such infirmities, he could accomplish what he did), his principal object being to complete the Handbooks to the different Provinces of India which he had commenced many years before. Thus, in 1875, Mr. Eastwick went to India, and, staying there during the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, was able to contribute many interesting articles to the *Standard*, descriptive of the Prince's visit to the "Towers of Silence" near Bombay and to other remarkable sites. On his return to England, he wrote the Handbook to Madras (which did not, however, appear till 1878). The spring and early summer of 1877 found him again in India, collecting notes for the Handbook of Bombay, which was published in 1880, and was succeeded by that of Bengal in 1881. Those for the Panjab and Kashmir were not finished till April, 1883. His last journey to India was in November, 1880, on which occasion he visited Burma, Calcutta, Darjeeling, the Kangra valley and many other places. Subsequently to this, his health completely broke down, and though, at intervals of comparative rest from acute pain, his insatiable longing to visit new places revived, he was compelled to give up much he would gladly have accomplished. He died full of well-deserved honours, a Fellow of the Royal Society for thirty-two years, a F.S.A., and a member of many learned Societies abroad as well as in England.

Mr. Thomas Chenery was born in Barbadoes in 1826, and, in early youth, made many voyages between the West Indies, where his parents lived, and this country, these, no doubt, having the effect of inspiring him with the love of travel he cherished so dearly till the last. He spent his school-days at Eton, and thence proceeded to Caius College, Cambridge.

At the conclusion of his University career, he was called to the bar; but, shortly after this, entered the service of the *Times* (with which paper the whole of his subsequent life was bound up) as its Correspondent at Constantinople, remaining at that capital for some years. The period when he lived at Constantinople was that of the stormy diplomatic period preceding the Crimean War, and, under the late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Lord Strangford, he bore his full share in the severe struggles then maintained by England against the representatives of Russia and of other European Powers. But his residence at Constantinople led to another result, fostered as this doubtless was, to a great extent, by his intimacy with Lord Strangford, viz. his taking up, with enthusiastic zeal, the study of those Eastern languages with which, at Constantinople, he was the most directly thrown in contact.

It is well known that Mr. Chenery lived much with the leaders of the Greek community at Constantinople, his acquisition of their native tongue giving him an especial interest alike in Modern Romaic and in Classical Greek. The task of correspondent of the *Times* was, at that period, no light one, and, on more than one occasion, Mr. Chenery went up to the front in the Crimea, to relieve Dr. W. H. Russell, at that time the Special Correspondent of the *Times* at the seat of war.

At the close of the war, Mr. Chenery returned to England, and was regularly employed on the staff of the *Times* as a contributor of Leading Articles, Reviews, and Original Papers; his extensive knowledge of European Politics rendering his services of peculiar value to that Journal.

But, though strictly devoting himself to the business of the office to which he was attached, Mr. Chenery found time to pursue, and very effectively, his earlier Oriental studies. Indeed, for philological studies he seems to have had a special aptitude—the ordinary languages of Europe,

French, German and Italian, he spoke with ease; he was a master in Romaic and Turkish, and of Arabic and Hebrew he had an excellent knowledge. In the latter language, he was able to converse freely; indeed, he once wrote an introduction in Hebrew to one of his philological works, an edition of the Machberoth Ithiel, a Hebrew work written in imitation of the "Assemblies of Hariri."

When the company for the Revision of the Old Testament was formed, Mr. Chenery naturally became a member of it, and devoted much time and thought to this work, not only before he became Editor of the *Times*, but even subsequently, as a welcome relaxation from more weighty duties. In 1867, he published a translation, with learned notes, historical as well as grammatical, of the "Assemblies of Hariri," which, in the judgment of two such competent men as the late Professor Bernays of Bonn and M. Renan, placed him, at once, in the first rank of Arabic scholars. Hence, naturally, when, in 1868, the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic at Oxford became vacant by the death of Dr. Macbride, the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), then Lord Almoner, offered this almost honorary post to Mr. Chenery, who, in his inaugural lecture, Dec. 3, 1868, gave a masterly account of the Arabic language in its historical and philological relations. This lecture was shortly afterwards published. In 1869, Mr. Chenery printed a pamphlet entitled "Suggestions for a Railway Route to India," a paper which shows a remarkable knowledge of contemporary politics and practical affairs, treated with a scholar's historical acquaintance of the conditions of Oriental life.

Mr. Chenery retained his Professorship at Oxford, till, in 1877, on the failure of Mr. Delane's health, he was appointed the Editor of the *Times*. From this time forward, he could snatch but few minutes for his loved Oriental studies, yet, when he could, he did so. Many will remember his

cheerful happy appearance at the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, in September, 1883.

In this Society, he filled for some years, the office of its Honorary Secretary.

Mr. Chenery's health had been long failing ; but his actual death, which took place on Monday morning, February 11, was scarcely anticipated even by those who knew him best ; indeed, till within ten days of this event, he was hard at work as usual, in his official post.

Mr. William Spottiswoode was born in London on January 11, 1825, and educated at Eton and at Harrow, at which latter place he obtained the Lyon Scholarship. In 1842 he went to Balliol College, Oxford, and, in 1845, obtained a First-Class in Mathematics, and, shortly afterwards the Senior Mathematical Scholarship. On leaving Oxford, he took his father's place in the well-known firm of Eyre and Spottiswoode, the Queen's Printers, and, in spite of a lifelong devotion to the highest branches of mathematical and physical science, continued till his last illness an energetic man of business. Mr. Spottiswoode's earliest Mathematical Essays were published in 1847, in five quarto pamphlets, under the title of "*Meditationes Analyticæ.*" The dedicatory note attached to them is remarkable; its words are: "To those who love to wander on the shore till the day when their eyes shall be opened and they shall see clearly the works of God in the unfathomed Ocean of Truth, these papers are inscribed." It is not difficult to detect in these early efforts the germs of many of his subsequent investigations. In 1851 appeared his "*Elementary Theorems relating to Determinants,*" a work which so greatly increased his reputation, that he entirely rewrote it previously to its being printed as an elaborate memoir in *Crelle's Journal*, vol. li., Berlin, 1855. The subject was one familiar to more advanced mathematicians, but, at the time he drew up this essay, there was no elementary work on the subject: his work

was, therefore, of the highest value to younger students of algebra, comprising as it did a collection of interesting Theorems, in a comparatively easy form.

While not in the least neglecting his mathematical studies, Mr. Spottiswoode paid special attention to the Polarization of Light, and, also, devoted much time to a profound study of Electricity, in the furtherance of which he expended large sums in the collection and construction of appropriate instruments. His gigantic "induction coil" furnished him with matter for several papers before the Royal Society and for lectures at the Royal Institution. Indeed, almost the last time he appeared in public was when, on May 24, 1883, he took the chair at the Society of Arts, on which evening Mr. J. E. Gordon read a paper "On Electric Lighting."

It would be out of place here to attempt to give even a tolerably complete account of the many valuable scientific papers Mr. Spottiswoode wrote—indeed this was very fully done a little while before his untimely death by a writer in "Nature," April 26, 1883; most, too, of the more important of them will be found in the Philosophical Transactions. It will not, however, be forgotten by Eastern scholars that Mr. Spottiswoode contributed two papers to the Journal of this Society, the first in vol. xvii. p. 221 (1860), "On the supposed discovery of the principle of the Differential Calculus by an Indian Astronomer;" the second, in vol. xx. p. 345, "On the Surya Siddhanta and the Hindu Method of Calculating Eclipses." In the first, while giving full credit for the acumen of Bhaskarácharya, the eminent astronomer of Ujjain in the twelfth century A.D., he shows clearly that the theories propounded by the Indian mathematician have nothing to do with the Differential Calculus, indeed do not even allude to one of its most essential features, the infinitesimal magnitudes of the intervals of time and space therein employed. In his second paper, Mr. Spottiswoode has attempted, and

successfully, to translate into modern mathematical language and formulæ the rules of the ancient Indian treatise. He further showed that the Hindus, from such observations as they were able to make, had deduced fairly accurate values for the mean motion of the sun, moon, and planets, though on the assumption that the earth was stationary; the details, however, of Mr. Spottiswoode's curious paper are too technical to be quoted here. It may be added, that, besides his remarkable scientific knowledge, Mr. Spottiswoode had a great facility in the acquisition of languages, and was, in early life, well acquainted with some of those of the Caucasus.

Mr. Nicholas Trübner, who died suddenly on Sunday, March 30, 1884, was born at Heidelberg in 1817, and, after having distinguished himself by unusual ability in his native town, was apprenticed to M. Mohr, then a leading publisher in that place. Thence he joined the house of Van den Hoeck and Ruprecht at Göttingen, somewhat later, that of Hoffmann and Campe at Hamburg, and, later still, that of Willmann of Frankfort.

While with the latter firm he made, in 1843, the acquaintance of Mr. William Longman, then the youngest and most energetic member of the firm of Longman & Co., to whom, he was for the following nine years an invaluable aid, from the masterly knowledge he had acquired of the then literary resources of the continent and, especially, of Germany. In 1852, mainly with the help of the late Mr. Nutt, he was able to establish himself in Paternoster Row, whence, about ten years since, he moved to Ludgate Hill, which, it is not too much to say, has been, from that time, the centre of a class of literary work not dreamt of, still less found, in any other city in the world.

Of the general work he did as a publisher, it would be out of place to speak here, but there are some matters that deserve especial attention, connected as they are directly with the objects of this Society. These are, his publication in a

new and costly form of Marsden's "Numismata Orientalia," on the novel principle of giving to separate scholars, each one the most distinguished in his own special subject, the compilation of the individual essays, under the general editorship of Mr. Edward Thomas, unquestionably the fittest person, from his wide numismatic knowledge, for such a task. Of this important work two volumes and a portion of the third have been now issued, and, though necessarily one that cannot be hurried through the press, we believe its progress and completion are assured; but, complete or incomplete, every scholar will acknowledge its value, and that what has been accomplished is largely due to the energy and individual liberality of the late Mr. Trübner. Another and most important work Mr. Trübner inaugurated was his "Oriental Series," comprising now 46 volumes, which has given the opportunity to a varied selection of scholars of publishing many valuable works, which, but for his aid, would most likely never have seen the light of day. Nor can we omit to mention his "American and Oriental Record," first started in 1869, which, coming out with tolerable regularity, though at no fixed period, affords a concise and useful notice of a considerable mass of mixed literature, with occasionally well-executed biographical sketches of scholars who have recently passed away. It may be added that, early in his career, Mr. Trübner took great interest in the progress of literature in the New World, drawing up and publishing a "Bibliographical Guide to American Literature," which still remains, for the period at least when it came out, the best book on the subject. For Americans, it was unquestionably the first publication that placed before them and before the world their literature in a systematic and orderly form.

Mr. Trübner had not only by hard study acquired great and varied knowledge, but he was unselfish and large-hearted, and always ready to place his knowledge, without

reserve, at the disposal of his friends. He was a kind of link between the American and the Asiatic world, for he had the energy of a first-class publisher, with so sound a scholarly instinct as led him to sympathize with and to materially assist authors. His place, therefore, cannot be filled, at least for the present, and he will be missed alike by those who were enabled by his literary enterprize to launch their works before the public, and by those, who, publishing at their own cost, were benefited in a high degree by his counsel and assistance. Mr. Trübner lent himself readily to any measure for advancing and popularizing knowledge, and realizing, at once, the *desiderata* of the Oriental and Linguistic Field, at once, determined to supply them.

Among distinguished *Foreign* scholars, we must mention first *Reinhart Pierre Anne Dozy*, born on 20th of Feb. 1820, at Leyden, and the member of a family originally French, who, leaving Valenciennes, settled in Holland in 1647. He was, also, descended from the two celebrated Orientalists, John James and Henry Schultens. In June, 1834, he was placed under the care of Dr. J. J. van Gelder, with whom he remained till he was admitted into the University in 1837. Dr. Gelder, who is still alive, at the age of 80, no doubt did much to stimulate M. Dozy's early tastes, as he was in the habit of teaching those of his pupils, who were destined for Holy Orders, the rudiments of the Arabic language, in his opinion, the best preparation for the serious study of Hebrew. It would seem from Dr. Gelder's narrative that Dozy mastered in two months the etymological part of Roorda's Grammar, without neglecting the other and ordinary studies of his school. At the University, he was fortunate in becoming the pupil of a young Professor of Arabic, M. Weijers, who was especially noted for his skill in teaching, as well as for the strict accuracy with regard to grammar he enforced on his pupils. Under him, Dozy's studies, at first somewhat vague and irregular, became fixed and definite, taking, as he did, for

his model and his ideal, the works of Etienne Quatremère, which he read and re-read, till he almost knew them by heart.

In December, 1841, the Dutch Institut proposed for a prize to be given two years after, an essay with the title "De vestibus, quibus Arabes utriusque sexûs diversis temporibus et in diversis terris usi sunt, aut etiam nunc utuntur," etc., a subject remarkably in harmony with the previous course of Dozy's studies.

Naturally, he set to work at it, heart and soul, and, as he did not state the object he had in view, the Curators of the University Library were greatly surprised at the number and variety of the books and MSS. he was daily borrowing. The result was that, in November, 1843, the proposed prize was awarded to him, and, time having been granted to him, to elaborate more fully some parts of his essay, the whole was published in 1845, under the title "Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes." Scholars at once accepted the award of the Institut, and acknowledged that Dozy's essay was a remarkable specimen of lexicographical labour.

Again, to M. Weijers, Dozy was indebted for his next course of research. It appears that M. Weijers was in the habit of reading with his pupils the Arabic writers of Spanish History, and, hence, Dozy became acquainted with Condé's work, *Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en España* (1826), this leading him to study Spanish, as a means of ascertaining the sources of the history, which Conde himself had but too often carelessly noted or not noted at all. Letters of Dozy's addressed to M. de Vries between 1841 and 1851 are extant, and show with what zeal he took up this new study. Already, he had conceived the plan of dealing himself with a part of Arabo-Spanish history, selecting for his first studies, on the advice of M. Weijers, the period of the Abbasides, as, on their succession to the sway of the Ommayyides, they were the chief cultivators of Arts and Sciences in the

Western World. His first pages illustrated the Thesis of the Inaugural Lecture he read for the degree of Doctor in 1844.

Very shortly afterwards Weijers died at the early age of 38, and was succeeded by Juynboll, of Groningen.

The first printed papers of Dozy would seem to have been, a brief one, in the "Gids," on M. Veth's "Dissertatio de institutis Arabum erudiendæ juventutis," 1844, and, in the same year, one in the *Journ. Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, "Histoire des Benou-Ziyan de Tlemcen." Marrying shortly afterwards, he availed himself of his honeymoon to travel through Germany and to make acquaintance with many distinguished scholars, such as M. Fleischer. He was, also, so fortunate as to discover at Gotha, an original history of Cid Campeador, and, in the spring of 1845, during his stay in Oxford, two poems, hitherto wholly unknown, among the mediæval Dutch and Flemish MSS. preserved in the Bodleian.

In the early part of 1846, Dozy printed the first of a series of Arabic Texts—the historical commentary of Ibn Badroun on the poem of Ibn Abdoun, which refers to the fall of the Aftasids of Badajoz, together with the first part of the *Historia Abbadidarum*: in the same year he was appointed "Adjutor Interpretis Legati Warneriani," with the duty of cataloguing the MSS. in that collection. The catalogue, drawn up by him in agreement with this order, appeared ultimately, in two volumes, in 1851, and is one of the best ever compiled. The only subjects he omitted were those relating to mathematics, theology, and law.

While, however, he was preparing this catalogue, he continued to work unceasingly at the other works he had undertaken; thus, he continued his labours on the "*Historia Abbadidarum*," and printed, in 1847, Abd-al-Wáhid's *Al-Marrakúshi* or History of the Almohads, together with "Notices sur quelques MSS. Arabes," for the most part, extracts from Ibn-ol-Akbar's biographies of the most famous men of Spain. This work was not finished till 1851, and, in

the mean time, Dozy had issued a portion of Ibn Adhári's Chronicle of Africa and Spain. Most of these treatises were accompanied by excellent glossaries, giving the words, etc., omitted in Freytag's Dictionary, and were generally preceded by introductions dealing with questions of importance, scientifically or historically.

In 1849, appeared the first part of the "Récherches sur l'histoire politique de l'Espagne," a task for which he had shown especial fitness by a dissertation in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1847 on the Arabic words in a Castilian Chronicle, and by three remarkable articles on Castilian Literature published in the "Gids." The publication of the "Récherches" was a death-warrant to Condé and other writers; moreover, what greatly grieved Dozy at the time was that he had to differ widely from many of the statements and views advanced by his friend Don Pascual de Gayangos, in his *History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Spain*, published in 1840-3 by the Oriental Translation Fund. By far the most important part of Dozy's work was the determining the exact history of the Cid, around whom so much legendary fog had been accumulated. Dozy discovered that the *Chronica General* of Alfonso X., generally supposed to be false, except by M. Hüber, was really a translation from the Arabic, and, what is more important, that the Arab writer was a contemporary of the Cid: he further showed how this savage Condottieri became the hero of Castilian poetry.

It need scarcely be added that his "Récherches" met with ready acceptance from all who were competent to judge of the subject and of the method of its treatment. Even, in Spain, the value of Dozy's views, opposed as they necessarily were to those of the native writers, was fully recognized, and the writer was elected a Corresponding Member of the "Academia de la Historia" in 1851.

In 1850, Dozy was appointed Professor of History, greatly to his satisfaction; and, in the following March, he gave his

inaugural lecture, his subject being, "The favourable influence of the Revolutions in France since 1789 on the study of the History of the Middle Ages": in this lecture, he broke through the previous custom, which required that such orations should be in Latin, by giving it in his native language, Dutch; a practice in which he persevered in all his future courses of lectures. Many of his friends doubted, at the time, whether the considerable duties of the chair of History would not compel him to relinquish his studies on subjects he had made his own; the result however showed that his obtaining this appointment greatly widened his range of view and gave him greater power of dealing with solid historical research. Each year he gave his pupils a new period of history, and a good idea may be obtained of the wide extent of his lectures from the notices of them in the contemporary "Gids." He wrote, also, an article on Drumann's Boniface VIII. in the *Athenéum Français* of Dec. 1852, and a brief paper, "On Spain and the French Revolution," in Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, ix. pp. 83-104. It is much to be hoped that these separate essays may be collected and published in one volume.

In 1851 the post of "Adjutor," he had so long held, was given to his friend Dr. Kuenen, the President of last year's Oriental Congress at Leyden.

In the same year, Messrs. W. Wright, Krehl, and Dugat, associated themselves with him, at his suggestion, with the view of publishing the introduction written by Al-Makkari, as a preface to the life of Ibn-ol-Khatib, and this work was subsequently published, between 1856 and 1869, under the title of "Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne," in two quarto vols. of about 900 pages each. M. Dugat added, in 1861, an introduction and index, and M. Fleischer a list of corrections. When it is remembered that, for his share of the work, M. Dozy had to transcribe 400 quarto pages, to collate his copy with many MSS., besides

those of the originals used by Al-Makkari himself, one can form some idea of the zeal with which he must have worked, seeing that this publication was really a *parergon*, and that he did not neglect for it any of the other subjects on which he was occupied.

At length, in 1861, Dozy was able to publish the *Magnum Opus* of his life, for which he had been so long collecting the materials—the “*Histoire des Musulmans de l’Espagne*,” in four volumes. Of these, the first deals with the Early Civil Wars, which, commencing in the East, were carried on with even greater ferocity in the West; the second, *The Christians and the Renegades*, described Spain under the Romans and the Goths, with the conquest of the Arabs and the first period of their rule; the third, with the title of *Khalifat*, gave the history of Spain under the Ommiads; the fourth and last volume comprised the *Smaller Dynasties*, which then sprang into a temporary existence, and finished with the *Conquest of the Al Moravids*. An excellent *compte-rendu* of this great work, which was written in French, has been published by Prof. Veth in the *Gids* for 1883 (ii. pp. 411–463). The whole work was translated into German in 1874, under the superintendence of Dr. W. W. Comte de Baudissin, with a revision by Dozy himself.

Shortly afterwards (in 1863) M. Dozy, at the request of M. Krusemann, of Haarlem, wrote the *History of Islam* for his collection of the *Principal Religions of the World*, a work much appreciated in Holland, and of which a second edition was called for in 1880. It was translated into French by M. Chauvin, a Professor in the University of Liege. In the course of this work, M. Dozy came upon references, which did not satisfy him as to the current view of the early Religion of the Arabs, and which led him, therefore, to publish, in 1864, a special essay, entitled “*Les Israelites à la Mecque*”—a work of considerable moment, doubtless, but unquestionably marred by the way in which the argument was stated.

Dozy seems to have forgotten, at all events to have not sufficiently borne in mind, how few there were who were sufficiently acquainted with his previous works to follow him in one which, like the present, materially depended on the force of his own ingenious inferences. Indeed, the principal question whether the Feast of Mecca is of Israelitish origin or not is "adhuc sub judice." A proposal on the part of Dozy, to publish a complete edition of Edrisi (sometimes called "Liber Rogeri," as it was compiled by the order of that Prince in the twelfth century), unfortunately fell through, but, from the materials he had collected, Dozy and M. de Goeje were able to publish (in 1866) jointly "La description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne"—a work comprising the text, translation and an ample glossary.

In 1867, Dozy published, at the suggestion of his friend, Dr. De Vries, under the title of "Oosterlingen," a list explanatory of the Dutch words borrowed from the Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, and Turkish, a small undertaking which led to a larger and more important one. As long ago as 1861, M. Engelmann had published a "Glossaire des Mots Espagnols et Portuguais empruntée à l'Arabe," which was no longer to be had; and, away, in the Far East, he could not undertake a required new edition; so Dozy did this for him, the result being a volume four times the size of the original. So highly was this work appreciated, that the Académie des Inscriptions awarded to Engelmann the Prix Volney, which, unfortunately, he did not live to receive. Engelmann's work was based on the "Vocabulista Aravigo" of Pedro d'Alcala, which Dozy had, himself, at one time, determined to republish.

In Feb., 1869, another and a different task fell to his lot. As the retiring "Rector Magnificus," he had to pronounce an oration, which he took care, this time, should be in Latin: he chose for his subject, "De Causis cur Muhammedanorum cultura et humanitas præ eâ quæ est

Christianorum, imminuta et corrupta sit," a theme touching very closely one of the difficulties arising from the almost universal decay of the Eastern as compared with the Western populations. Not long after this, fancying he had some reason to complain of the treatment he had received from his old friend, the veteran Orientalist, Fleischer, he wrote "Lettre à M. Fleischer contenant des remarques critiques et explicatives sur le texte d'Al-Makkari," a letter which is admitted to be a chef-d'œuvre of criticism. In 1873, he published the "Calendar of Cordova" for the year 961, from a MS. at Paris, the text of which was written in Hebrew characters, and had, also, an ancient Latin paraphrase. This, with two papers—one in the Z.D.M.G. for 1866, the other in the *Revue Asiatique* for 1869, a study of De Slane's Prolegomena to Ibn Khaldoun—was really preparatory to his last work, the "Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes."

On March 9, 1875, his old friends and pupils assembled, and gave him a reception in honour of the twenty-fifth year of his professorship.

The first portion of his last and, as some think, his greatest work, the "Supplement," was printed in 1881, and, during the course of the next year and a half, the seven "livraisons" of which it consists were finished, and were at once recognized, by such scholars as Fleischer, as of the highest lexicographical importance. M. Dozy speaks of it in his Preface, as the result of eight years' constant labour, but it was really one of far greater length, the notes made by him forty years before having to be re-read—often modified—in all cases to be re-studied and verified in their new position. About the same time he was engaged on a new edition of his "Récherches sur l'histoire politique de l'Espagne," to which he added much new and interesting matter. In the same way, he prepared new editions of his "Histoire des Almohades," and corrected the texts of Ibn Adhâr, etc. The last work he did—the only one in his life he had undertaken and not brought to a

successful result—was the paper he proposed to read to the Oriental Congress at Leyden, as their President. But the hand of death was already on him, and he was compelled to leave to his friend, De Goeje, the completion of the task he had undertaken.

Mr. Justus Olshausen, for more than twenty years a member of the Royal Academy of Berlin, died on the 28th of December, 1882. The son of J. W. Olshausen, a Protestant Minister, he was born at Hohenfeld in Holstein on May 9, 1800.

In 1807, Michaelis received him into his school at Glüchstadt, and after a boyhood which showed much promise and aptitude for study, Michaelis, in 1816, carried him to the University of Kiel to study Theology and Philology: for the former, however, as he has himself remarked, he had no earnest desire, as his inclinations were principally for the study of languages, and of these, especially for Hebrew, which he had some years previously studied with his father. He also pursued with zeal the study of the Classics, under Professor Heinrichs, at that time a member of the Philological School there.

It was in the close of the summer of 1818 that he passed on from the study of Hebrew to Syriac and Arabic, under the guidance of the well-known translator of the Zend-Avesta, J. F. Kleuker. At Easter in 1819, he thought of going to attend the lectures of De Sacy, Kosegarten, etc., and a dwelling had already been hired for him in Paris, when circumstances compelled him to remain another six months at Kiel; in the end, Michaelis took him to Berlin, where he passed some time with Savigny and his two elder brothers, both of whom were already attached to the Faculty of Theology. Orientalism was then at a low ebb in Berlin, and Olshausen does not seem to have had much liking for the professors with whom he came into contact, but he studied for awhile under Ideler, at that time a very popular teacher.

In 1820 he went to Paris, and worked under De Sacy, Etienne Quatremère, Langles and Kieffers. While under the last-named Professor, he has recorded that he and M. Garçin (de Tassy) were his only pupils. He met there, also, Schultz, who was subsequently murdered in Kurdistan, and Alex. von Humboldt. Three years, subsequently, he obtained his Doctor's Degree for an essay entitled, "De Linguae Persicae verbo."

His first publication of importance was "Emendationen zum alten Testament," etc., Kiel, 1826, of interest for many suggestions, then new. Thus, in studying Isaiah, he came to a conclusion (in advance of the scholars of his time) that the Semitic Chaldees were to be placed in Babylonia, where, therefore, was the "Ur of the Chaldees," and that the population of Babylon was a mixed one, partly Semitic and partly non-Semitic. In 1829, under the auspices of Frederick IV. of Denmark, he published, at Hamburg, "Vendidad, Zendavestæ pars vicesima, adhuc superstes," a study which concentrated his attention on Persian literature, and ultimately led to his publication, twenty years later, of his famous Numismatic essay, *Die Pehlavi Legenden auf der Munzen der letzten Sassaniden* (Lips. 1849), which was translated by the daughter of Prof. H. H. Wilson, and published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xi. pp. 60-92, and pp. 121-146 (1849). In continuation of the same line of study, also, may be noted one of the last papers he published, entitled "Parthava und Pahlav, Mâda und Mâh," which appeared, originally, in the *Monatsb. of the Berlin Academy for 1876*.

The next work he took in hand differed much from what he had been previously engaged on, namely, a paper entitled "Zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem," Kiel, 1833. Obviously, this work is now superseded by the large amount of recent discoveries. But it is still of value, for the methodical arrangement of its materials. In the introduction he refers to another work, which was in fact

chiefly his, the publication of the 3rd volume of Carsten Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia in 1837, one chief value of which was the improvement in the spelling of the geographical names, previously in a very unsatisfactory state. Somewhat later he was engaged for two years on the Catalogue of the Kiel Oriental MSS., but the war between Denmark and Prussia interfered so much with literary pursuits, that the second part did not appear till 1851: the third part was finally completed by Van Mehren in 1857.

In 1853 Humboldt pleaded, not in vain, for his admission into the service of Prussia, and secured for him the appointment of Chief Librarian and Professor of Oriental Languages at Königsberg, where he issued a new edition of his Hebrew Grammar. In December, 1858, he was called to Berlin (where he lived for the next sixteen years), and created Medicinal-Rath, and, in November, 1873, he celebrated his 50th Jubilee, with general applause. His latest works were, in 1880, *Erläuterung zur geschichte d. Pahlavi Schrift*; in 1881, *Forschungen über d. gebiete d. Eranischer sprach-kunste*; and, in 1882, *Zur würdigung d. Pahlavi glossare und ihrer erklärung durch die Parsen*.

Dr. Christopher André Holmboe, one of the most distinguished Orientalists of Northern Europe, was born in 1796, at Vang in Norway, and, at 14 years of age, entered the Royal College of Christiania. In 1818 he became licentiate in Theology, having previously studied Hebrew (the knowledge of which is required there for this degree), and commenced the study of the other Semitic languages, especially of Arabic and Syriac. Shortly after this period, he was appointed Sub-Librarian of the University.

In 1821 he went to Paris, and, for two years, studied Arabic and Persian, under MM. Silvestre de Sacy and Caussin de Perceval, and, on his return to his own country in the autumn of 1822, became Reader in Oriental Languages to the University, and in 1828, Professor of these tongues.

In 1830, he was nominated Keeper of the Coins and Medals, and, not long after, as on more than one subsequent occasion, became the acting Head of the Administrative Council of the University. In 1843, 1848, and 1866, the King of Sweden conferred on him various honours, marking the estimation in which he was justly held—while the inhabitants of Christiania constantly elected him as the chief of the commission which fixed, year by year, the sum each citizen had to contribute towards the expenses of the town. He was, also, the first Vice-President (and, subsequently, President) of a Scientific Society at Christiania, founded by the Professors of the University, in 1857, on the Anniversary of King Charles XV.

Professor Holmboe's studies embraced a singularly wide range of subjects, but may be conveniently noticed under the four heads—1. Biblical. 2. Archæological. 3. Numismatical. 4. Comparative Philology, Sanskrit, Norwegian, Celtic, and the Languages of Southern Africa.

In the first, M. Holmboe was appointed with M. Caspari in 1846, on a commission, the object of which was the revision of the Danish translation from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, and the preparation of a new version, which led him to publish, as a preliminary, *The Book of Psalms* in 1851, and the *Book of Genesis* in 1854. On this branch of his subject, he also published in 1828 a *Biblical Geography*; and an abridged form of the same work, for the use of schools, in 1838 and 1847: a defence of the translation in the Septuagint and Vulgate of the word *Kochiteh* (*Journ. Scient. Christiania*, 1859): and, in the same, a paper on the meaning of the word *Teref*: and, *On the Visions of Ezekiel and the Chaldæan Astrolabe* (*Christ.* 4°. 1860).

In Archæology, M. Holmboe devoted himself to researches bearing directly on Religion, and, naturally, to the mythology and funereal rites or customs of his own northern land. His principal detached work on this subject

is, *Traces of Buddhism in Norway before the Introduction of Christianity*, Paris, 1857; a work well noticed in both the *Journal des Savants* and the *Revue Contemporaine*, of the same year. Considerable extracts were made from it by Rajendra Mitra, and published in the *Journ. Bengal As. Soc.* for 1858. Besides these, he wrote a great many articles for the *Scientific Soc. of Christiania*, all, however, in the Swedish language.

Mr. Holmboe was an excellent Numismatist, and we owe to him several treatises which have thrown much new light on this science, especially in connexion with Scandinavia. His principal works are—

1. *Description of the Ornaments and Coins of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries found in Norway in 1834—Christ. 1835, and a second edition 1854.* Much of this memoir has been published, also, in *Grote's Blätter f. Munzkunde*, vol. 2.

2. *On Fifteen Hundred Mediæval Coins recently found in Norway, Christ. 1837.* In *Grote*, and in the *Urdu* (a local Journal). Bergen. 1837.

3. *On the Ancient Monetary System of Norway, and on the recent find of some Coins of the Twelfth Century.* Christ. 1841.

4. *On the Oldest Monetary System of Norway* (in *Köhne's Numism. Zeitschr.*).

5. *On the Origin of the Scandinavian Weight System.*

He wrote, also, a great number of minor essays, which we have not space to record here, and these, not only in the *Journals of his own country*, but in *Köhne's Zeitschrift*, the *Memoires de la Soc. Impér. d'Archéol. de St. Pétersbourg*, the *Numismatic Chronicle of London*, *Blätter für Munzkunde*, &c. &c.

In *Comparative Philology*, Holmboe was peculiarly at home, and published several works alike important and interesting, bringing, as he did, to this study long previous research and well-matured views. His first produc-

tion was *The Sanskrit and the Old Norse* (Christiania, 1846), a memoir subsequently translated into French, and published in the *Journ. Asiat.* iv. ser. ix. and x. 1847. Two years later, he printed *The Old Norse Verb compared with the Sanskrit and other Cognate Languages*, Christ. 1848. In this short but very interesting paper, M. Holmboe points out that the popular dialects of Norway and, especially, of its secluded valleys, have preserved a number of old words not now found in Norwegian literature, but existing slightly changed in Sanskrit. It was clearly a matter of philological importance to establish, as he did, beyond any doubt whatever, the close existing connexion between the Old Scandinavian and the Sanskrit Verb. This paper is fully noticed in the *Journ. Asiat.* for July, 1848, by M. Mohl. Another essay by him on a nearly similar subject, the Relative Pronoun and the Conjunctions of the Old Norwegian Language, Christ. 1850, is also fully noticed by M. Garcin de Tassy in the *Journ. Asiat.* for Jan. 1851. In 1852 he printed, at Vienna, *A Comparative Dictionary of Norwegian, Sanskrit, and other Cognate Languages*; and, in 1854, at Christiania, a short essay *On Norwegian and Celtic*, in which he showed the close connection between the ancient Norwegian (or Icelandic) and the still older Aryan or Sanskrit idioms. Many Sanskrit words he found common to the Celtic and Norse tongues, which had been so altered in the Teutonic dialects as to be no longer recognizable, and some grammatical forms, agreeing in Norse, Celtic, and Sanskrit, but no longer extant in the Germanic languages. He drew from these facts the conclusion that there must have been, in remote ages, a considerable commerce between the Celts and the Norwegians (see, also, an article on this memoir, by M. Garcin de Tassy, in the *Journ. Asiat.* of Dec. 1854).

But these were not all his philological works. In 1850 he edited, with a Preface and Notes, a *Zulu Grammar*, com-

piled by M. Lohrender; and, in 1856, published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 2, Ideas respecting an Alphabet suited to the Languages of Southern Africa. He printed, also, a translation from the Arabic into German of the *Calila and Dimna*, or *Fables of Bidpai*, Christ. 1832, and the *Turkish Catechism of Muhammed ben Pir El-Berkevi*.

M. Heinrich August Jäschke, the well-known Moravian Missionary, was born at Herrnhut, May 17, 1817, and died Sept. 29, 1883.

He received his theological training in the Moravian College at Niesky, in Silesia, where he held subsequently for several years (1842–1856) various appointments on the educational staff. In the last-named year, he undertook the superintendence of the Mission Station at Kyelang, in Kahoul, in the Western Himâlayas, where he found an ample opportunity for the exercise of his remarkable linguistic abilities. Hence, during the twelve years (1856–1868) of his residence in this mountain tract, besides the writing of various Tibetan papers for the use of his Mission, he found the time to work steadily at a translation of the New Testament into Tibetan, and, also, to collect a mass of materials for a comprehensive Dictionary of that language. His letter to Schiefner (*Bull. Acad. de St. Petersburg*, Feb. 10, 1864), and his Essay (*Berlin Acad. Sitzungsberichte*, 1866), On the Phonetic Laws of Tibetan, demonstrate his philological acumen and the deep insight he had gained into the nature of that language. An earlier essay (*ibid.* 1860) supplied Prof. Lepsius with valuable materials for his book “*Ueber Chinesische und Tibetische Laut-verhältnisse*,” which was printed in 1861.

The three linguistical essays from his pen, which were printed by the Kyelang Mission, clearly mark the progress of his studies. They are: 1. A short practical Grammar of the Tibetan language, with special reference to the spoken

Dialects (1865):—2. A Romanized Tibetan and English Dictionary (1866):—3. An Introduction to the Hindi and Urdu Languages for Tibetans (1867).

In the year following this (1868) Mr. Jäschke was compelled, for health's sake, to return to Europe. It chanced that, on his way home, he met the late Dr. Burnell, who took, as was his wont, great interest in the Tibeto-German Dictionary, on which M. Jäschke was then engaged, and at once gave him so liberal a contribution towards the expenses of printing it, as to almost cover the whole cost of publication. This work (a handsome quarto of 632 pages) was lithographed (at least the first portion of it) at Magdeburg; the latter half was completed at Herrnhut in 1873.

About the same time, Mr. Jäschke undertook, at the request of the India Office, to make a revised edition of it, which was, subsequently, printed by Unger & Co., at Berlin, an edition which has the advantage of an excellent Tibetan type, designed by himself and of a full English-Tibetan Index. A Translation of the New Testament is, we believe, at present passing through the same press.

Mr. Jäschke had undertaken a new edition of his Tibetan Grammar for Mr. Trübner's Oriental Series, but the disease to which he recently succumbed made too rapid strides for him to be able to make the additions and corrections he wished. Though it may be long ere Tibet is fully opened up to European commerce and enterprise, there can be no doubt that the importance of Mr. Jäschke's literary labours will be hereafter fully recognised.

M. François Lenormant, whose untimely death, at the early age of 47 years, every scholar throughout Europe, must have mourned, was born at Paris in Jan. 17, 1837, and died there Dec. 11, 1883.

The son of M. Charles Lenormant, long the eminent Keeper of the Collection of Antiquities at the Bibliothèque

in Paris (himself the victim of a fever he caught in 1859, during his archæological researches in Greece), Lenormant was, from his earliest years, bred up among studies, to which, in later times, he devoted himself with a zeal and assiduity rarely surpassed. There is no doubt he was a precocious child, and gifted with an extraordinary memory as well as with a wonderful facility for the acquisition of knowledge, and, further, that his father early discerned the character of the child he had to educate; hence he taught him himself and did not send him to any gymnasium or university. In his fourteenth year the *Rev. Archéologique* published for him a letter to M. Hase, On Greek Tablets found at Memphis: in 1854, he printed, in the *Correspondant*, a critical study of M. Garrucci's work On the Inscriptions traced on the Walls of Pompeii (*graffiti*), and in the *Mélanges d'Archéol.* of the P.P. Cahier and Martin, a paper "On the celebrated Greek Inscription of Autun," etc. In 1857 he gained the Numismatic Prize of the Acad. d. Inscriptions for his "Essai sur la Classification des Monnaies des Lagides," and in the same year, became a Licentiate of the "Faculté de Droit."

In Oct. 1859, he went to Greece with his father, on the untoward journey which cost the latter his life, and was at Athens with his mother in 1860, when the news came of the massacre of the Maronite Christians by the Druses. He was among the first to carry relief to Syria, and his letters to the French journals compelled the Government of the day to send a military force. The letters or papers issued by him, about this period, were—History of the Massacres in Syria in 1860 (Paris, 1861); Letters to Lord John Russell "On the Government of the Ionians," 1861; Two French Dynasties among the Southern Slaves in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (1861); Archæological Researches at Eleusis (1862), in which year he was appointed Sub-Librarian of the Institute; Essai sur l'organisation politique et éco-

nomique de la Monnaie dans l'Antiquité (1863); Monographie sur la Voie Sacré Eleusinienne (1864); La Grèce et les Iles Ioniennes (1865); and, in 1866, Les Turcs et les Monténégriens. In the same year he commenced his Phœnician publications and issued "Introduction à un Mémoire sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phœnicien dans l'ancien monde"; about the same time, also, he inaugurated his Assyrian studies, and by the force of his genius and the vivacity and brilliancy of his style, greatly helped M. Oppert to make these studies popular in France.

A great many miscellaneous papers and letters from his pen will be found in the "Comptes Rendus" for 1870 and subsequent years. To these may be added, "Les Tableaux du Musée de Naples," with illustrations in outline of those famous Art-treasures; he, also, did much for M. Robiou's splendid work, "Chefs-d'Œuvre de l'Antique."

To Assyrian subjects M. Lenormant contributed many interesting papers and books, as, for instance, his "Lettres Assyriologiques," his "Commentaire sur les fragments Cosmogoniques de Berosus," his "Magie chez les Chaldéens," which was translated into English and German; his "Choix des Textes Cunéiformes inédits," his "Études Accadiennes," etc. He, also, threw himself with genuine enthusiasm into the Sumero-Akkadian battle-field.

It would be impossible, within our limits, to give anything like a complete list of all that M. Lenormant wrote; but, perhaps, the book of his which has been most read, and by which he will be best remembered, is his "Manuel de l'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient," which has passed through eight editions during the last fifteen years. During his later years, M. Lenormant devoted himself to the study and literature of the Holy Scriptures, and published two especial works on this subject, one "Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples Orientaux"; the

second, "Le Genése," a translation of the Book of Genesis, the treatment of which, naturally, led to much discussion: it is, moreover, a work little likely to carry conviction to any, except a special class of students. The lamented death of M. Lenormant was mainly caused by exposure and over-exertion during his excavations, last year, in Magna Græcia. As is well known, during the war between France and Germany, he had received a severe wound, and this wound opened again, and produced disease of the periosteum, with intense suffering. Add to which, his usually strong constitution had been severely tried by the malarious poison he had imbibed in the marshes of Southern Italy.

Of a writer so versatile, who, in a life comparatively brief, had extended his researches over a range so wide, it is difficult to speak critically, but it may be truly said of him that, allowing for occasional hasty generalizations, he was an original thinker, and in no sense the appropriator of other men's discoveries. Most justly has an intimate friend said of him, "His gigantic powers of work, his wide sympathies, his quickness of perception, and his unrivalled erudition, all combined, place him in the foremost rank of scientific pioneers." Familiar, alike, with the learning of classical times, and with the results of monumental research in Western Asia, M. Lenormant was able to point out, as has never been done so well before, how intimate is the connection between these apparently divergent studies. "All that he wrote was suggestive and stimulating; and most of the mistakes charged on him by antagonists were due to the rapidity with which he worked. Such inaccuracies of detail may be regretted, but, when occurring in the writings of a constructive genius like Lenormant, they are no more blemishes than are the spots on the face of the sun." Above all, Lenormant was no mere scholar; he was, for his generation, far more useful, in that he enabled the many to learn,

from a master mind, things little known save to the few. And it is here we shall miss him most. His *Manual of Ancient History* was on the point of being re-cast when death, after nine months of great suffering, closed the labours of its author. So, too, we mourn the incompleteness of other works so grandly begun, such as the "*Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien,*" the history of "*La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité,*" the "*Chefs-d'Œuvre de l'Art Antique,*" and "*La Grande Grèce.*" With all his errors or shortcomings, these, too, at all times most readily admitted by himself, it is but just to say that the world of letters has no one who can, at the present time, replace him.

The Council, at their meeting of June 18, 1883, appointed Messrs. T. H. Thornton, Cust and their Secretary, to represent the Royal Asiatic Society at the meeting of the Oriental Congress to be held at Leyden in September. These gentlemen attended the Congress, and a report of its proceedings was read to the Society by the Secretary at the meeting of Nov. 19th.

During the winter a sub-committee, consisting of the Director, Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Sir Lewis Pelly, and Messrs. Fergusson, Grote, Thornton, Lewin, and Keatinge, met, and after a conference with the late Mr. Nicholas Trübner, agreed to the following Rules as the basis of the future arrangement with Messrs. Trübner for the publication of the Society's Journal:—1. That, in future, the Journal of the Society be published by Messrs. Trübner on pure commission terms. 2. That the selling price of each number of the said Journal be fixed by the Council of the Society. 3. That Messrs. Trübner render to the Society twice a year, an account of the numbers of the Journal sold by them during the previous six months, at the rate of 50 per cent. off the fixed publication price; it being understood that the 50 per

cent. thus allowed to them, covers trade allowances, discount, advertisements, commissions, and all other expenses, exclusive of the postage of the Journal to Members of the Society. 4. That Messrs. Trübner shall have the privilege of inserting any advertisements of their own books, in each number, free of charge, on paying direct to the printer all costs of such advertisements, both as regards printing and paper, together with all extra postage, as, would naturally, fall on the Society. 5. That this agreement be in force for five years, subject to reconsideration at the end of this time.

Unfortunately, though he had expressed his full assent to the above terms, Mr. Trübner did not sign the agreement before his lamented death, so the above statement can now only be taken as the basis of the agreement to which the Sub-Committee of the Council and Mr. Trübner had respectively come.

The Council have also sent letters of congratulation to Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., on his attainment of his hundredth anniversary, and to the Council of the Bengal Asiatic Society on their celebration, last November, of the centenary of the Society.

They have also addressed to Her Majesty, the Queen, and to the Duchess of Albany, letters of condolence on the untimely death of H R.H. the Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, K.G., and to Lady Bayley, on the death of her husband, Sir Edward Clive Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., who had been so long associated with the Society in Oriental researches.

In connection with the death of H.R.H. the Duke of Albany, K.G., the Council have great pleasure in printing an original poem in Arabic, which has been written by one of their members, Mr. Habib Anthony Salmoné, with a translation of the same by Edwin Arnold, Esq., C.S.I., a member of the Council of the Society.

مَرثِيَةٌ

وَلَوْ لَأُنْسِي بِصِفَاتِ الْعِلْمِ ذِي غَبْنٍ عَلَى أَنَّهُ عِنْدَمَا قَلَبُ يَحْتَرِكُ
 يَجْرِي اللِّسَانُ لِتَعْبِيرِ الْأَلَامِ وَبِالْكَدِّهِرُ قَدْ غَدَرَ الْآنَ بِصَاحِبِنَا
 وَنَاحِ جَمْعِ الْوَرَى الْآنَ مُنْتَجِبًا وَصَاحَ كُلُّ أَوَاهٍ أَيْنَ قُوَّتِنَا
 فَتَكَتِ الْمَنُونُ بِمَنْ قَدْ عَاشَ مُتَجَلِيًا هُوَ الْأَمِيرُ الَّذِي قَدْ كَانَ مَرْتَدِيًا
 هُوَ الْعَلِيمُ الَّذِي كَانَ يُعَلِّمُنَا تَرَكَ دَارَ الشَّقَاءِ وَالشَّرِّ وَالنَّخْمِ
 وَيَبْلَاكَ أَصْغَرَ لِنَادٍ كَيْ يُعْرِفُنَا كُفُّوا النَّحِيبَ جَمِيعًا بِالْعَلَى ابْتَهَلُوا
 سَعْدًا لَكَ الْبَنَى إِذْ كَدَدْتَ أَحْسَدَكَ تَبًّا لِذُنْيَا تَعْيِيسِهِ لَا ذَمَامَ لَهَا
 لَوْلَا الْأَمَالُ بِسَعْدٍ دَائِمًا أَبَدًا لَكِنَّ أَمَانًا بِاللَّهِ أَنْ نَلْتَقِي
 قَدْ يُجْبِرُ الْقَلْبَ وَالْأَحْزَانَ تَنْشُرُ يَا أُمَّ مَمْلُوكَةٍ وَيَا أُمَّ حَزِينَةٍ
 الدُّنْيَا قَاطِبَةً بِالْحَزْنِ تَشْرِكُ لَا تَزْعَمِي أَنْ فِي هَذِهِ الْأَرْضِ فَقَطْ
 فَرِيعَةُ الشَّرْقِ أَيْضًا تَدْعُوكِ كَوَالِدَةٍ وَبِالْمَدِيحِ لِسَانِي قَاصِرُ الطَّرْفِ
 بِفَرْطِ حُزْنٍ لَهُ الْأَصْحَارُ فِي رَجْفٍ مُطْطَقٍ يَدُلُّ كَمَا وَالْحُزْنَ مُحْتَسِفِ
 وَصَاحِبِ اللَّطْفِ وَالْمَعْرُوفِ ذُو الشَّرْفِ لِدَفْنِ بَرْنَسِ عَلِيٍّ إِذْ هُوَ لِمُنْتَلِفِ
 لِإِرْجَاعِ نَفْسِ الْعُلَى وَالْعَقْلِ وَالْعَطْفِ كَنَجْمَةِ الضُّبْحِ بِالْأَفَاقِ فِي كَشْفِ
 بِشُوبِ حَوَى كَلَّمَا بِالْأَرْضِ مُشْتَرَفِ مَبْدِي الصَّلَاحِ وَفِعْلِ الْخَيْرِ وَالْعُرْفِ
 لِدَارِ سَعْدٍ وَغَبَطٍ غَيْرِ مُنْتَلِفِ مَا فِي الْوَرَاءِ مِنَ الْأَحْوَالِ وَالطَّرْفِ
 أَنِّي بِمَجْدِ أَبِي الْآنَ مُلْتَسِفِ وَأَسْتَهِي الْمَوْتَ فَضْلًا عَنْ هَذِهِ الطَّرْفِ
 تَمَلُّو الْفَوَادِ مِنَ الْأَحْزَانِ وَالْكَسْفِ مَا فِي الْحَيَاةِ وَمَا فِيهَا مِنَ التَّخْفِ
 وَبِالسِّدْرِاعِ نَضَمْتُ فِي ذَلِكَ الْعُرْفِ وَيَرْجِعُ الشُّورُ إِذْ قَدْ كَانَ فِي الْكَسْفِ
 بِاللَّهِ إِعْتَصَمِي إِذْ هُوَ خَيْرٌ مُلْتَطِفِ الشَّرْقُ وَالْغَرْبُ وَالْكُلُّ فِي الْأَسْفِ
 يَنْعُوا عَلَيَّ فَقَدْ مَنْ هُوَ كَامِلُ الشَّرْفِ وَيَهْدُوكِ حَبِيبُكُمْ مَعَ كَثْرَةِ الْكَلْفِ

THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

If I be weak in excellence of learning,
And if, in praising, I be tied of tongue,
Yet when the heart with bitter grief is yearning—
As rocks by stress of storm are rent and wrung,—

The tongue is loosened for fit woful sounding,
And pain is lightened by soft words of woe.
Oh thou! in goodness, kindness, grace, abounding!
The hand of Destiny hath laid thee low.

All the wide Empire utters lamentation
For thee, this day, fair Prince! laid in the grave;
Each sighs "Alas! no power of reclamation
To win from Death so sweet a soul we have!"

For Death upon that spirit hath descended,
Which shone as shines the Day-Star in the sky;
Our English Prince, whose soul's attire was splendid
With all which beautifies true majesty.

Teacher high-born! who taught us how to follow
The paths of virtue, wisdom, charity,
Thou leav'st our lower world, evil and hollow,
For that glad land where joy can never die.

Listen! He speaks! and by his voice is given
To know the wonders of that far-off home;
"Weep not!" he whispers, "lift your hearts to Heaven!
My Father's glory beams where I am come!"

Ah, happiest Albany! I could be willing,—
 Wooing such death before my time,—to be
Quit of an earth with woe all senses filling,
 From trouble, chance, and evil, safe with thee.

But for the hope of thine immortal morrow,
 What were Life's day, with all its false delight?
Yet, trusting we shall meet—past sin and sorrow—
 (Where friend with friend, lover with loved, unite)

Strengthens the mind, makes grief seem quite departed,
 And brings the light back that was well-nigh lost.
Oh Queen, who bore him! Mother, broken-hearted,
 Set thy faith firm on God, for God is just!

With this thy grief all thy vast realm is grieving,
 From rising unto setting of the sun;
Think not alone of Albion, Queen! believing
 That kingdom only is the mourning one.
Mother! thine Eastern sons, in this bereaving,
 Bring pity, love, and reverence to thy Throne.

The Auditors submit the accompanying account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society, which will, they trust, be considered satisfactory.

Proceedings of Asiatic Societies.—Royal Asiatic Society.—Papers.—The following papers have been read at different meetings of the Society, since the last Anniversary of May 21.

1. Can India be made more interesting? By H. G. Keene, Esq., C.I.E., M.R.A.S. Read June 18, 1883.

2. On the Importance to Great Britain of the Study of Arabic. By Habib A. Salmoné, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read Nov. 19, 1883.

3. On the Fishes of Western India. By W. F. Sinclair, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read Dec. 17, 1883.

4. On the Origin of the Indian Alphabet. By R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S. Read Jan. 21, 1884.

5. Some Further Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki. By the Rev. Prof. Beal, M.R.A.S. Read Feb. 18, 1884.

6. Observations on the Early Languages of Mesopotamia By Theophilus G. Pinches, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read March 14, 1884.

7. On Extracts from the Translation of the Roll of Shiuten Dôji, a famous Japanese outlaw of the Tenth Century. By F. V. Dickins, Esq., M.R.A.S. Read April 21, 1884.

8. The She King for English Readers. By Clement F. R. Allen, Esq., M.R.A.S., H.B.M. Consul, Pakhoi, China. Read May 5, 1884.

Of these papers, as Nos. 2, 5, 6, have been already printed in the Society's Journal, it is not necessary to say more about them here. Of the others, the following are brief analyses.

Thus, Mr. H. G. Keene, in his paper entitled "Can India be made more interesting?" noticed, generally, the leading characteristics of the natives of that peninsula, viz. the Negrito, the Turanian, and the Aryan, each of whom must be studied separately. Asia, he held, is the home of the religion, language, and literature of Europe; society, there, having come down from the earliest ages in an unbroken continuity. Among all subsequent modifications, the old

elements remain; thus Brahman, Buddhist, Greek, Arab, Mongol, Portuguese, and French have, all in turn, scratched the surface, but with the exception of the Brahmans and the Buddhists, comparatively little remains of these successive inroads or settlements. The welfare of the people of India depended, he thought, for the most part, on the principles of administration, and on the *personnel* whereby these principles are applied.

Mr. Sinclair, in his paper read Dec. 17, 1883, "On the Fishes of Western India," stated that the particular subject he had selected was chosen for the reason that, till lately, the Fisheries of Western India had been much neglected; and, also, because he had thus the opportunity of noticing some works which were of general value to beginners in the study of Ichthyology, as well as to sportsmen.

With this view, therefore, he desired to call attention to two books, viz. Mr. Thomas's "Rod in India" and Major Beavan's "Fresh Water Fishes of India," the latter being, in his judgment, a complete manual of Ichthyology, and an admirable monograph on this class of the whole subject. "Sea Fishes," he added, have been exhaustively treated by Dr. Day, but the technical form of his great work, together with its price and weight, place it beyond the reach of most amateur observers. An abridgment of it in 8vo. would prove a real boon to practical students.

Mr. Sinclair then pointed out that there were many mammals or reptiles, often untruly placed under the head of fishes, because their habit was to take for themselves the baits intended for the fishes, and thus to get into nets intended for others. The mammals are fully dealt with in Mr. Jerdon's work, to which an excellent supplement has been added by Mr. Sterndale, with special reference to those of the Trans-Gangetic Provinces. This supplement, also, notices the porpoises of the Irrawaddy, which differ, generically, from those of the Ganges or Indus.

The reptiles have been fully described of by Dr. Nicholson of the Madras Service : but the lizards and crocodiles, tortoises and turtles, the frogs and toads, have been, as yet, only described collectively in Dr. Günther's Monograph on Indian Reptiles, published some years since by the Ray Society. A reprint of Dr. Günther's work, omitting the snakes, is much wanted.

This done, only two more chapters would be required for the Crustacea and Mollusca, which have not as yet secured their "Vates Sacer."

Mr. Cust, in his paper, read Jan. 21, 1884, gave a brief description of the present position of the question of the origin of the Indian Alphabet and of the views held in recent times by the leading scholars of Europe and India. This paper was the outcome of a previous one on the same subject read by him at the Leyden Congress, which led to a long discussion at the time.

Mr. F. V. Dickins in his paper, read April 21, 1884, gave extracts from the Roll of Shiuten Doji, a famous Japanese outlaw of the tenth century ; the Roll, itself, consisting of six "makimono," or scrolls, being beautifully caligraphed and illuminated, and the principal scenes of a somewhat gruesome story brilliantly depicted. Mr. Dickins ascribed this work to the early days of the Tokugawa Dynasty, and believed it to be due to either a Buddhist monk or to artists maintained in the household of some Fudai or Vassal Baron of the Shogun.

The story, a version of one of the chief exploits of the traditional hero Yorimitsu or Raiko, presented the usual features of such tales, whether told in the Far East or in the West, but possessed a special interest, from the curious mixture it displayed of the scholarly sweetness characteristic of the Chinese style, and of the somewhat overdone ferocity equally characteristic of Old Japan. The whole is cast in a

Buddhist mould, and permeated by an under current of Shintuism.

Mr. Clement Allen, M.R.A.S., H.M. Consul at Pakhoi, China, in his paper entitled "The She-King for English Readers," showed that the work in question consisted of a collection of archaic poetry such as is found in all nations in their primitive styles of civilization. He divided the poems into—1. Idylls. 2. War songs. 3. Laudatory Odes. 4. Festival and Sacrificial Odes. 5. Satires, Lampoons, and Moral Pieces. 6. Fragments, &c. Mr. Allen stated his belief that these poems were all capable of translation into English verse, but argued that, in making translations, it was necessary to abide by the text and not to be misled by the commentaries.

Journals.—*Royal Asiatic Society.*—Since the last Anniversary of May 21, 1883, Parts III. and IV. of Vol. XV. and Parts I. and II. of Vol. XVI. have been issued, containing the following papers:—

Thus, in Vol. XV. Part III. are—Early Kannada Authors. By Lewis Rice, Esq., M.R.A.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bangalore.

———— On Two Questions of Japanese Archæology. by Basil Hall Chamberlain, Esq., M.R.A.S.

———— On Two Sites named by Hiouen-Tsang in the 10th Book of the Si-yu-ki. By the Rev. S. Beal, Professor of Chinese, London University, and M.R.A.S.

———— Two Early Sources for Mongol History. By H. H. Howorth, F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

In Vol. XV. Part IV.—The Rivers of the Vedas and how the Aryans Entered India. By Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S., Treasurer, M.R.A.S.

———— Suggestions on the Voice-Formation of the Semitic Verb. A Comparative and Critical Study. By G. Bertin, Esq., M.R.A.S.

———— The Buddhism of Ceylon. By Arthur Lillie, Esq., M.R.A.S.

———— The Northern Frontagers of China. Part VI. Hia or Tangut. By H. H. Howorth, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

In Vol. XVI. Part I.—The Story of Devasmitâ, translated from the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, taranga 13, sloka 54. By the Rev. B. Hale Wortham, M.R.A.S.

———— Pujahs in the Sutlej Valley of the Himâlaya. By William Simpson, Esq., F.R.G.S., Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A.

———— On some New Discoveries in Southern India. By Robert Sewell, Esq., M.R.A.S., Madras Civil Service.

———— On the Importance to Great Britain of the Study of Arabic. By Habib A. Salmoné, Esq., M.R.A.S.

———— Grammatical Note on the Gwamba Language in South Africa. By Paul Berthoud, Missionary of the Canton de Vaud, Switzerland, stationed at Valdézia, Spelonken, Transvaal. Prepared for the Society's Journal at the request of Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

———— Dialects of the Tribes of the Hindu Khush. From Colonel Biddulph's work on the subject (corrected).

———— Grammatical Note on the Simnúní Dialect of the Persian Language. By the Rev. James Bassett, American Missionary, Tabriz. Communicated by R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

In Vol. XVI. Part II.—Etymology of the Turkish Numerals. By S. W. Koelle, Ph.D., etc.

———— Grammatical Note and Vocabulary of the Language of the Kor-kū, a Kolarian Tribe of Central India. Communicated by R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

———— The Pariah Caste in Travancore. By the Rev. S. Mateer, M.R.A.S., Trivandrum, Travancore.

———— On some Bihārī Folk-Songs. By G. A. Grierson, M.A. Oxford, M.R.A.S., Officiating Magistrate, Patna.

———— Some Further Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki. By

the Rev. S. Beal, Professor of Chinese, London University, and M.R.A.S.

————— On the Sites of Brahmanábád and Mansúrah in Sindh, with notices of others of less note in their vicinity. By Major-General M. R. Haig, M.R.A.S.

————— Antar and the Slave Daji. By St. Clair Baddeley, Esq., M.R.A.S.

————— Observations on the Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia. By Theophilus G. Pinches, Esq., M.R.A.S.

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has kept up its well-assured character. Thus, in vol. lii. pt. 1, No. 2, we have papers by the Rev. C. Swynnerton, M.R.A.S., On Folk-Tales of the Upper Panjab; by Mr. R. Roskell Bayne, On researches made by him on the site of Old Fort William at Calcutta; by G. A. Grierson, M.R.A.S., On Bihāri Declension and Conjugation, with notes on this paper, by Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle; by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, On the Temples of Deoghar; and by Charles J. Rodgers, M.R.A.S., On the rupees of the months of the Illahi Years of Akbar. The last two papers will be noticed under their respective subjects, viz. Archæology and Numismatics.

The first paper, by Mr. Swynnerton, is interesting, giving as it does tales and stories collected by him from the lips of the peasantry of the Upper Panjab, most of which will necessarily die out with the advance of European civilization. It is a pity that such fleeting records should not be more sought out and secured for other districts, where they doubtless exist.

Mr. Bayne's account of his researches on the site of Old Fort William, with the five plates he has given, is valuable, in that it seems to be pretty certain that he has solved the problém of the position of the famous Black Hole, into which Mr. Holwell and his 145 companions were thrust; at the

same time, Mr. Bayne wisely points out that this name was not derived from the catastrophe (as is commonly supposed), but was the common title given to the military prison.

Mr. Grierson's Essay on Bihārī Declension and Conjugation is, like all he does, a thoroughly scholar-like performance, and illustrates the remarkable changes and modifications which may arise in the language of a people, even if they do not possess anything that can be called Literature. With an energy peculiar to their race, Mr. Grierson states that they have disembarrassed themselves, to a large extent, of the somewhat cumbrous grammatical forms of their ancestors, and have succeeded in wearing down periphrases and compounds into new words which bear no outward sign of their origin. Dr. Hoernle's notes on the preceding paper have value as those of a scholar who has paid special attention to the Gaudian Languages. For a further study of this subject, see Mr. Grierson's article in the Journal of this Society for the present year, entitled "Some Bihārī Folk-Songs."

In the Proceedings of the Society are, as usual, a number of brief notices, to some of which we shall now call attention.

Thus there is a report by Mr. A. C. Carlleyle, On recently-discovered Sepulchral Mounds, etc. :—by J. Beames, Esq., M.R.A.S., On the History of Orissa under Muhammadan, Maratha, and English Rule :—by H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., M.R.A.S., On a Brass Casting of the Arms of the Old India Co., found by Mr. T. A. Gennoe in a Hindu Temple of the Faizabad District, with the statement that it had been worshipped for many years as a Hindu Deity and bathed and anointed with sandal wood every day! :—by Mr. F. S. Growse, A Note on the word Nultár or Niṣar :—by Mr. J. W. Parry, Notes on the Nanjis, a religious sect :—by Sirdar Gurdiál Singh, Memorandum on the Superstitions connected with Birth, etc., among the Jats of Hashyárpur in the Panjab :—by the Rev. T. P. Hughes,

M.R.A.S., Notice of a visit to Kafiristan in 1882:—by Mr. Cockburn, An Account of a Drawing in a Cave of the Rhinoceros Indicus:—by Mr. Peal, An Account of a Journey up the Dibang Basin:—by Mr. Cockburn, Of Petrographs in the Kaimur District:—by Professor Max Müller, Hon. M.R.A.S., Of an Edition of the Sarvana Krama to be published in the Anecdota Oxoniensia:—by Mr. V. A. Smith, M.R.A.S., On the Salivahana Era:—by J. Beames, Esq., M.R.A.S., On Old Dutch Hatchments in the Church of Chinsurah:—and by Rajendralala Mitra, Hon. M.R.A.S., On Gonardiya and Gonikaputra, as Names of Patanjali. There are also many notices of inscriptions and coins, which will be recorded in their respective places.

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvi. No. xli.—This Society has recently published an extra paper, being a detailed report, by Prof. Peter Peterson, of his “Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle,” Aug., 1882–March, 1883. In the course of this paper, Prof. Peterson gives an interesting account of the work he has accomplished, since the departure of Dr. Kielhorn, M.R.A.S., in conjunction with Prof. Bhandarkar, Hon. M.R.A.S. The most important results he arrived at were the thorough appreciation of the objects he had in view by the native learned men, and the evidence he was able to give, to use his own words, that “much which remains for the European to discover has never been hid from the native learned community.” His details, however, are beyond the limits of this Report. It should, perhaps, however, be noted that he found a considerable fragment of poems attributable (at all events, traditionally) to the great grammarian Panini (p. 41), and further that the courtesy extended to him by H.H. the Maharaja of Jeypur fully confirms what we already know from Dr. Bühler. A complete catalogue of the Jeypur library would be a boon to

all students, and this could, Dr. Peterson thinks, be easily accomplished by the "pandits at Jeypur," if means could be found to satisfy the vested interests of the hereditary keepers of the books.

Dr. Peterson adds "Extracts from the MSS. acquired by Government, and from others belonging to H.H. the Maharana of Oudeypore, together with list of the MSS. acquired by the Government," and two Appendices—1. A Catalogue of the Palm-leaf MSS. in Santinâth's Bhaṇḍâr, Cambay; and 2. A Notice of Bana, his predecessors and contemporaries.

Altogether, Dr. Peterson's report may be fairly considered as one of the best of the many valuable recent researches into the vast, but as yet little known, collections of Sanskrit MSS. in the native libraries of India.

Vol. xvi. No. 42, 1883, contains four epigraphical papers by Messrs. Bhagvanlal Indrajî, Hon. M.R.A.S., and J. F. Fleet respectively; five Numismatic papers by Col. Prideaux, Gerson da Cunha, and Surgeon-Major O. Codrington; and Neryôsangh's Sanskrit Translation of the Khordah-Avesta, by the Rev. A. Fühler. The last is an important contribution to the history of early Pahlavi translations.

Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1882.—The Society has this year published as an *extra* number a translation by Mr. Albert Gray, M.R.A.S., from the French of MM. Dufreméry and Sanguinetti, of Ibn Batuta's account of the Maldivé Islands and of Ceylon. It is well known that Ibn Batuta spent twenty years in travels over all the then Muhammadan world, between A.D. 1325 and 1349; and that he was at the Maldivé Islands [and subsequently in Ceylon and Bengal] from the beginning of 1343 to August, 1344. The narrative is very interesting, and Mr. Gray may be congratulated on the way he has performed his task. It would be of much interest if monographs of

other places described by Ibn Batuta could be similarly treated, and, from time to time, made public.

Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—In part No. xi. of the Journal of this Society are a considerable number of readable papers, not all, however, on subjects bearing on Oriental History. It will be sufficient here to give a list of them: thus Captain Kelham writes, “On Malayan Ornithology”:—the Hon. W. E. Maxwell, On Malay Proverbs, an excellent compilation founded mainly on Favre and Klinkert, but re-explained:—Mr. Errington de la Croix gives a translation from a paper by M. Quatrefages on the Pigmies of Homer, Herodotus, Aristotle, Pliny, etc., originally published in the Journ. d. Savants for February and June, 1881:—Mr. W. Cameron writes on the Patani River, with a good map:—Dr. H. W. O’Brien, On a Nervous Disease called Latah:—and the Hon. A. M. Skinner, on the Java System.

Journal Asiatique.—Serie vii. tome 20, part 3 for October, November, December, 1882, was not issued when the Report for last year was printed. It contains an excellent index to the papers, etc., in the Journal from 1873 to 1882, both inclusive. Serie viii. tome 1, No. 1, Janv. was noted in the last Report.

Serie viii. tome 1, No. 2, Febr. Mars, contains the continuation of a paper by M. James Darmesteter, entitled “Fragments d’un Commentaire sur le Vendidad,” commenced two years previously. The rest of the number is entirely given to Inscriptions, which will be noticed under Epigraphy, and to the usual brief but valuable notices of books, &c.

Serie viii. tome 1, No. 3, Avril-Mai-Juin, has papers by

M. René Basset, Notes de Lexicographie Berbère:—by M. Devic, Une Traduction Inédite du Coran: while M. Léon Feer continues his Etudes Bouddhiques under the title of “Comment ou devient Arhati.” M. Aymonier deals with Cambogian Inscriptions; and M. Ganneau continues a former paper on Oriental Seals, &c.

Serie viii. tome 2, No. 1, Juillet, contains, as usual, the elaborate Annual Report (this year by M. James Darmesteter), who has well followed in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors Mohl and Renan.

Serie viii. tome 2, No. 2, Aout-Sept., has articles by De Vogüé, Inscriptions Palmyreniennes inédites:—Guyard, S., Nouvelles Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne:—by M. Aymonier, Notices sur les Inscriptions en vieux Khmer:—and J. and H. Derenbourg, Etudes sur l'épigraphie de Yemen; and in the Mélanges are the usual brief but excellent notices of books by MM. Halévy, Senart, Imbault-Huart, and Clermont-Ganneau.

We beg to offer our hearty congratulations to the Society on the bequest made to them of 10,000 francs by the late M. Sanguinetti.

In viii. tome 2, Oct. Nov. Dec., M. Specht contributes an article entitled “Etudes de l'Asie Centrale d'après les Historiens Chinois:—M. Pognon writes on the “Inscription de Merou Nerar I. Roi d'Assyrie”:—M. Halévy contributes Miscell. Semitologiques:—and M. Bergaigne an article on the “Lexique du Rig-Veda.” In the Nouvelles et Mélanges are papers and notes by MM. B. de Meynard, Maspero, Yusuf al Khaldy, R. Duval, Devic, and De Vogüé.

Serie viii. tome 3, No. 1, Jan., 1884, contains Études Bouddhiques par M. Feer “Comment ou devient Deva”—and letter from M. Houdas to M. Barbier de Meynard, On a New Mode of Notation for Arabic; while M. Bergaigne deals with the Chronology of the Ancient Kingdom of the Khmers in Cambogia, deduced from the Inscriptions. There

are in the "Nouvelles et Mélanges" many interesting short notices.

Serie viii. tome 3, No. 2, Fevr. Mars, has papers by M. Léon Feer, *Études Bouddhiques*; Comment ou devient Preta:—by Mr. Clement Huart, *Étude Biographique sur trois Musiciennes Arabes*:—M. Bergaigne continues his *Études sur le lexique du Rig-Veda*:—by M. Halévy, *Coup d'œil retrospectif sur l'Alphabet Libyque*:—the "Nouvelles et Mélanges" contain some interesting notices.

German Oriental Society.—Since the last Report, vol. xxxvii. pts. 2, 3, and 4, xxxviii. pt. 1, have been published. The following is a complete list of the articles in them, some of which will, perhaps, be more fully noticed subsequently.

Thus, vol. xxxvii. pt. 2, contains papers by M. F. Teufel, *Babur und Abu Fazl*; Socin, A., *Der Arab dialekte von Mosul und Mardin*; Roth, R., *Die Seelen des Mittelreichs im Parsismus*; Kaufmann, D., *Saadja's Al-fajjumi's Einleitung*; Harlez, C., *de Zur Erklärung des Avesta*; Bühler, G., *Beilager zur Erklärung der Asoka-Inschriften (4th Edict)*; Jolly, J., *Grundung einer hand-schriften-Bibliothek in Benares*; with good reviews by Dr. Leumann of Prof. Max Müller's "What can India teach us?"; and by M. C. Bartholomae of M. Andreas's *Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard*.

In xxxvii. pt. 3, Professor Guidi gives *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Neu-Aram. Fellihi Dialektes*:—Müller, O. H., writes on *Länger's Sabæan Inscriptions*:—Bühler, G., *On the Asoka Inscriptions, 8th Edict, at Girnar, Jaugada, and Khalsi*:—Stickel, *Zur Orientalischen Sphragistik*:—Erman, A., *Eine Aegyptische statuette*:—Prätorius, F., *Tigrina Sprachwörter*:—Lobe, J., *Noch einmal zur geschichte der Etymologie von Θέος*:—Meyer, E., *Ursprung der sieben Wochentage*:—Garbe, *Note on Arrian's Indika*:—Gold-

schmidt, S., Zu Kühn Zeitsch. 27:—Bacher, W., Hebr. ן und Arab. ح:—Bartholomae, Ch., Avestisch Mada-Mada:—together with reviews by Vambery, of Pavet de Courteille's Miradj-Nameh:—by Imm. Low, of Zuckernandel's Tosefta:—and, by the same, of Dr. Payne Smith's Thesaurus Syriacus, part 6.

In vol. xxxvii. pt. 4, are papers by Dr. Steinschneider, Parva Naturalia des Aristoteles:—Leumann, E., Zwei weitere Kálaka-legenden:—Hillbrandt, A., Zu Rig Veda i. 162:—Noldeke, Th., Uebersuchungen zur Semitischen Grammatik: Euting, J., Epigraphismus, with 3 plates:—Aufrecht, Th., Ueber die Padyâmrita tarangini:—Ditto, Ueber eine Oxforder Handschrift:—Ditto, Bemerkungen zu Band xxxvi.:—Hultsch, E., Amrâvati Inschriften:—Sachau, E., Ueber den Palmyrenischen νόμος τελωνικός:—Bühler, G., Beiträge zur Erklärung der Asoka Inschriften. Together with reviews, by Dr. Ahlwardt, of Dieterici's Sogenante Theologie des Aristoteles:—by Noldeke, of Duval's Dialektes Néo-Arameen. de Salamis:—by Thorbecke, of Jahn's Ibn Jais:—H. Jacobi adds a note, on Datavya Bharat Karya laya.

In vol. xxxviii. pt. 1, are papers by H. Jacobi, Ueber die Entstehung der Çvetâmbara und Digambara Sekten:—by A. H. Schindler, Beiträge zum Kurdischen Wortschatze:—by C. Bartholomae, Studien zur den Gáthás:—by C. de Harlez, L'Avestique Mada et la Tradition Persane:—R. Roth, Wo wächst der Soma:—J. Gildemeister, Amuletum:—Th. Noldeke, Zwei goldene Kameele aus votiv-geschenke bei Arabern:—E. Wiedemann, Bemerkung zur dem Aufsatz von Herrn Dr. J. Baermann, Abhandlung über das licht von Ibn al Haitam:—E. Reyer, Alt-Orientalische Metallurgie:—J. u. H. Derenbourg, Erklärung. With reviews by Th. Noldeke of Houtsma's Ibn Wádih; of Cruel's Die Sprachen u. völker Europas; and by J. J. Unger of Hamburger's Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud.

Archæology. — Since the last Report, Major-General Cunningham has issued two more volumes, the fifteenth and sixteenth. In his fifteenth volume he gives the Results of a Tour he made during the cold season of 1879–80 in Bihar and Northern Bengal, visiting first Mahâbodhi (or Buddha Gaya), where he picked up two dated inscriptions, one of some importance as giving the date of the accession of Dharma Pala, A.D. 821, the second Prince of the Pala Dynasty of Bengal. The chief places he subsequently went to were Kurkihar and Parbati, which, with several other sites, are noticed by Hiouen-Thsang; identifying, it would seem satisfactorily, many of the Chinese pilgrim's descriptions; as, *e.g.* Jâhngira, with its remarkable sculptures in high relief, described by Rajendra Mitra in the Bengal Journal, 1864; and Sultângunj, with the curious archæological remains (also described by R. Mitra) of a large Buddhist Monastery. Somewhat later he visited Gaur, his description of which is interesting, especially that of the stupendous earthworks raised by old inhabitants to protect their city from the floods of the Ganges. Except that the ruins are now much more clear than when described and photographed by Mr. Ravenshaw several years ago, there is not much to add to that gentleman's descriptions. General Cunningham's notes, however, on the *present* state of these ruins, and his essay on the suburbs of Gaur, with his description of the Jama Masjid, the Adina Masjid, etc., are worth reading. General Cunningham's notice of Sunargaon or Suvarna Grama, the "Gold Town," which we know from the coins (see Thomas, Pathan Kings of Dehli, 1871), and other sources, to have been the capital of Bengal in Muhammadan times, is good, but adds little to Dr. Wise's paper in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (vol. xliii. 1874).

It is curious that, though a city essentially of Hindu origin, few fragments of Hindu work now remain to attest

this fact, nor, indeed, is even the name of the city mentioned before the reign of the Emperor Balban (A.D. 1265-1287). The most important monument still extant is the presumed tomb of Azam Shah : the pillars around it have now fallen, but are so little injured that General Cunningham suggests that they should be re-erected by Government. The sarcophagus, in a single block of hard black basalt, will last for ages. The difficulty of exploring this old place is clear from General Cunningham's narrative : "The gigantic tough canes cross the narrow paths in all directions, and with their long sharp flat thorns effectually bar the passage of the stoutest elephants."

At the close of his narrative, he gives (pp. 145-177) some useful "Notes on the History of Bengal," including a genealogy of the earlier Pala Kings, taken from their Inscriptions, of the Sena Rajas of Bengal and of the Muhammadan Rulers of Bengal. The volume is illustrated by thirty-five plates, comprising maps and views of the Jâhngira rocks, plans, sculptures, etc.

In his sixteenth volume, General Cunningham gives an account of two tours in North and South Bihar, accomplished by him and by his assistant, Mr. Garrick. In the first, Gen. Cunningham states that (reserving for a while the detailed account of his latest researches at Buddha Gaya, which will form a separate volume, to be brought out by him and Mr. Beglar) he devoted most of his time to the district of Bihar, where he examined the important sites of Kowa Dol, Barâbar and Dharâwat, the last of which he considers to be the Gunamati Monastery of Hiouen Thsang. Thence, crossing the Ganges at Patna, he went to Bâsarh, the site of the famous city of Vaisâli, but the excavations he made there yielded nothing of importance. At Darbhanga, on the other hand, Mr. Garrick obtained a copy of an important copper-plate inscription, with the date Lakshmana Sena Samvat 293, corresponding with A.D. 1399, his inference

being that the first year of this era was A.D. 1107. He there, also, saw a meteorite, which had fallen on Dec. 2, 1880, and which was already being worshipped by crowds of people from the neighbourhood, as Adbhûtnâth, the "miraculous God." At Sita-kund, not far distant, he found a Hindu Temple, in which the only object of worship was a Muhammadan Inscription! Returning southwards, General Cunningham crossed the Sôn, and visited the Brahmanical sites of Deo Markanda, Mahadeopur, and Deo Barnârak. His only important discovery, therefore, was an inscription on one of the pillars of the temple, describing some offerings made during the reign of Jivita Gupta, A.D. 730. The temple itself he considers to be two or three centuries older. He thinks that this inscription proves that the *Indian arch* was in common use in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era.

Incidentally, General Cunningham gives an interesting account of the so-called Buddha's bowl at Kandahar, pp. 8-11; and of the lion-topped pillar at Bakhra, noticed by Hiouen-Thsang. A fine statue of Buddha, found close by in 1854, is now set up in a small adjacent temple and worshipped as Ram Chandr, though the Buddhist inscription on its pedestal, in letters of the tenth century, is still there and legible. He also states that Mr. Beglar has identified Kanwa-dol, the "crow's rocking stone," with the monastery of Sîlabhadra, which was visited by Hiouen-Thsang in A.D. 637. Many remains of this monastery, of a date, according to him, of about A.D. 580, are still *in situ*, including a colossal figure of Buddha himself. The details of the remains at Barnârak are interesting.

Mr. Garrick's tour, in which he went over much of the ground previously crossed by Gen. Cunningham, was chiefly occupied with the district extending northwards from Patna to the Nepâl frontier, but, at many places, he was able to make useful excavations and to obtain excellent photographs.

Among these may be noticed B́asarh or Vaisali, already alluded to, where he found a curious piece of antiquity, which he thinks was an inkstand (see pl. 4): and some rather interesting excavations he made at Lauriyanavand-ghar, the site of the famous lion-topped Asoka pillar. Besides the Asoka inscription, it appears that there is one of Aurangzeb: the mark of a cannon shot on the upper part of the column is attributed to one of the officers of his army, which marched by it, at the period of the inscribed date, *i.e.* A.D. 1660-1.

The lion-column seems to be safe from any but accidental injury, as it is an object of daily worship by the villagers of the neighbourhood. Near Laurya, Mr. Garrick visited a vast mound of solid brickwork, 90 feet high and 250 long, called Chandkigarh, which ought to be examined thoroughly; taking next the recently-discovered Asoka column at Rampurwa, a few miles further to the north, Mr. Garrick suggests, what is likely enough, that the consecutive order in which these different columns are found can hardly be accidental. The Rampurwa Lát has been thrown down, some think by lightning, but could easily be set up again. The resemblance of the lion on the Laurya column to the small ivory lions from Nineveh is remarkable, while its abacus as clearly recalls the *tori* of the capitals at Persepolis or on the tomb of Darius at Pasargadæ. Another broken pillar was found near this last, but Mr. Garrick's means were not sufficient to examine it thoroughly. The Colossus (20 feet long) of Buddha in the state of Nirvana, discovered by Mr. Carlleyle, some years ago, has been carefully roofed over. Another statue of Buddha, in blue stone, 11 feet high, has been recently set up by the local authorities. At the conclusion of his tour, Mr. Garrick paid a visit to Buddha-Gaya, and reports the interesting fact that, among recent discoveries, is a portion of an Asoka capital, representing two seated winged lions and a number of small fragments, probably parts of the original column. Another interesting discovery

was that of a small sculpture in blue stone, representing the great Temple with the sacred *pipal* tree, in its original position, on the terrace behind the Temple.

General Cunningham's volume is illustrated by one map and thirty photographs of plans, etc., of the buildings noticed.

The Government of India has recently printed "The Second Report of the Curator (Major H. H. Cole, R.E.) of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1882-3," which contains a good deal of miscellaneous Archæological matter: thus, Major Cole first briefly gives his own personal tours of inspection, etc., between July, 1882, and April, 1883, during the first part of which he visited Dehli, Udaipur, Chittore, Indore, Mount Abu, and Jaipur; and subsequently, Ajmir, Amravati, Bijapur and Ahmadabad, Sanchi, and many places in the North-West Provinces and in the Panjab as far as Peshawar. The rest of his volume is occupied by a series of Appendices, many of them containing useful records of the present state of famous ancient monuments, and of the steps suggested or taken for their preservation from otherwise inevitable destruction. Of these, however, Appendix B., "Historical British Monuments and Memorials," scarcely deserves the prominence given to it. To take the others in their order, Appendix A. affords lists of some of the principal *Native* Architectural Buildings in Bengal, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the Panjab, Kashmir, Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces, Haidarabad, Maisur, Burma, Madras and Bombay, pp. i-xlix. Each structure is noticed, where possible, under a tabulated series of headings, including the name, general character, custody, preservation, restoration, photographs, drawings, etc., the whole offering a valuable list for future reference and study: we ought, however, to know what is really meant by the ominous word "restoration."

Appendix C. contains a useful Catalogue of Works of

Reference bearing on Indian and Oriental Architecture, Art and Archæology. Appendix D. deals with Ancient Monuments in Madras, and gives a copy of the plan of Amravati made by Colonel Kennedy in 1816 [which it was scarcely necessary to reproduce], with a list of the sculptures selected for removal by Dr. Burgess in December, 1881, and January, 1882. Some additional details are given, chiefly of the work of Mr. Black, C.E. Appendix E. gives reports and correspondence relating to Ancient Monuments in Bombay. Appendix F. gives ditto for Bengal, with two lithograph plates of Shir Shah's tomb at Sasaram. Appendix G. takes up the subject of the Monuments of Central India, with a plan of Sanchi and of its neighbourhood, and a record of the condition of the monuments there, in 1880-1. Appendix H. deals with Rajputana; Appendix I. contains the most interesting and the most fully illustrated of Major Cole's Reports, that on the Ancient Monuments in the Panjab.

In this section Major Cole gives a map and several plates in illustration of the remains at Eusofzai, showing many of the ancient Græco-Buddhist sites, with illustrations from classical sources and from Persepolis, thus demonstrating a remarkable similarity (to say the least) between the North Indian works and the so-called Pelasgic works in Greece. One of the most remarkable of these is what he calls a "Domed Granary," at Sanghao, Eusofzai. One curious piece of sculpture entitled a "Woman and Eagle," pl. No. 21, Major Cole and General Cunningham compare with the Ganymede of Leochares (or rather its copy), now in the Vatican.¹ On the other hand, many interest-

¹ There is at Bignor, in Sussex, a Mosaic pavement which much more nearly represents the Peshawar sculpture than the statue of Leochares. But there is an essential difference, that the principal figure in the classical representation is a *male*. In Major Cole's example, and in another copy of the same subject in the Leitner Collection at South Kensington, it is clear that a *female* is being carried off.

ing sculptures relating to Buddha were found, and have been engraved by Major Cole, and, in some of these, there certainly seems to be a reminiscence of Greek Art in the treatment of the draperies, though not in the portraiture.

Appendices K. and L. deal with Ancient Monuments in the North-West Provinces and Oudh and with those of the Central Provinces. In the last, it may be remarked that there is a good plan showing the general position of the principal Temples at Mandhatta on the River Narbudda. Appendix O. gives a useful list of some of the ancient and modern forts and citadels in India.

The Government of Madras has printed "A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, by Robert Sewell, Esq., M.R.A.S.," extracted from the larger work, vol. ii. of the Archæological Survey Series of Southern India. [Mr. Sewell's List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, vol. i., was noticed in last year's Report, pp. xlviii-ix.] The idea of this publication is good, and, as a work for ready chronological reference, it will be found useful. It is not, as the compiler states, "intended as a complete history, the subject of South Indian History being yet in its infancy." The arrangement, to assist reference, is alphabetical; but it would be of still more value to students if, at some future time, Mr. Sewell were able to print some synchronistical tables, so that the order of the succession of the different Dynasties and Families could be seen at a glance. The general index of names is well done.

The Ceylon Government has published a very interesting paper, drawn up by H. C. P. Bell, Esq., of the Ceylon Civil Service, entitled, "The Maldive Islands, an Account of the Physical Features, Climate, History, Inhabitants, Productions, and Trade." Of this report, or rather of a portion of it, Mr. Albert Gray, M.R.A.S., gave an account to the Society, on June 20,

1881. As already noticed, Mr. Gray has supplemented it by his translation, for the Ceylon Journal, of that part of Ibn Batuta's Voyages which refer to these Islands or to Ceylon. Mr. Gray has, also, treated on the same subject, in a paper printed in J.R.A.S., Vol. X. The whole report is worthy of perusal, but, probably, the most valuable parts are those relating to the Island-history (p. 21), which clearly show that the population, like the Sinhalese, are of Aryan descent, the actual language being nearly akin to the Elu or oldest form of Sinhalese. The grammar, however, has still to be written, and the only vocabularies, those of Pyard (1602-7) and of Christopher (1836-8), are obviously very incomplete. Recently Mr. Gray has done something in this direction (J.R.A.S. Vol. X. 1878). Dr. E. Müller has given Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar in the Ceylon Sess. Papers for 1880, and Prof. Kuhn a paper in the Munich Sitzungsberichte, which Mr. Ferguson has translated for the *Indian Antiquary*. The old characters, now disused, bear some resemblance to the Vattelutta or Old Tamil. The new characters, called Gubuli-tana, are peculiar and probably unique in their composition. Mr. Gray states that the first letters are merely the Arabic numerals from 1 to 9, and the last letters probably simplifications of the old alphabet (see p. 78 for one of native writing). Mr. Bell adds a valuable Note on the Money, Weights, and Measures used in these Islands.

In the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* (vol. lii. pt. 1, No. 2), Rajendralala Mitra has a long article, "On the Temples of Deoghar," a subject previously noticed in Hunter's "Annals of Rural Bengal," and in other publications: none of these, however, give an adequate idea of the inscriptions found there. No temple in India would seem to have a higher claim for sanctity than that of Baidyunatha, at Deoghar, more than 100,000 pilgrims visiting it (we are told) yearly. The name Deoghar is probably

modern.¹ The temple of Vaidyanatha now stands in the middle of the town, surrounded by a court-yard of an irregular quadrilateral form. The presiding divinity is the Jyotirlinga, of cylindrical form, five inches in diameter, and rising about four inches from the centre of a large slab of basalt, shaped like a yoni and pointing to the north. Rajendra Mitra criticizes with some severity Mr. Beglar's descriptions of this building (*Arch. Survey*, vol. viii.), but Mr. Beglar's measures are probably correct. Curiously, in the Temple court-yard there is still a monument of a much earlier period, a masonry platform, about six feet in height and twenty feet square, supporting three huge monoliths of contorted gneiss rock, two of them vertical, the third lying upon the heads of the two uprights, like a horizontal beam. R. Mitra thinks this structure is a Hindu "Dolkat-frame" in stone, and that it was erected for the purpose of swinging Krishna in the Holi Festival. Mr. Beglar, on the other hand, holds it to be simply a great gateway. The Babu then gives a full transcript and translation of all the inscriptions, which are modern and of little interest; indeed, of so little, that one wonders that so many pages of the *Journal* should have been given to them. It may be added that, admitting all the sacred buildings now remaining at Deoghar to be modern, there is strong reason for believing that they represent others of a much earlier date. This, however, R. Mitra doubts.

In vol. lii. part i. No. 3, Mr. Rivett-Carnac has given a very interesting account, illustrated by three plates, of his recent researches in company with Mr. J. Cockburn, in the Banda District of the North-West Provinces, on Stone Monuments, etc., the majority of which are clearly the remains of the Aboriginal Tribes of India, who,

¹ An account of these temples, with a more correct plan than that of Rajendra Mitra, was published by Mr. Beglar (*Cunningham*, vol. viii. p. 37, pt. 9 and 10), but none of these accounts furnish any illustration from which the style and age of these temples can be satisfactorily determined.

driven out of the fertile Delta, on the Hindu invasion from the north, found a natural refuge in the hills and the jungle. Over the vast jungle tract of Central India, cromlechs, kistvaens, and circles, closely resembling those found in Britain and on the Continent of Europe, are to be met with. None of the implements found among these older remains appear to be in use at the present day even among the most uncivilized of the existing tribes. Indeed, the uncultivated natives, generally, look on them as wonderful and mysterious, often as holy. The village pípál tree is the surest place near which to find them. There the villagers, acting unconsciously as valuable coadjutors in the interest of archæological research, have collected together and piled up from time immemorial these curious relics of a bygone age, preserving them with that mysterious awe which attaches in their eyes to everything that is old and rare. Messrs. Carnac and Cockburn have collected many hundreds of these monuments, of all sizes and types, many of them, from their weather-worn surfaces, evidently of great age. For the purpose of classification, they have divided them into—

1. Hammer Stones.
2. Celts.

The specimens from both of these classes so closely resemble those that have been found in the west, that had they not been carefully marked, their *provenance* could not have been determined. It should be added, that the best specimens procured have been placed in the British Museum, while casts of those that seemed to be unique have been sent to the chief museums of Europe, America, and the Indian Presidency towns. In the Proceedings for June, 1883, Mr. Rivett-Carnac has, also, given some important Notes on the Cromlech of Er-Lannig in the Gulf of Morbihan. With the view of comparing what he and Mr. Cockburn had found in India, Mr. Carnac wrote to different people in Europe, and at length received a letter in reply from Comte de Limar, whose collection at Vannes, is the most complete existing.

Of Mr. Carnac's collection the Comte remarks, "I have been struck with the extraordinary similarity existing between the Celts you have so kindly sent me and our own types. Had I not put marks on them, it would have been impossible to distinguish yours from those in my collection here."

Mr. Beames, in his "Notes on Orissa," has brought together much antiquarian history, the chief point being the evidence he has adduced, that the Oriya race cannot, as some have supposed, be an offshoot from Bengal, their settlement in this district being (as shown from the character of their language) antecedent to the existence of any settled population in Bengal. The ancient sovereigns of Orissa were, he shows, great builders of stone buildings, and their monuments still abound to such an extent that it is surprising that General Cunningham has not devoted any of his Archæological researches to a part of India which would well repay him for such trouble. From about A.D. 1450, the records of the province are clear, and can be corroborated from various testimonies. Indeed, from the Temple Records at Puri, Messrs. Stirling and Hunter extracted a good deal of history, more or less exact, extending to the foundation of the Kesari Dynasty (A.D. 504). Asoka's Inscriptions in the Caves carry back the history to B.C. 250. Mr. Beames's History of Balasore, we may add, is carefully worked out.

General Cunningham contributes a third paper (with one plate), containing a further account of the "Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper." The principal object is a gold cylinder, superior, he thinks, in workmanship, to any Persian gems he has seen, a judgment which the plate given scarcely confirms. There are two scenes represented on it, each illustrative of the same subject, that of a Persian soldier or chief slaying a prisoner. General Cunningham considers the enemies to be Scythians, as they wear the dress described by Herod. vii. 64; and, further, that the two

captives and the three slain figures are Indians, as these persons wear the *dhoti* and *buskins*. This cylinder weighs 1520 grains, and is intrinsically worth 175 rupees (say £16). The second gold object is a circular disk of about the same weight and value, representing a man riding on a lion-headed Hippocamp, similar forms of which mythical animal occur on the Buddhist rails at Buddha Gaya (Arch. Survey, vol. iii. p. 29). The third represents an antelope in the act of leaping, weighs 3020 grains, and is worth 350 rupees (or £31). Gen. Cunningham suggests that this object may have been the top of a staff, as there is a hole under the stomach for the insertion of the stick.

Mr. F. S. Growse contributes an interesting paper, "On the Town of Bulandshahr (N.W. Provinces)," where, in the course of some necessary excavations, he lighted upon scores of "strange earthenware flasks or vase-like objects," which would seem to have been a special local manufacture. Mr. Growse is inclined to think, as the place was evidently one of importance in Buddhist times, "that they were manufactured to serve as finials for miniature Buddhist Stupas." A Buddha has been dug up on the spot, having on each side of his throne a rampant hippogriff with its back to the sage, and rearing its head over a devotee seated in the attitude of prayer. There is also a Buddhist inscription of the ninth or tenth century. A terra-cotta seal was also found, bearing the name "Mattila," in characters of the fifth century. Mr. Growse adds an account of a copper-plate grant which was found at Mânpur, near Bulandshahr, in 1867, and has been published in the J.B.A.S. vol. xxxviii., its date being A.D. 1076 or 1176.

Two important works have been recently published in Calcutta, viz. the first and second volume of a "Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum" there, drawn up by its able superintendent Dr. John Anderson, M.R.A.S. The first part is devoted to the

Asoka and Indo-Scythian Galleries, and comprises a very full and careful account of such portions of these ancient monuments as are now preserved in the Museum at Calcutta.

The chief objects are the Asoka Gallery, the Gateway and Railings of the Bharhut Stupa ; many fragments from Buddha Gaya ; Casts from the friezes of the Rock-cut Temples of Orissa, showing that the people who executed these works were nearly contemporary with the workmen of the Bharhut railings, the caves themselves being essentially Buddhist in character and not far from the city of Dantapuri (or Puri), where, as the name implies, one of the relics of Buddha (a tooth) was enshrined. The date of these sculptures is admitted to be between 250 B.C. and 100 B.C., a determination supported by the fact that at Dhauli, a few miles distant, we still find some of King Asoka's inscriptions on the Aswatama rocks, with an inscription of Kharaveli, dated B.C. 146 (see paper by Bhagvanlal Indraji, read at the Leyden Congress).

From Patna and from Sanchi the Museum has, also, received many valuable monuments, about some of which, as notably the two statues said to have been procured many years since by Mr. J. Tytler, there is a curious difference between General Cunningham's notice in the fifteenth volume of his *Archæological Survey*, and that now communicated, with the objects before him, by Dr. Anderson. The details of these differences of description are too long for insertion here, but they will be found by those who care to study them in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. xv. p. 1, and in Dr. Anderson's work, vol. i. p. 151.

The Sanchi Stupas consist of a series of Buddhist monuments discovered at various sites between the towns of Bhilsa and Bhopal, in Central India. The rest of this volume is devoted to the Indo-Scythic gallery, with its valuable collec-

tions from Mathura, Amravati, Gandhara, Buddha Gaya, and other famous sites.

Dr. Anderson's second volume is devoted to a detailed account of the Gupta and Inscription Galleries, including Buddhist, Jain, Brahmanical, and Muhammadan sculptures, metal weapons, objects from tumuli, etc. This is quite as carefully drawn up as the preceding one, and of great value as an authentic record of what the Indian Museum at Calcutta possessed in 1882. Some useful information is given in various Appendices: thus, Mr. F. R. Mallet gives analyses of various metallic objects, and Mr. H. B. Medlicott the geological character of the various rocks, out of which many of the ancient sculptures in the Museum have been carved.

Of miscellaneous archæological papers may be mentioned: a notice by Dr. A. Löwy, in Proc. Bibl. Archæol. Soc. June, On Underground Structures in Biblical lands:—an interesting account, in the Academy for June, p. 448, of some enamelled glass lamps obtained by Mr. S. L. Poole, on loan for the South Kensington Museum, from the Khedive himself:—in the same Journal for August, p. 101, a sketch by J. H. Middleton of the "St. Maurice Collection of Arab Art." The Academy, also, has (Feb. 16, p. 117) an important letter from Prof. Peterson, On a fixed date in Indian Chronology:—and, in April, 1884, p. 265, an appreciative review by Mr. W. Simpson, of Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess' *Cave Temples* (2 vols. 1882).

In the *Revue Critique*, No. 37, M. Clermont Ganneau has given some useful "Notes d'Archéologie Orientale."

Major Raverty has continued in his Fourth Section his valuable "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan," and in his *routes*—seventy-three to ninety—has given a marvellous collection of miscellaneous matter of all kinds, linguistic, antiquarian, etc., bearing on the past and present history of the peoples he describes. It is impossible to

analyze a work of this kind; but one thing is sadly absent, viz. a good map, but this may be, perhaps, hereafter supplied. Major Raverty's notes throughout show great knowledge of the native writers to whom he refers, but it would have been wiser had these notes been a little less hostile to every one who happens to differ from him.

Indian Antiquary.—There is no falling off in the papers contributed to this useful periodical, and we find most of the contributors of past years continuing their valuable memoirs, with the aid of some new ones. Thus, omitting for the present the notices of inscriptions, which will come hereafter under the appropriate head of Epigraphy, it must be mentioned that Mr. Fleet has contributed a very important paper (Aug. Nov.) “On the Nomenclature of the principal Hindu Eras and on the use of Samvatsara and its abbreviations,” in which he contends that Samvatsara does not necessarily mean the era of Vikramaditya (as maintained by the late Prof. Dowson and Prof. Monier Williams)—that Samvat is not an abbreviation of Samvatsara, but of the genitive plural Samvatsaranam “of years,”—that Samvat is used to denote years of the Saka Era, though Prof. Dowson's restrictive meaning may be true for dates *since* the *eleventh* century A.D.,—and, *generally*, that, when mentioned in connexion with the earlier Eras, Samvat is not to be considered as a declinable base, meaning “era,” but only as a technical abbreviation of Samvatsaranam. Mr. Fleet then gives abundant examples of this early usage. Other technical forms are Sakakala and Saka-samaya, “the time of the Saka;” “Saka-varsha,” Sak-âbda, Sakavatsara, etc., the years of the Sakas; finally, and last in chronological sequence, “Salivahana-Saka,” the Era of Salivahana, which was not, however, fully established till the time of the Vijayanagara Kings. Mr. Fleet then discusses at some length the Vikrama era, partly in reply to the objections

urged by Prof. Max Müller in "India, what can it teach us?" pp. 282-283.

Dr. Bühler has published two papers, the first, "On the relationship between the Andhras and the Western Kshatrapas," in which, while supporting, generally, the discoveries of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, he points out that some portion of the Pandit's remarks on the Chronology of the Andhras requires modification. In the second, he gives an interesting account of an ancient Royal Seal (in terra-cotta) found in Wala, which appears to record two names, not previously met with, viz. those of Ahivarman and Pushyena. The Editor also contributes two papers (August, December), in the first of which he gives, in Prof. F. Max Müller's own words, his views on the subject of the Vikramaditya Era, in which the Professor supports, generally, the proposals of the late Prof. Bhao Daji and Mr. Fergusson and adds a table; and though, as he says, some of the links of this chronological system are still doubtful, the possible existence of a Vikramaditya in the first century B.C. is suggested, while that of a king so named in the sixth century admits of little doubt. His second paper (December) contains an excellent account of the Ritual of Ramesvaram, one of the great temples of Southern India, the area of which, 865 feet (east to west) and 657 (north and south), or about $13\frac{1}{8}$ acres, is considerably, therefore, in excess of that of the Great Pyramid. As a structure it is important, as the work of a period extending over 350 years. It was erected and is endowed almost solely by the Setupati Chiefs of Ramnad. The daily ritual is unusually long and complicated.

Prof. Bhandarkar, of Poona, has a paper, On the Rashtrakuta Kings, Krishnaraja and Elapura, in which he combats some previous translations, and suggests that the beautiful temple said to have been constructed on the hill at Elapur (Elurâ) is probably the Kailâsa itself.

To R. F. Chisholm, Gov. Arch. Madras, we owe an im-

portant notice of Chandragiri, in the N. Arkot district, which contains the old palace of Srî Raṅga Raya, the last representative of the Vijâyanara Dynasty, who gave the English their first foothold in India, by permitting them to erect Fort St. George at Madras, by his *sunnad* dated A.D. 1639. Four plates, containing elevations and plans of it, are given. The writer of the paper states that orders have been given by the Government of Madras for the *renovation* of this building, whatever this word of ill omen may mean.

Mr. W. Knight James (Jan. 1884) has a short paper, entitled Notes on Buddhist Images in Ceylon, which is useful, as showing the different attitudes selected in that Island for Buddha and his attendants. It may be noted that in Ceylon Buddha and his disciples do not wear ornaments or a head-dress, while, on the other hand, Buddha's head is usually surrounded by a flame-like process intended to serve as a sort of halo. In some paintings this halo surrounds the whole body. The Rev. T. Foulkes gives, also, a paper on a Grant of the Bana King Vikramaditya II., which is valuable for the chronology of an ancient Dynasty of South Dekkan Kings.

There is, also (Jan. 1884), a very important notice by Prof. Bühler, of Prof. Peterson's account in the Bombay Journal of his search for Sanskrit MSS. In that for April, is an important paper, by Mr. K. T. Telang, "On the Date of Sankarâchârya," in which he controverts some of the views of Prof. F. Max Müller.

Semitic Literature—Hebrew and Chaldee.—Many valuable papers have appeared in different periodicals since the last Anniversary, some of which will now be noticed. Thus, in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, June 5, is a short but interesting speculation by Professor

Sayce on the meaning of the Biblical names Shem and Japhet:—by Mr. H. Rassam, “On Biblical Nationalities Past and Present”:—by Mr. Chotzner (Jan. 8, 1884), On Hebrew Poetry, in which he attempts to maintain the old hexametrical system against the more modern and more generally received view of parallelism:—and by Dr. S. Louis, “On the Handicrafts and Artizans mentioned in the Talmudical Writings:”—in April 1, is a notice by the same writer “On the Life and Social Position of Hebrew Women in Biblical Times:”—and a paper by the Rev. A. Löwy “On Technological Terms in Ancient Semitic Culture and Folklore.” To the Transactions of the Society (vol. viii. part 1) Dr. Louis has, also, contributed a paper of much interest, On the Poor-Laws of the Ancient Hebrews.

In the *Athenæum* (1883, Aug. 25) is a notice of the Rev. W. H. Lowe’s masterly edition of the Mishnah from the unique MS. at Cambridge, the text of which is believed to be nearer to that found in the editions of the Jerusalem Talmud than that of the Babylonian Talmud, a question which has been already fully discussed by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy in a monograph entitled “Vhemah Bakk’thubim.” The better readings of the Cambridge MS. are everywhere conscientiously pointed out by Mr. Lowe. In Sept. 15 is an excellent notice of the “Three Rabbis,” who, the writer justly says, have left a durable impression on the Jews, even long after they had lost the last shadow of political life, on the fall of Jerusalem. These were R. Aqiba, his pupil R. Meir, and R. Judah, the final *redactor* of the Mishnah. The general story of R. Meir, who was certainly a remarkable man in his day, will be found clearly given in M. Raphael Levy’s book, entitled “Un Tanah, Etude sur la vie et l’enseignement d’un Docteur Juif du deuxième siècle.” The passages attributed to R. Meir, relating to Christian controversy, are, however, probably, apocryphal. Another book bearing on this subject is Dr. Joel’s “Blicke

in die Religionsgeschichte," of which two parts only have as yet appeared. In Jan. 10, 1884, is a review of Mr. Bateson Wright's new and critically revised Translation of the Book of Job. In this work, a useful contribution to the study of a difficult book, its author is considered to be an Israelite.

In March 22 is an interesting account of Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's First Book of the Psalms, according to the text of the Cambridge MS. Bible, with the commentary of David Qimchi, the text of which he assigns to the ninth century, though most scholars think it is as late as the twelfth. From the Athenæum we also learn (Sept. 8, 1883) that Dr. Hoerning, of the Dept. of Orient. MSS., British Museum, has been engaged for some time in preparing for publication one of the most remarkable of the Karaite MSS. recently acquired, comprehending Exodus i. 1 to viii. 5, which will be represented by an autotype facsimile of the Hebrew text, etc., as written in this MS. in Arabic characters. M. Stasson, of St. Petersburg, is, we understand, about to publish in facsimile the earliest specimens of the Illuminated initials in Biblical MSS., which are interesting from their evident connection with Byzantine art.

In the *Academy*, Dec. 29, is a review of Dr. Strack's Hebraische Grammatik, the first of the series of introductory manuals called "Porta Linguarum Orientalium," a work excellently arranged, and the more useful from the considerable list of works bearing on the study of Hebrew appended to it. This volume, in fact, takes the place of the one published nearly forty years ago by J. H. Petermann. In March 1, 1884, is a good notice of the "Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums," showing how much is being done by Jewish scholars for history and philology, and calling attention to many excellent papers by such scholars as Drs. Eggers, Graetz, and Backer.

In the *Revue Critique* (Nos. xli. and xlii.), M. Halévy

reviews at length, and with high commendation, Prof. Dillmann's *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, ninth Lief. Die Genesis, and gives a very interesting sketch of the course of modern criticism as applied to the Pentateuch. In a second paper (No. xlii.), the same scholar treats with great severity M. Lenormant's "La Genèse." In No. xlvii. M. Halévy, further, notices, approvingly, the recent work of M. Paul de Lagarde, entitled "Sêpher Takhemôni," a collection of poems by Juda Harîzî, a celebrated poet of Toledo, in the twelfth century, framed on Hispano-Arabian models of two centuries earlier. Harîzî seems to have been at the head of the best school of the Hebrew Renaissance.

In the *Zeitschrift d. Morg. Gesellschaft*, xxxvii. pt. 2, M. D. Kaufmann notices Saadja Alfajjumi, and there is also a brief account of Abu'l Walid Ibn Ganah und die Neu-Hebraische Poesie: M. Kautsch adds a "Bericht über die 1881 aus gebiete d. Hebr. Sprache." In part 3 Dr. W. Bacher writes on the Hebrew ך and the Arabic ح; and Dr. Imm. Low reviews M. Zuckernackel's Tosefta. In part 4 Prof. Nöldeke has a paper entitled "Untersuchungen zur Semitischen Grammatik I. Die Verba in 'y im Hebraisches. Other brief notices of books recently published will be found in the *Deutsch Literaturzeitung*, in the *Deutsch Central-blatt*, in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, and in the *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*. The "Literatur-Blatt für Orientalische Philologie," which started in last October, and promises well, has not as yet printed (in the three numbers now out) anything on Hebrew Literature. On the other hand, the *Revue des Etudes Juives* is full of interesting articles by such scholars as MM. Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg, Friedländer, Bacher, Israel Levi, Jastrow, Isidore Loeb and the late M. Lenormant. In America, at Chicago, a monthly journal has been started, for Old Testament literature and interpretation, under the auspices of the American Institute

of Hebrew, and the American Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis has continued its useful labours.

Among *miscellaneous* books, the following may be noted,—to quote all would fill many pages: Delitzsch, F., *The Hebrew Language viewed in the light of Assyrian Research* :—Straschun, D. O., *Der Traktat Taanit d. Bab. Talmud* :—Fischer, B., *Talmudische Chrestomathie* :—Dr. Wunsche's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* 26th sect. entitled, "*Der Midrasch Wajjika Rabba*" :—Brooks, W. H. S., *Vestiges of the Broken Plural in Hebrew* :—Gesenius, *Hebr. Wörterbuch*, fasc. 9 :—Levy, *Neu-Hebr. Wörterbuch*, fasc. 16 :—Nathan, *Lexicon Targum, Talmud et Midrash (curâ Kohut)* tom. iii.-iv. :—Rabbinowicz, *Variæ lectiones in Talmud, etc.*, pt. xiii. :—Schwab, M., *Le Talmud de Jerusalem*, tom. vi. :—Delitzsch, F., *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society (new edition)* :—Graetz, *Hist. des Juifs*, trad. par M. Wogue, tom. i. :—Wunsche, Dr. A., *Der Midrasch Ruth Rabba*.

Assyrian, etc.—Before the Society of Biblical Archæology, many valuable papers have been read, and some of them since published, in either their "Proceedings" or "Transactions." Thus, in their "Proceedings" (May, 1883, p. 120), Mr. J. P. Peters contributes a letter on Mr. Pinches' paper of June 6, 1882, "*On Akkadian Numerals*" :—M. Jules Oppert, a letter to Mr. W. H. Rylands on some of Mr. Pinches' replies (p. 152) :—on Nov. 6, Mr. E. A. Budge read a paper, "*On the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series, relating to the fight between Marduk and Tiam-at,*" from a tablet found by Mr. Rassam (1883, p. 5) : and Mr. Pinches one, "*On Babylonian Art illustrated by Mr. Rassam's latest discoveries,*" the most important of these being an egg-shaped object in marble, bearing a dedication by Sargon of Agade, presumed to be as early as B.C. 3800 (p. 11) :—Prof. Sayce contributed a letter "*On the Cuneiform Tablets*

of Cappadokia" (p. 17). In p. 34 is a further letter from M. Jules Oppert, with a reply from Mr. Pinches:—Mr. Pinches also gives "Notes on the Sardu-bird or Falcon" (p. 57), and continues his "Papers on Assyrian Grammar," dealing in this one with "The Permansive and other forms" (p. 62):—Mr. W. H. Rylands adds (p. 68) an excellent drawing of the famous Cylinder of Sargon, described by Mr. Pinches. On Feb. 5, Mr. Bertin read a paper entitled "Notes on the Babylonian Contract Tables" (p. 84), his chief point being that these documents are mercantile rather than legal; and M. Menant replied to Mr. Pinches' paper "On Babylonian Art" (p. 88). In p. 102, Mr. Pinches prints a paper "On the sale of a Slave, marked on the left hand with the name of his mistress":—and, later on, at p. 107, replies to M. Menant. On March 4, a joint paper by Messrs. Pinches and Budge, "On an Edict of Nebuchadnezzar I., about B.C. 1150," was read by the Secretary (p. 119), and, at p. 125, Messrs. Bertin, Pinches, and Budge propose what they call "a rational system of transliteration" for certain Assyrian syllables. In the "Transactions" of the same Society, vol. viii. p. 1, is a valuable and admirably-illustrated paper, "On the Birds of the Assyrian Monuments and Records," by the Rev. W. Houghton (pp. 92–142); and, in vol. viii. pt. 2, two papers by Mr. Pinches, viz. "The Antiquities found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-Habbah (Siffara)," pp. 164–171, and "Babylonian Legal Documents referring to House Property and the Law of Inheritance," pp. 271–298: there is, also, one by Mr. Bertin, "Akkadian Precepts for the conduct of man in his private life," pp. 230–279; and one by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, "Recent Discoveries of Ancient Babylonian Cities," pp. 172–197.

In the *Athenæum* (June 2, p. 700), Mr. Pinches writes on the word *Khabatsillatu*, and, subsequently, in pp. 729, 763, and 795, is a personal discussion, between Messrs. Delitzsch and Pinches, to which we can only allude. Mr. Delitzsch,

in pp. 763, 792, 114, and 239, adds four more papers on the "Importance of Assyriology to Hebrew Lexicography." These and the earlier ones have now been reprinted in a single volume. We further learn, from the same Journal, that the fuller examination of the Babylonian Tablets from Abu Habba shows that they were originally arranged in chronological order.

In the *Academy* (Sept. 1) Mr. E. A. Budge gives an account of a cylinder (one of Mr. Rassam's discoveries) of Antiochus, with the date of B.C. 270-269, on which also occur the names of Seleucus and Stratonice. It is one of the latest known. In Oct. 6, Mr. Budge announces the discovery that some forger has been attempting to imitate (in clay and plaster of Paris mixed) some of the so-called "contract" tablets. The forger's work appears to have been done in rather a bungling fashion, but might, perhaps, deceive uncritical or unpractised eyes.

In Sept. 1, M. Terrien de Lacouperie has printed a paper on "The Affinity of the Ten Stems of the Chinese Cycle with the Akkadian Numerals." And in Oct. 6, the same writer deals, at great length, with his favourite subject, the connexion, in prehistoric times, of China and Babylon, and formulates his discovery in the following words: "The Chinese mythical list of kings," he says, "is based on the early Babylonian Canon, and reproduces the first eighty-six kings mentioned by Berosus, as well as many legends and historical facts of the same period" In Nov. 14 Professor Sayce maintains that M. de Lacouperie's objection to the received date of Sargon of Akkad is not sound, as the kings mentioned in the Babylonian list are there stated to be not arranged in chronological order. In Dec. 22, the same writer further notices several works bearing on Assyriology. The first by Mr. Evans ("An Essay on Assyriology"), written at the request of the Hibbert Trustees, gives the chief and latest results of

Assyrian research, so far as they bear on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography, as well as on the Geography and History of the Old Testament. Prof. Sayce points out here that Parsuas, in the Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, is not Persia. On Dr. Loth's new work, "Questiones de Historia Sabbati," Prof. Sayce remarks that questions concerning the origin and the nature of the Jewish Sabbath cannot be satisfactorily discussed without a knowledge of Assyriology; and that Dr. Loth is known as a scholar possessing a sound knowledge of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, by his edition of the great Historical Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. M. Stanilas Guyard's "Melanges d'Assyriologie" is a reprint of various short notes on Assyrian Lexicography, which have usefully added to our knowledge of the Assyrian Dictionary. The Essay on the Inscriptions of Van he has appended is mainly a criticism on Prof. Sayce's paper in the Journal of this Society. Many of M. Guyard's suggestions show great acuteness. The second edition of Dr. Eberhard Schrader's "Die Keil-Inschriften und das Alte Testament" is as full of interest and information for the Assyriologist as for those who stand without the charmed circle of Assyrian studies. The new edition contains a valuable excursus by Prof. Paul Haupt on the Babylonian account of the Deluge, to which Prof. Sayce adds some additions and corrections. M. Delattre, in his "Le Peuple et l'Empire des Medes," combats the theory of Turanian Medes and Dr. Oppert's arguments on behalf of the Median origin of the Second Akhæmænian Inscriptions; but Prof. Sayce points out, that it is a hasty assertion to state that there were no Non-Aryan Medes. The Greeks derived this name from the Assyrians, and, in the Assyrian Inscriptions, the name is given, irrespective of race and language, to the populations who dwell east of the Kurds. A recent discovery of Mr. Pinches explains how the general title of Median came to be applied to the specific kingdom of Ecbatana.

The *Z.D.M.G.* contains no notice of matters Assyrian.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, serie 8, tome 1, p. 261, M. Guyard has a brief "Note sur quelques particularités des Inscriptions de Van" (see above). At p. 515, M. Oppert announces some new discoveries, and, at p. 517, M. Guyard gives an account of some paper impressions of inscriptions from Van, made by M. Desrolle. In serie 8, tome 2, p. 81, M. Darmesteter (in his Annual Report) gives a summary of what has been done for Assyriology during the past year by *French* excavators and linguists. At p. 184, M. Guyard prints a paper entitled "Nouvelles Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne." At p. 351, M. Pognon publishes "Inscription de Mérou-Nérar I., Roi d'Assyrie," and an "Inscription inédite du British Museum." The text of the former inscription has been printed in the British Museum Series, vol. iv. pl. 44-5.

In the *Revue Critique* (No. 29) is a review by M. Halévy of the new edition of Schrader's "Die Keil-Inschriften und das Alte Testament," in which the reviewer naturally complains of the writer's advocacy of the Sumerian or Akkadian theories, and, in the *Deutsch Literaturzeitung*, the *Centralblatt*, and *Theologisch Literaturzeitung*, are brief, and generally good, notices of the principal recent Assyrian publications.

At the meeting of the American Oriental Society (Boston, May, 1883), Prof. W. D. Whitney read a paper entitled, "Was there at the head of the Babylonian Pantheon, a Deity bearing the name of El?" In the *Literatur-Blatt d. Orient. Philol.*, pt. 4, Mr. Schrader speaks very highly of Bezold's "Keil-Schrift-typer d. Akad. zu München," and, in the new "Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung," the first number of which was published in January of the present year, are the following papers:—By E. Schrader, *Zur Frage nach der Aussprache der Zisch-laute in Babyl-Assyrischen*:—by Prof. Sayce, *On the origin of the Persian Cuneiform Alphabet*:—by Stanislas Guyard, *Quelques remarques sur la prononciation*

et la transcription de la chuintante et de la sifflante en Assyrien:—by F. Hommel, *Zur Alt-Babylonischen Chronologie*:—and by J. Oppert, *Un acte de vente conservé en deux exemplaires*:—with some other short notes and reviews.

Before the *Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres* (May 18) M. Oppert has given a further account of the Cuneiform monuments in the Vatican, and has noted among them, some fragments of sculpture (an arm and part of a head), and a contract tablet of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, dated July, 575 B.C. (Aug. 3) M. Schwab gives a decipherment of a Chaldean inscription on terra-cotta, found at Hillah and now in the British Museum, which he attributes to the sixth century B.C. (Aug. 31) M. Ledrain communicates two Sumerian texts, one engraved on a piece of black diorite, the other on a statue, most probably the so-called King Goudea. (Sept. 7) M. Oppert deals with certain ancient Chaldean linear measurements which have been detected on statues of the aforementioned king, and calculates their value according to the French system. In Sept. 14 M. Ledrain gives the translation of another Sumerian inscription from a statue of the same king, relating to the building by him of a brick temple. (Oct. 12) M. Halévy gives an explanation of certain Hebrew and Assyrian words, and, especially, of the word El “God,” by El “column.” (Dec. 28) M. Barbier de Meynard states that M. Pognon has found in the Wady Brissa (Lebanon) two Cuneiform Inscriptions, each accompanied with a bas-relief, one in Arabic characters, the other in cursive. They are much defaced, but give a list of Nebuchadnezzar’s buildings at Babylon; and (Jan. 4, 1884) M. Oppert gives some notes on them. M. Heuzey (Feb. 15) announces the discovery of the name of a new king of Tello, which, according to M. Oppert’s system of decipherment, will read Souh-ka-ghi-na. The inscription would seem to be one of the most ancient on record. The stone itself is

lost, but the inscription has been preserved on one of M. de Sarzec's paper impressions. M. Oppert (Feb. 29) expresses his opinion that the Prince, to whom the inscription belonged, must have reigned before Sargon and Naramsin, and, therefore, before B.C. 3800.

In the *Journal des Savants*, Nov. 1883, is an important paper "Sur la période Chaldaïque," which appears to have been originally drawn up (but not quite finished) by the well-known astronomer, M. Biot. It has now been printed under the editing of M. Lefort.

Lastly, in the *Times* for Oct. 4 is a very interesting and complete resumé of the Collection of the Chaldaean Antiquities mainly procured by M. de Sarzec (the French Consul at Bassorah) and now in the Louvre. These antiquities have been chiefly found in some mounds, called by the Arabs Tel-lo, or the "Mound of the Idol," this name having been derived from a statue in black granite, which long lay uninjured on the surface of the ground, but has now been broken up and its fragments distributed as "antikas" among different European Museums. Unfortunately, Mr. George Smith considered this mound beyond the limit of his *firman*, so it has been left for M. de Sarzec to secure for France, what might otherwise have been appropriately added to the collections of the British Museum. Tel-lo occupies the site of the city of Sergulla, which was ruled in remote times by Viceroys subject to the rulers of Ur; and its ancient name still survives in the Arab Zerghoul. According to Dr. Delitzsch it had another name, Kul-una, not improbably the Calneh of Gen. x. 10. The monuments recovered open a vista of Babylonian primitive life, at a period little short of 4000 years B.C. The statue of one of the most important of the Viceroys, Goudea, represents him in his character of Priest-Architect. One of his seals is preserved in the Museum at the Hague.

Among the books or essays published during the last year,

may be noted the following. Assyriologische Bibliothek (in sequence), band. iv. 3:—Strassmaier, Alphabet. verzeichn. d. Assyr. u. Akkad wörter, im 2 bande d. Cun. Insc. W.A.:—band v., Lyon, Keil-Inscr. Sargon's:—Il cilindro a la genealogia di Ciro (Civiltà Catolica, ser. 12, vol. 3):—A. Delattre, S. J., Le peuple et l'Empire des Medes:—Massaroli, G., Phul e Tuklut Palasar II., Salmanasar V., e Sargon, questioni Biblico-Assire:—Flemming, J., Die Grosse Steinplatten inschrift. Nebukadnessar's II. (from India Office):—Haupt, Beiträge zur Assyr. Lautlehre (Gotting. Nachrichten.):—Kiepert, H., Zur Karte d. Ruinenfelde von Babylon (Zt. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde):—Perron and Chipiez, History of Arabia, Chaldæa, and Assyria, transl. by Armstrong. 2 vols. 8vo.:—Ledrain, E., Les Antiquités Chaldéenes du Louvre, Coll. Sarzec:—Prof. Sayce, Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments (Rel. Tract Soc.):—Perrot, Comparaison de l'Égypte et de la Chaldée (Rev. Archéol. pp. 318–38):—Evers, E., Ueber die v. Rawlinson u. Pinches entzifferten Inschriften, welche sich auf die Zeit d. Cyrus beziehen (Sitzber. d. Hist. Gesellsch.):—Menant, J., Empreints de Cachets Assyro-Chaldéennes au Mus.:—also, Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie, pt. 1. Cylindres de la Chaldée:—also, Les Sacrifices sur les cylindres Chaldéens (Gaz. Archéol. Nos. 8 and 9):—Delitzsch, Die Sprache d. Cossaer.

Arabic.—There are many matters of interest to record this year, perhaps, however, rather in the works published, than in the reviews or notices, which have, from time to time, appeared of earlier publications. However, to take the last first: in the *Athenæum*, June 30, is an interesting notice of Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's "Studies in a Mosque," a work of much miscellaneous value, with a title, however, which would certainly be misleading to ordinary readers:—in Aug. 25, is a very full review of Sir W. Muir's "Annals of the Early Caliphate from Original Sources," with a suggestion that

some of the dates he has given cannot be quite maintained, to which Sir W. Muir has replied, in Sept. 29. We learn also, from the same Journal, that Prof. A. Müller is preparing a Handbook to Arabic Literature, from the papers left behind him by the late Prof. O. Loth.

In the *Academy*, Jan. 12, 1884, is a notice of Prof. Dieterici's *Abhandlungen der Ichwan-es-Safa*, containing part of the text of the tracts of "The Brotherhood of Purity," from which, during the last twenty years, the Professor has been, from time to time, publishing translations. These fifty treatises profess to form a sort of Encyclopædia of Philosophy, as the term was understood in the tenth century, and are the most interesting specimens of Arab thought we possess before Avicenna and Averroes. Mr. Poole has given, in his "Studies in a Mosque," a summary of the Professor's translations. There is also, in March 8, a short notice of Van den Berg's *Minhadj-at-talibin*, a manual of Muhammadan jurisprudence, well worthy the attention of Europeans preparing for careers in the Far East. It is the law-book most generally in use in the Indian Archipelago and in Egypt.

In the *Times* of Sept. 12, 1883, is a valuable article on Arabic Grammar, too long, however, to be more than referred to here. It may, however, be noted that the writer calls attention to a fact not generally borne in mind, that Semitic grammar is an Arabic invention, derived from the necessity of establishing the Korân, not only as a religious code, but as the model of the Arabic official language, and that the first Hebrew grammars of the ninth or tenth century were simply imitations of the Arabic.

From the *Revue Critique*, May, we learn that the Société Asiatique has just published the fifth edition of the "Précis de Jurisprudence Musulmane de Sidi Khalil"; and that the Baron de Rosen has printed at St. Petersburg, under the

title of "Imperator Vacili Bolgaroboitsa," an account of the Emperor Basil II., from the Arabic Chronicle of Yahya of Antioch. It is a pity that the translation is in Russ and not in French. In Oct. 22, it is stated that M. Salvatore Cusa, of the University of Palermo, has completed the second volume of the Greek and Arabic diplomas preserved in the Sicilian Archives, and that a third volume is in progress, containing Notes, Translations, etc. : in Nov. 19 that M. Dieterici has recently published some extracts from the "Arabic Encyclopædia of Bussorah;" in Dec. 10 that M. Basset has also been able to give some account of the Arabic MSS. in two libraries at Fez, which shows either that these libraries must have been greatly plundered, or that the writer had but limited access to the places where they are preserved. In Jan. 21, M. Halévy reviews with high praise the "Sabaische Denkmäler" of MM. Mordtmann and Müller, but is somewhat chary of his compliments for the "Epigraphie de Yemen" of MM. J. and H. Derenbourg, in the *Journ. Asiat.* ser. vi. tome 19.

In the *Proc. Beng. As. Journ.* (July and August) is a letter from Dr. Sprenger stating that in the Khedivian Library at Cairo is a copy of the *Isábah*, or Biographical Dictionary of the persons who knew Muhammad (in six parts), a loan or copy of which would be of great value for the edition now in progress in the "Bibliotheca Indica"; and also a paper by George Hughes, C.S., M.R.A.S., entitled "Are there Tenses in Arabic?"

In the *Journal Asiatique* (Fevr.-Mars.) Dr. W. Wright proposes some queries about some MSS. : — (Avril-Mai-Juin) M. de Goeje reviews, approvingly, M. Landberg's *Proverbes et dictons de la Province de Syrie*, section de Saydâ : — (Oct.-Nov.-Dec.) M. Halévy gives a paper called "Miscellanées Semitologiques," a portion, only, of which refers to Arabic; and M. Guyard acknowledges the receipt by the Society from M. Clermont Ganneau, of a

“Catalogue des MSS. et imprimés Arabes appartenant à diverses bibliothèques Musulmanes de Damas,” which was drawn up, some thirteen years ago, by a learned Musulman of Jerusalem, Yusuf Al Khaldy. In (Jan. 1884) M. B. de Meynard prints a letter from M. Houdas of Algiers on the Tohfah of Ibn Açem, with the view of fixing the notation and pronunciation of the words in it; and in the same number, M. Halévy publishes “Observations sur les Inscriptions Sabéennes,” with reference to the article by MM. Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg in the last number of the *Journ. Asiat.*, called “Etudes sur l’Épigraphie du Yemen.”

In the *Z. D. M. G.* Professor A. Socin deals with “Der Arabische Dialekt von Môsul und Mardin” (xxxvii. p. 188). Dr. Steinschneider has a paper on “Die Parva Naturalia des Aristoteles bei dem Arabern” (p. 477). M. Ahlwardt reviews Dieterici’s *Sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles* (p. 594), and Thorbecke, Dr. G. Jahn’s *Ibn Jais* (p. 609).

In the *Proc. of the American Or. Soc.* (Oct. 1883, p. xv) is an interesting paper by Prof. I. H. Hall, on the Arabic Bible of Drs. Eli Smith and Cornelius Y. A. Van Dyck.

In the *Literaturblatt f. Or. Philol.* M. Prætorius writes on the Sabäische Denkmäler of MM. Mordtmann and Müller (p. 27); Thorbecke on A. Huber’s *Ueber das “Meisir” genannte Spiel der heidnischen Araber*; M. Robles writes an interesting letter “On Arabic Studies in Spain,” p. 68; and Prof. Thorbecke deals with M. Ahlwardt’s “*Anonyme Arabische Chronik*, p. 153.

Of books or papers published during the last year, the following may be noticed as the most important:—Muir, Sir W., *Annals of the Caliphate*:—Lane, E. W., *Arabic-Engl. Dict.*, edited by S. L. Poole, vol. vii. pt. 3:—Marten, J. L., *Concordance to the Koran*:—Landberg, C., *Proverbes et Dictions du peuple Arabe de la Syrie*:—Abcarius, J., *English and Arabic Dicty.*, printed at Beirut, 1883:—Catafago, J., *Engl. and Arab. Dicty.*, new edition:—Amari e Schiaparelli,

L'Italia descritta nel "Libro del Re Ruggero" comp. da Edrisi:—the completion in 1883, by M. Stanislas Guyard, of the translation of Abul-feda's Geography, the first volume of which was published by M. Reinaud so long ago as 1848:—Guyard, S., Behaeddin Zoheir—Variantes au texte Arabe publié par E. Palmer:—Houtsma, Th., Ibn-Wadhîh, qui dicitur Al-Ja'qubi, Historiæ, Text, 2 vols. Lugd. Bat.:—Berg, Van den, L. W. C., Minhadj-at-Talibin, Le Guides des Zélés Croyants, vol. 2. Batavia:—Lith, Van den, Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde (dedicated to the Sixth Oriental Congress):—Ahlwardt, W., Anonymous Chronicle, probably that of Al Belâdori of Baghdad:—Devic, L., Le Pays des Zendjs ou de la Côte Orientale de l'Afrique au Moyen-Age:—Dieterici, F., Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân-es-Safâ:—Faris Ash-Shidyâq, Practical Arabic Grammar, new edition:—Howell, M. S., Grammar of Classical Arabic, vol. 2, Allahabad:—Pertsch, W., Die Arabisch. Handschr. zu Gotha, vol. iv. bd. 2:—Lagarde, P. de la, Petri Hispani de Linguâ Arabicâ libri duo:—Reveillaud, J. B., Essai sur les chiffres Arabes:—De Slane et Zotenberg, Cat. d. MSS. Orientaux de la Bibl. Nationale, 1er fasc.:—Spitta-Bey (the late), Contes Arabes Modernes. Of the Annals of Tabari, have been published ser. ii. pt. 2, ser. iii. pt. 5; and of Codera, Bibl. Arab. Hispana, vol. ii. pt. 1. The portion of the former, now published, concludes, with the Khalifat of Môtasim and of Wathîq billah, edited by Prof. de Goeje, and commences with that of Mutawakkil, edited by Prof. De Rosen. It may be added here, what, indeed, all scholars will rejoice to learn, viz. that the famous collection of 600 Arabic MSS., brought together by the zeal of the well-known publisher, M. Brill, has been purchased by the Dutch Government, and placed in the University Library at Leyden. Dr. Landberg has drawn up a catalogue of them, from which it is clear that many are very rare, some altogether unique.

Syriac.—In the *Z. D. M. G.* xxxvii. p. 293, Prof. Guidi, of Rome, has published an important paper entitled “Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Neu-Aramischen Fellîhî-Dialectes,” and, in the *Abhandlungen* of the same Journal (bd. viii. No. 3), Dr. Baethgen has published, *Fragmente Syrischer und Arabischer Historiker*, Leipzig, 1884, being chiefly the Syro-Arabic of Elias of Nisibis, who died A.D. 1046; and, in the *American Soc. of Bibl. Literature*, Prof. I. H. Hall has written a paper, *On the Beirut Syriac Codex and the Syriac Apocalypse*.

In the *Academy* (Feb. 2, 1884) is a notice that Messrs. Trübner, in conjunction with the Clarendon Press, are about to publish a previously unknown Syriac version of *Kalila wa Dimna*, under the editing of Dr. W. Wright, of Cambridge. As is well known, one of the many forms of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadesa* was translated into Pehlvi at an early period. This, again, gave rise, in the sixth century, to the Syriac translation, called *Kalilag wa Dimnag*, and, in the eighth century, to an Arabic translation by Abd-ullah ibn Al-Mukaffa. Prof. Guidi has already published an important work on this subject in his “*Studii sul Testo Arabo del libro di Calila e Dimna*”: an unique MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is the basis of Dr. Wright’s work. In Sept. 15, p. 182, Mr. R. L. Bensly reviews at great length Dr. W. Wright’s “*Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*,” the leading subject of this *Chronicle* being the war between the Romans and the Persians A.D. 502–6. We learn, also, from the same Journal (Nov. 3), that Mr. E. A. Budge, of the British Museum, will shortly publish the Syriac text and translation of a curious life of Alexander the Great, of which there is a Greek version in the works of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. The Syriac MS. is called “*The History of Alexander the son of Philip, the Macedonian King of the Greeks*,” and the text will be compiled from two MSS., one in the Brit. Mus., and the other lent by the American Oriental Society. Of Syriac books, in progress or

compiled, may be noted Dr. Payne Smith's Thesaurus, which has reached its *sixth* fasciculus:—Whish, H. F., *Clavis Syriaca*, a key to the Ancient Syriac Version;—and Ceriani, A. M., *Translatio Syra-Pescitto Vet. Testament*, tom. ii. p. 4. In the *Revue Critique*, May 21, M. Clermont Ganneau has a curious paper, "Sur le Dieu Sed." In the *Liter. Centr. Blatt.*, Oct. 1, is a notice of Macke's *Ephrem der Syrer*.

Æthiopic.—In the *Academy* (July, 1883) is an interesting account of "The Book of Adam and Eve" (noticed in last year's report) translated from the Æthiopic by the Rev. S. C. Malan, a work probably of the sixth or seventh century. Till recently this work was only known from the Æthiopic, but, two years ago, Dr. Trumpp discovered at Munich a MS. of the Arabic original, and published, in 1881, the Æthiopic text, in the *Trans. of the Bav. Acad. of Sciences*. The story is evidently derived from the floating body of legend, etc., current during the early years of Christianity.

In the *Z. D. M. G.* Dr. Prætorius has given a paper on *Tigrina Sprüchwörter* (xxxvii. p. 433):—M. Rohlfs has also printed "*Meine Mission nach Abessinien*":—and a new edition has been issued of the "*Book of Enoch the Prophet*," transl. long since by Archbp. Lawrence, from a MS. in the Bodleian Library:—M. Zotenberg has also reprinted, from the *Journal Asiatique*, the *Chronique de Jean Évêque de Nikiou*, which has been reviewed in the *Göttingen Gel. Anzeigen* for Nov. 12.

Aryan Languages.—*Sanskrit.*—Many valuable reviews, essays, and books have appeared during the past year. Thus, in the *Journal of this Society*, Vol. XVI. Pt. 1, the Rev. B. Hale Wortham has published "*The Story of Devasmitâ, transl. from the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*":—From the *Proc. of the Beng. As. Society* (Nov. 1883) we learn that

Prof. Max Müller, having stated that an edition of the *Sarvânukramana* (by Dr. A. A. Macdonnell, M.R.A.S.) is about to be published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Dr. Rajendra Lala said that he would not, therefore, add this work to his edition of Saunaka's *Brihaddevatâ*, as he had intended:—To the *Journal of the Beng. Asiatic Society*, the same writer communicates a paper, entitled “On Goni-kâputra and Gonardîya as names of Patanjali,” p. 261:—In the *J. Asiatic Society of Bombay*, vol. xvi. No. xli. (an extra number), is a valuable report from Professor Peterson, “On his search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay circle,” and on his remarkable success therein; and, in No. xlii. the Rev. A. Führer gives Neryosangh's Sanskrit Translation of the *Khordad-Avesta*:—In the *Z. D. M. G.* vol. xxxvii. p. 544, Prof. Aufrecht writes, “Ueber die Padyâmritataranginî;” and, in p. 547, “Ueber eine Oxfordener Handschrift”:—and Prof. H. Jacobi contributes a letter on “*Datavya Bharat Karyalaya*”:—Dr. Leumann, also, reviews Max Müller's “What can India teach us?” (vol. xxxvii. p. 2):—In the *Indian Antiquary* (August) Dr. Kielhorn has written, “On the grammarian Bhartrihari”; and in January, 1884, is an interesting paper by the late A. C. Burnell, “On the Legend of Talavakâra (or Jaiminiya) Brahmana of the Sama Veda,” and by Professor Whitney on the same: in the April number, Mr. K. T. Telang adds a paper, “On the date of Sankarâchârya.”

From the *Journ. Asiatique* (Fev.-Mars, 1883) we learn that M. Lancereau has published a new Translation of the *Hitopadêsa*:—M. Hauvette Besnault has read an episode from his translation of the *Bhâgavata Purâna*:—In Oct.-Nov.-Dec., M. Bergaigne gives a paper entitled “*Études sur le Lexique du Rig Veda*”:—In Jan., 1884, M. Léon Feer continues his “*Études Bouddhiques*,” with a paper entitled “*Comment ou devient Deva*.”

In the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* are the

following papers (May, 1883), by Mr. W. D. Whitney, On the Jaiminiya or Talavakâra Brahmana, first noticed by Burnell in 1878 (see antè), and published by him in the "Atti" of Florence Archæological Congress (p. viii):—by Prof. Avery, On Modes in Relative Clauses in the Rig-Veda (p. xii):—by Prof. M. Bloomfield, "On certain Irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives" (p. xv):—and Oct., 1883, by the same writer, "On a proposed Edition of the Kauçikâ Sutra of the Atharva Veda":—Mr. E. W. Hopkins, also, gives "Notes on the Nandini Commentary to Manu"; and, "On the professed quotations from Manu found in the Mahabharata":—Prof. W. D. Whitney adds "The various readings of the Sama Veda:":—In the *Revue Critique* (Sept. 24, 1883), M. Barth reviews G. Oppert's *Nîtiprakâçikâ et le Çûkranîtisâra*, and, while giving to him due praise for the scholarly work he has performed in his edition of the texts, rejects, altogether, his idea of the early use of guns, as well as of gunpowder, in India, holding that, while there is no evidence whatever in favour of this view, all reasonable presumption is against it:—In Feb. 25, 1884, the same writer reviews, at great length, the valuable work, now in course of publication, at his own expense, by Pratap Chandra Roy, viz. *The Mahabharata of Krishna Dvaipana Vyasa*, translated into English prose. M. Barth well points out that it is refreshing for Sanskrit students again to take up the Mahabharata, and to put aside for the present the incessant studies of the Veda, of Buddhism, and of the Purânas. With the exception of a work of the late Dr. J. Muir, little has, he thinks, been done since the inventory of the great poem by Lassen in *Z. D. M. G.* 1837-50 and 1847-52 in his *Ind. Alterthumskunde*. It should be added that there is good hope that the whole of this work may be completed in about one hundred parts of seventy pages each, these parts to be issued at intervals of about two months. Mr. Pratap Roy has already published the Mahabharata, both in the original

Sanskrit and in the Bengali translation, and has, also, nearly completed a Bengali version of the Ramayana :—In March 10, Dr. Barth also gives a pleasant notice of the veteran F. Néve's "Les Époques littéraires de l'Inde, études sur la poesie Sanscrite." In the pages of the Gott. Gelehrt. Anzeigen, the Deutsch Litteratur-zeitung, the Litteratur-Central-Blatt, etc., are many notices of recent works, by MM. Jacobi, Pischel, Oldenberg, Weber, and other scholars, to which we have not space here to do more than refer.

In the *Athenæum* of August 25 is a review of the Rev. John Davies's Hindu Philosophy, a translation of the Bhagavadgita, or the Sacred Lay (one of Trübner's Oriental Series) :—in Sept. 15 is a careful notice of Mr. Bendall's excellent catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library at Cambridge. We learn from this work that the cataloguer has been able to answer the doubts, not unnaturally raised by Prof. Weber and Mr. Burnell, as to the age of the MSS., and to show that some of them certainly go back to A.D. 1008, and are, therefore, among the oldest known Sanskrit MSS. The cold climate of Nepal, as compared to the damp climate of the S. of India, has doubtless been one cause of their longer preservation. Mr. Bendall has added to his Catalogue some useful "Tables of Letters" and "Letter and Figure Numerals."—In Oct. 6, is a very full notice of Prof. Beal's Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king—a life of Buddha by Asvagosha—(vol. xix. of the "Sacred Books of the East")—and of the Sukhâvatî-vyûha, Description of Sukhâvatî, the Land of Bliss, by Prof. Max Müller and the Rev. Bunyiu Nanjio. The first shows that Prof. Beal was the fit man for the work in hand, and that he has in many instances caught the inspiration of the poet-author in a truthful and graceful manner : the main value of the second is in the juxtaposition of the Sanskrit text and of the Chinese version—an interesting enquiry naturally arising, viz. from what texts were the

Chinese translations made? In Jan. 5, 1884, is a review of Rajendralala Mitra's last work, *The Sanskrit-Buddhist Literature of Nepal*—valuable, if for nothing else, for his hearty recognition of what the veteran scholar Mr. B. H. Hodgson has done for Buddhist Literature, by the collections of MSS. he gave to the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, London, and Paris, gifts for which he has had but too slight a recognition. It may be doubted, however, whether the writer's views can be accepted when he states that the Chinese versions "are avowed to be translations not from Tibetan or Pali texts, but from the Sanskrit." Anyhow, Prof. Beal holds that they are translations "from the various Indian Prakrits." The work is well done, but shows the curious divergencies of the views of Native and European Scholars, when looking at the same thing and with the same data before them.

In the *Academy* (Aug. 25) is a notice of Prof. Windisch's work, "Zwölf hymnen des Rig Veda mit Sayana's Commentar," a book apparently chiefly intended for professorial lecturers, containing, as it does, in a very compact form, all that is required for students, a glossary of all words both in the text and Sayana's commentary, with fuller explanations where needed.—From Sept. 1, p. 149, we learn that Mr. F. S. Growse, of the Bengal C.S., has now completed the great work on which he has been engaged for the last six years (viz. the translation into English of the *Ramayana* of Tulsi Dâs, the most popular vernacular poem of Upper India). The book has been handsomely printed at Allahabad, with seventeen autotype plates, and, as a specimen of excellent workmanship, may be well placed by the side of the enlarged edition of the same writer's "*Mathura*." In Sept. 29 Prof. Beal confirms from the I-Tsing, the date for the King Sri Harsha Deva, suggested by Prof. Cowell in his Preface to Mr. Boyd's Translation of the "*Naganandha*, a Buddhist Drama," and points out that, in his judgment, the I-Tsing, also, fixes the position of Sribhoja, where so many

devout Buddhists from China and India resided, viz. in that part of Sumatra or adjacent islands which was nearly under the equinoctial line. In Oct. 27 Dr. Bühler gives a long and very interesting account of a paper by Shankar P. Pandit, "On the Recovery of Sayana-Madhava's Commentary on the Kanva Recension of the White Yajur Veda." This paper was to have been read at the Leyden Congress, but, owing to some quarantine regulations at Venice, was detained there till too late. It will, of course, be printed in the *Transactions* of the Congress. This Commentary has been recently found in a library in the Canarese district of the Bombay Presidency. From the same Journal we learn that Professor Bhandarkar has drawn up a report of his successful work in the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Marátha country, the Hyderabad territory and Berar, with a list of many rare MSS. of the Vêdas and Vedangas from Poona and elsewhere: it appears, further, that Pandit Kashi Nath Kunte has well followed up his work of former years, having catalogued no less than 1606 MSS. in 1881-2. He was, also, in hopes of obtaining access to the Digambari Jaina libraries at Dehli. The MSS. he had seen range between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. We hear, further, that the demand in India for translations of English standard works is rapidly increasing; thus Dr. Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus" has been translated into Bengali, and is comprised in two volumes with an abundance of useful notes. It should be added that Dr. Fritze, who is well known for his successful renderings of the Works of Kalidasa, has recently published an excellent translation (in German) of the "Pañkatantra," following the text in the Bombay Series of Drs. Bühler and Kielhorn. Dr. Fritze doubts Prof. Benfey's conclusions as to the early history of this famous collection of tales, agreeing rather with Dr. Bühler, that the work translated for Nushirvan was not the "Pañkatantra," but one of many collections of moral tales current in India since the rise of Buddhism. Dr. A.

A. Macdonnell, who has, for some time, been collecting materials for an edition of all the Ancient Indices of the Rig Veda, has, we gladly add, within the last few weeks, received from the University of Leipzig, "maximâ cum laude," the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, his dissertation being on a Sanskrit Theme, and his examiners Professors Windisch, Leskien, and Hildebrandt.—Mr. Pincott has prepared a paper, to be printed in the third Number of this year's Journal of the Society, "On the System whereby the Ancient Brahmans Arranged the Hymns of the Rig Veda Sanhita."—Of miscellaneous papers, or books, may be noted Mr. K. T. Telang's Essay on the Mudrarashasa, being a Preface to his edition of that play.

The following books (or papers) may be mentioned as having come out during the past year:—Führer, A. A., Aphorisms of the Sacred Law of the Aryas:—Chintamani Shashtri Thatte, Amarakosha, with the Commentary of Maheśvara:—Anandoran Borooh, English-Sanskrit Dictionary, continued vii. pt. xi. pt. i.:—Bendall, C., Catalogue of the Buddhist-Sanskrit MSS. at Cambridge:—Rajendra lala Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., vol. vi. pt. 2, No. 17, containing Catalogues of 158 MSS.:—Dutens, A., Essai sur l'origine des exposants casuels en Sanscrit:—Néve, F., Les époques Littéraires de l'Inde; Etudes sur la poésie Sanscrite:—Schroeder, L. von., Maitrayani Samhita, Buch 2:—Arnold, E., C.S.I., Indian Idylls from the Sanskrit of the Mahabharata:—Peterson, Prof., Kadambari:—Zachariae, Th., Beiträge zur Indischen Lexicographie:—Glaser, K., Ueber Bâṇa's Pârvitîpariṇayanâṭaka:—Fritze, L., Panchatantra:—Goldschmidt, S. and P., Râvanavala oder Setubandha (in progress):—Pandit Rishikesh Sastri, Prakrita Grammar:—Kielhorn, F., Vyakarana Mahâbhâshya of Patanjali, vol. ii. pt. 3:—Lanman, C. R., Sanskrit Reader:—Pandit Jibananda Vidyasagara, Magha's Sishupala Badham:—and, by the same, Rajasekharakabi's Biddhashelabhanjika:—and, also, Katha

Sarit Sagara in Sanskrit prose from the poem of Somadeva Bhatta;—Gheyn, van den, J., Remarques sur quelques Racines Sanscrites, 2 parts :—Weber, A., Ueber das Uttamacaritrakathânakam, die geschichte vom Prinzen Trefflichst (Akad. Wiss. Berl.) :—Pullé, F. L., Grammatica Sanscrita (Torino) :—Reynaud, P., Stances Sanscrites inédites (Ann. de Lyon) :—Sörensen, S., Om Mahâbhârata's stilling i den Indiske Literatur (Copenhagen) :—Tarkavachaspati, T., Comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary, pt. xx. :—Narayan Mandlik, Catalogue of the MSS., etc., of the Bhau Daji Memorial :—and A. Borooah's edition of three works of Sanskrit rhetoric, viz., Vâmana's Kâvyâlankâra sâtravritti, Vâgbhata alankâra, and Sarasvatî kaṇṭhâbharaṇa, Calc., 1883. The first fasciculus of the fifth part of Böhrling's Sanskrit "Wörterbuch in Kürzerer Fassung" brings the work down to *rajaka*. A new translation into French of "Sacountala," by A. Bergaigne and P. Lehngneur, has appeared in Paris.

Hindi.—Mr. George A. Grierson, M.R.A.S., has printed in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XVI. Pt. II. p. 196, "Some Bihari Folk-songs." Bihârî is the name, in progress of adoption, for what used to be called Eastern Hindi. The Government of Bengal is publishing a series of Grammars of the dialects of the Bihârî language, and Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Grierson are preparing a Dictionary of it. [See, also, Calcutta Review, No. 152.]

Bengali.—The following books may be noticed as having been recently published : Sandhyâ Sanjit, by Rabindra Nath Tagore :—Lalita Sandâmini, by Baba Tarak Nath Ganguli :—Pâribarek Prabandha, by Baba Bhadeb Mukharji :—The Meghaduta (Kâlidâs') translated into Bengali verse :—Human Physiology, to which is appended a chapter on the preservation of health, by Ashutosh Mitra :—Ayarbijnân, by Guru Gobinda Sen, a very curious "treatise on hygiene," showing

clearly that Hindu Hygiene had attained great perfection in Ancient India :—Suhásini (Upanyás), by Tarak Nath Biswás :—Trina-punja, by Jnánendra Chandra Ghosh :—Dasamahá bidyá, Hem Chandra Bandyopádhyáyá :—Menatattwa, by Jnánendra Kumár Ráya Chaudhari :—Saral Iswara-chikitsá, part ii., by Dr. Judanath Mukharji :—and, lastly, Pibidha Prabandha, part i., by Rájnaráyan Basa :—M. Behramji M. Malabari, who has been translating Prof. Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, "On the origin and growth of Religion," into Gujarati and Marathi, has now brought out a translation of the same work into Bengali, by Rajanakanta Gupta. A Bengali translation also of Prof. Müller's last work "India what can it teach us?" is also advertised :—Dr. Ram Das Sen, M.R.A.S., who is well known for his Aitihásika Rahasya, has recently printed Ratnarahasya, a curious and learned treatise on Diamonds and precious stones, a work valuable, not only for Art-Education, but historically, as it gives the history of many well-known precious Stones, though not as fully as Raja Sourendro Tagore does in his Manimálá. Babu Jogendranath's work, entitled Byabastha-Kalpadruma, is a valuable Treatise on the Hindu Law of Inheritance, etc., etc.

Hindustani.—The New English-Hindustani Dictionary, begun some time since by the late Dr. S. W. Fallon (and since carried on by his daughter), has been brought to a successful end in 14 parts, and 674 pages.

Urya.—A Primer in this Language has been printed by Mr. J. F. Browne.

Kashmirian.—The Panjab Christian Knowledge Society has just published the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, at Amritsar, in the Kashmiri Language, the translation having been made by the Rev. T. R. Wade, M.R.A.S.

Tibetan.—Mr. W. W. Rockhill, M.R.A.S., has translated from the Tibetan, Udânavarga, a collection of verses from the Buddhist Canon compiled by Dharmatrâta. This is the Northern version of the Dhammapada. The same writer has, also, given, in the Proc. of the American Orient. Soc., a notice on two Buddhist Sutras, printed in Paris, Prâtimoksha Sutra, ou Le Traité d'Emancipation.

The fifth volume of the Annals du Musée Guimet is wholly occupied by M. Léon Feer's Fragments extraits du Kandjour traduits du Tibétain; and the sixth by M. Foucaux's Translation from the Sanskrit of the Lalita Vistara; a further volume is promised, which will contain notes, variæ lectiones, etc.

Mr. Ralston has published a translation of Schiefner's Tibetan Tales, which has been appreciatively noticed in the Athenæum (September).—In the Indian Antiquary (November) Mr. W. W. Rockhill, M.R.A.S., gives the translation of some Buddhist Sutras from the Tibetan, and there is, also, a review of the same scholar's "Udanavarga."

Marâthi.—Mr. R. D. Sethna has been appointed Lecturer on Marâthi in University College, London.

Gujarati.—A translation of M. de Gubernatis's Indian play of Savitri has been translated into Gujarati by M. Ranina, and has been acted at the Gaiety Theatre, in Bombay. Mr. J. D. Asana has printed vol. iii. of his Pahlavi, Gujarati and English Dictionary.

Pali and Sinhalese.—In the *Athenæum* for August 4 is an appreciative review of Dr. Frankfürter's Handbook of Pali, being an Elementary Grammar, Chrestomathy and Glossary;—in Oct. 13, is a careful notice of the work done by the Pali Text Society, under the head of Journal of the Pali Text Society, The Buddhavamsa and Cariya Pitaka, by Dr. Morris; and the Anguttara Nikâya, by Prof. Jacobi (see also

the *Deutsch Literatur-blatt*, Nov.-Dec. 1883, p. 50). Mr. J. Gray has, also, published *Elements of Pali Grammar* adapted for schools and private study, Rangoon, 1883. Other books are the second edition of *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*, or Dictionary of the Pali language, by Moggalâna:—the Pali text and Burmese translation of the *Dhammanîti*, a book of maxims, edited by J. Gray. Rangoon, 1884. The Pali text alone was published at Rangoon in 1883:—A. Grünwedel, *Das sechste Kapitel der Rûpasiddhi (Pali)*. The *Mahâvansa*, I. to XXXVI., Pali text edited by H. Sumangala and Don A. de S. Batuvantudava. Colombo, 1883, with a Sinhalese translation by the same. The following books on the Sinhalese language have also been published at Colombo: *Nâmâvaliya*, an Elu vocabulary; *Vibatmaldama*, by Kîrama Dhammârâma; *Sinhalaśabdâvalî*, by T. Kamnaratna. Of Sanskrit poems printed at Colombo with a Sinhalese commentary, may be noted the *Sûryaśataka* and the *Nâmâshṭaśataka* with the *Navaratna* and *Mahâyâzawing dangyî*, the great history of Burma, printed at the Royal Palace, Mandalay, 1884 (*Burmese*).

Tamil.—The Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope has brought out a *Handbook of the ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*. Part 3; and, in the *Journ. Asiatique* (Avril-Mai-Juin), M. Vinson prints a poem in Tamil, “in memoriam” of Dr. Burnell.

Nicobar.—A Dictionary, prepared by the late F. A. de Roepstorff, Esq., of the Nancowry Dialect of the Nicobarese Language (in two parts, Nicobarese-English and English-Nicobarese), has, since his untimely death, been published in Calcutta, under the careful editing of his widow. At the end of the volume are some Appendices, which give many curious notices of Nicobarese customs, etc.

Miscellaneous Indian or Oriental.—Under this head are

placed notices of papers or books, which do not strictly fall under any of the preceding groups. Thus, in the *Athenæum*, June 9, Prof. M. Williams gives a melancholy notice "On Indian Female Education":—on July 14, is a valuable sketch of Gen. Walker's Indian Survey Report:—Aug. 18, a good review of Oldenberg's *Life of Buddha*, translated by W. Hoey, M.R.A.S.:—Sept. 1, a review of Dr. J. Burgess's Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions, and Report on the Elura Cave Temples:—in Oct. 6, is a review of Colonel Malleson's "Decisive Battles of India from 1746 to 1849":—in Nov. 10, of Mr. Durand's *Life of his father, Sir Henry Durand*. In Dec. 29, is a brief notice of the late Mr. Eastwick's *Handbook to the Panjab*, published after his lamented death:—in Jan. 12, 1884, a good review of Sir John Caird's "India, the land and people;"—and, in March 15, of Sir Edward Colebrooke's *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone*. In the same number, is a sensible letter from Dr. Leitner, M.R.A.S., on the question how far Muhammadanism does or does not support slavery. Lastly, in April 5, is the outline of a grand scheme propounded by the same scholar of an "Oriental University, Museum, and Guest House," to occupy in future the site of what was once the "Royal Dramatic College." It is understood that this scheme is liberally supported by several Panjab chiefs, and by their historian, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., M.R.A.S.

In the *Academy*, Feb. 9, is a good notice by Mr. Nicholson of one of the best of recent works relating to India, the *Native Life in Travancore*, by the Rev. S. Mateer, M.R.A.S.:—in March 15, is an excellent review by Mr. H. G. Keene of Sir E. Colebrooke's *Life of the Honble. M. Elphinstone*:—In March 1, Prof. F. Max Müller gives a very complete summary of the evidence now available for determining the probable date of Buddha's death (*i.e.* between 483 and 472 A.D.), it being of special interest to

recollect that, when Dr. Müller wrote his History of Sanskrit Literature, 25 years ago, he strongly advocated the date of 477 A.D., which, if wrong, is now shown to be so by only five or six years. In March 29, Prof. Müller sends a copy of a letter from a Travancore Missionary, the Rev. J. Knowles, objecting to the use of Italic letters for the transliteration of words in the languages of the South of India.

The address of the President, V. Ball, Esq., F.R.S., to the *Royal Dublin Society*, with the title "A Geologist's contribution to the History of Ancient India," is very good:—as are also papers by Mr. Justice Stephens and Sir Evelyn Baring in *Nineteenth Century* (October):—So, also, Prof. Sayce's *Oriental History in the Contemporary* for July:—A new periodical called "The Voice of India," now in course of publication, is useful as giving the views of the Native Papers on all sorts of subjects:—In Trübner's *Record*, No. 187, p. 50, is a long article on Dr. Leitner's *Indigenous Education in the Panjab*.—In the *Z.D.M.G.* 27. 2. Prof. Jolly prints *Gründung einer handschriften d. Bibliothek zu Benares*:—In the *Indian Antiquary* are several papers by Capt. Temple and Mrs. Steel "On Folklore in the Panjab," and it may also be noted that Capt. Temple is now publishing a special work on this subject. In October, Dr. Bühler writes *On the relationship between the Andhras and Chalukyas*; and Colonel Yule "On Prof. F. Max Müller's Buddha and St. Josaphat"; Capt. Temple gives, also, *Story of Mulraj and his Son*. In November, are notes by Capt. Temple about *Raja Rasalu*, and in January 1884, he prints *The Hymns of Nangipanth*, from the papers of the late J. W. Parry:—In February is a paper "On *Mirzapur Folklore*," and Dr. Burgess publishes a "List of *Chola Kings*," sent to him some time ago by A. C. Burnell.

Of books recently published, the most important is Professor A. Weber's *Indische Studien*, vol. xvi. and vol.

xvii. pt. 1. In the first of these, Professor Weber writes, "Ueber Bhuvanapâla Commentar zu Hâla's Saptaçatakam." 2. "Lücken bassen (der Arische charakter d. Armenischen)." 3. and commences the first part of a paper "Ueber die heiligen schriften d. Jaina": and Prof. Aufrecht adds Miscellanea, Dhammakirti, Bhamaha, etc. In the second, Prof. Weber concludes his Essay "Ueber die heiligen Schriften der Jaina:—Dr. Leumann gives a paper "Die Alten, berichte von dem Schismen der Jaina:—"—Prof. Weber gives two papers on "Die Niralambopanishad and the Garudopanishad, respectively:—Prof. Aufrecht writes on "Eine Strophe von Çaçvata":—and Prof. Sachau gives the table of contents of his "Albiruni's Indica." Prof. Monier Williams has published "Religious Thought and Life in India," Pt. 1., in which he deals with Vedism, Brahmanism, and Hinduism; a second part will, we understand, comprise the other religions of India:—M. James Darmesteter has printed "Essais Orientaux," with two excellent essays, "Le Dieu Suprême des Aryas," and "Les Cosmogones Aryennes:—"—Ujfalvy, K. E., Aus d. Westlichen Himálaya; and—Forrest, G. W., Selections from the official writings of the Honourable M. Elphinstone.

Bibliotheca Indica.—Of this series the following works have reached the Society's Library:—Sthavira vali Charita, by Hemachandra, edited by Professor Jacobi:—Chaturvarga Chintamani, by Hemadri, vol. 3, pt. 1, fasc. 6:—Srauta Sutra of Apastamba, by R. Garbe, vol. 2, fasc. 6:—Vayu Purana, by Rajendra lala, vol. 2, fasc. 4:—Srauta Sutra, vol. 2, fasc. 6 and 7:—Susruta Samhita, by Uday Chand Dutt, fasc. 2:—Ibn Hajir's Biography of those who knew Muhammad, vol. 2, 6, 7 fasc. 23, 24:—and Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh, by Al Badaoni, by W. H. Lowe, vol. 2, fasc. 1.—We understand that the Asiatic Society of Bengal has sanctioned the publication of the five following works—

1, Sankhâya Srauta Sutra, ed. by Dr. Hillebrandt:—2, Saunaka's Sarvânukramanî, by Rajendra lala Mitra:—3, Tattva Chintamani, by Pandit Kâmâkhyânâtha Tarkaratna:—4, Selections from the old Commentaries on Manu, by Prof. J. J. Jolly:—5, Brahmagupta's Karanagrantha—the so-called Khanda Khâdya, by Prof. Thibaut.

Sacred Books of the East.—Vol. xv. the second volume of the Upanishads, by Prof. F. Max Müller; and vol. xxi. Prof. Kern's translation of the Saddharma Pandarika, have been published: and we understand that considerable progress has been made towards the publication of the Second Series, which will begin with Prof. Bühler's translation of Manu. In the *Athenæum* for August, p. 170, is a good review of Vols. 2 and 14, containing The Sacred Laws of the Aryas as taught in the Schools of Apastamba, Gautama, Vasistha, and Baudhâyana, edited by Prof. Bühler; and, in Sept. 29, of Vol. 17, Vinaya Texts, Part 2, transl. from the Pali, by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg.

The *Indian Institute at Oxford* has continued to make steady progress, mainly owing to the energetic action of its founder, Prof. Monier Williams, who has made a third journey to India, during this last winter and spring, with the view of further interesting the Government of India in it. We rejoice to hear that he has been quite successful, and that the Indian Government are willing that six scholarships should be founded in it for deserving natives, if the Home Government assent to this step. A portion of the building, now in course of erection, will be opened for work on October 11 of the present year. The Institute has been recently still further enriched by the munificent donation from the Rev. S. C. Malan (the first Boden Sanskrit Scholar) of his Oriental Library, more than 2000 volumes in number.

Prof. Williams has recently delivered two lectures in Oxford before the Vice-Chancellor (Jowett) and a numerous audience, in the first of which, he pointed out the advantages to India of British rule and the corresponding gain to England by the training thus provided for numbers of young Englishmen. In noticing the new Russian railway, on the eastern side of the Caspian, the Professor added that if England and Russia would but meet peaceably at Herát, nine days would suffice to connect England with India. The second lecture embodied the statements in the address given by him to this Society on its Anniversary, and will be found at the end of the present Report.

The *Calcutta Review* for the last year has many excellent papers, of which the following may be specified :

In No. 152 are papers by Mr. G. Patterson on "The British Borneo Company," which will well repay perusal:—by Mr. Beveridge, on the City of Patna:—by the Rev. E. Sell, on "The Khalif Al Mamun and the Mutazalas":—Mr. Symacharan Ganguli writes "Bihar Dialects—a rejoinder," being a further letter on the controversy between Messrs. Grierson and Hoernle, in which he urges the general use of Hindustani and the suppression of Dialects:—Mr. Rehatsek gives the first part of a paper entitled "Adamoli's Notes on a Journey from Persia to Tashkend":—and an excellent paper by Mr. J. C. Nesfield on "The results of Primary Education in the North-West and Oudh." At the close of the Number is a review of Mr. A. E. Gough's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, of Mr. H. E. Busteed's "Echoes from Old Calcutta," and of the "Bhagavad Gita" transl. by the Rev. J. Davies, M.R.A.S.

In No. 153 is a good paper on "The Material Progress of Ceylon":—a second one by Mr. J. C. Nesfield on "The results of Primary Education in the North-West and in Oudh":—and a second, also, by Mr. Rehatsek, "On

Adamoli's Journey, etc." :—Captain Temple, M.R.A.S., gives translations of "Some Ghazals of Nazir Akbarabadi :"—and the same writer tells a pleasant tale of the "Folklore of the headless horseman in Northern India."

In No. 154 is an interesting paper entitled "Capello and Ivens ; their explorations in Africa, 1877-80" :—Mr. G. S. Gasper gives (for the subject) a sensible paper on "English Spelling and the Spelling Reform" :—Ram Chundra Bose, "On the Sankhya Philosophy" :—The Rev. Edward Sell deals with "Sufism" :—Mr. Growse gives a notice of "Bulandshahr," which is interesting, but scarcely new, as Mr. Growse has more than once written of this place elsewhere. Lastly, Mr. J. C. Nesfield adds a very valuable paper, entitled "The Kanjars of Upper India." Among the reviews may be noticed one of Mr. Howell's Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language; and that of a very important recent work, Mr. A. J. Wall's Treatise on Indian Snake poisons, their nature and effects.

In No. 155 are papers by J. C. Nesfield, "On Fire-making as a test of race" :—by H. G. Keene, "The foundations of Aryan Law" :—by E. Rehatsek, "The vicissitudes of the City of Baghdad, from its foundation till our times" :—by Ram Chundra Bose, "The Sankhya Philosophy" :—with other papers of less general interest. There are, also, as usual, some good reviews of useful books recently published, as of Mr. J. A. Bourdillon's Report on the Census of Bengal, 1881; and of the excellent "Manual of Jurisprudence for Forest Officers," by Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell, M.R.A.S.

In No. 156 are papers by R. C. Dutt, "A plea for competitive Examinations" :—Capt. R. C. Temple continues his interesting notices of "Folk songs from Northern India" :—by N. N. Ghose, "On English Education in India from a Native point of view" :—by J. Capper, "On the Colonies in the Calcutta Exhibition" :—and by J. C. Nesfield, "On the

Primitive Philosophy of Fire." There is also a good review of Mr. H. M. Durand's life of his father, Sir H. M. Durand, and of Mr. Edwin Arnold's "Indian Idylls."

Zend and Persian.—There has not been so much to record this year, as on some former occasions.

However, in the *Athenæum*, June 16th, is a pleasant notice of a very pleasant book, Dr. C. J. Wills's "In the Land of the Lion and the Sun," the chief result of its study being that the Persia of James Morier in 1823 is very much the same as that of 1883:—In Feb. 2, 1884, is a very full review of Major H. G. Raverty's "Tabakat-i-Nasiri, a general history of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia from A.D. 810 to A.D. 1260," a book, of value historically, if studied alongside of Briggs, Dow, Price, and of Sir Henry Elliot's compilations. One thing, however, greatly marring the value of Major Raverty's volumes, is, that he has not given to them an Index. It is nonsense to say (as Major Raverty says) that a scholar's time is "too valuable" to be employed in work a schoolboy could have done under his superintendence. From May 31, we learn that the noble collection of Oriental MSS. in the British Museum has been recently enriched by many valuable books, secured at the sale of the Library of the Comte de Gobineau, late French Ambassador at Teheran. We have not, however, space here, for any details of this most valuable purchase.

In the *Academy*, June 23, Mr. C. E. Wilson, M.R.A.S., reviews Dr. Wills's "Land of the Lion and the Sun," already noted. In Aug. 18, is a brief—too brief—notice of the valuable Essays M. James Darmesteter has recently published under the modest title of "Etudes Iraniennes"—the first volume deals with an historical grammar of the Persian language, from the time of Darius to that of Firdusi; the first part of the second volume contains critical reviews of various works on Iranian history and literature; while the

second part supplies Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian Translations of some of the Yashts, etc., found in various MSS. in Paris and London. M. Darmesteter's work is as interesting as a novel. In Oct. Mr. C. E. Wilson also reviews, at great length, the Quatrains of Omar Khayyam by Mr. E. H. Whinfield, M.R.A.S., and discusses very carefully the question of the actual or probable belief of the writer; approving, on the whole, what Mr. Whinfield has accomplished, and generally his "special felicity of interpretation." In May 21, 1884, is an important notice from Mr. Houtum Schindler, entitled "A Visit to Khorassan," giving an account by Sáni-ed-douleh of a recent journey performed by him in Khorassan. Of course, we do not expect the Persian writer to be an archæologist in the European sense of this word; but he has described fairly well the localities he visited. We rejoice to learn that Mr. C. E. Wilson has been appointed Reader of Persian at Cambridge.

In the *Z.D.M.G.* (37, 2), are papers by F. Teufel, on Babur und Abu Fazl; by R. Roth, Die Seelen des Mittelreichs im Parsismus; by M. de Harlez, Zur Erklärung des Avesta. In 37, 3, are papers by Bartholomæe, Avestisch Mada-Mada:—On Andreas's Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard; and H. Ethé, Neu Irán:—In 38, 1, M. de Harlez publishes "L'Avestique Mada et la tradition Persane."

In the *Journal Asiatique*, Fevr.-Mars, 1883, J. Darmesteter writes, "Fragment d'un Commentaire sur le Vendidad Farg. 2," and M. Chodzkievicz describes "Une tente Persane du xvi^e siècle." In Août-Sept. M. Halevy writes "On the word Aspenj":—and in Jan. 1884, M. Barbier de Meynard reviews M. de Kazimirski's Dialogues Français-Persans.

In the *Revue Critique* (May, 1883) M. de Harlez reviews Hubschmann's Die Umschreibung d. Iranischen Sprachen, etc. In Nov. 26 is an excellent notice of the Rev. Lawrence H. Mills, and of the great work he is engaged on, viz. The Study of the Gathas (see p. 438):—In Dec. 10, M. Darne-

steter gracefully reviews Miss Helen Zimmern's Epic of Kings, by Firdúsi :—In Dec. 17 is a notice of the Reprint of the Persian Text of the Sefer Nameh at Dehli, which is said to be very well done :—In Feb. 4, 1884, M. Darmesteter reviews Andreas's Book of Mainyo-i-Khard, from a MS. at Copenhagen, procured by the late M. Westergaard :—and in March 24 is a review by M. Bréal, of M. Bonet Maury's translation into French of the late Count de Noer's Akbar.

We may add that, in *Athénéum Belge* (Sept. 1883) M. de Harlez highly praises Geiger's "Ost-Iranische Kultur" :—in the *D. Literaturzeitung* for Oct. is a good notice by Zimmer, of Andreas's book :—and in Nov., by Landauer, of Whinfield's Omar Khayyam.

In the *Bulletin de l'Athénée Orientale* (1883, 1-2) M. Chodzko gives many extracts from the "Vizir de Lenkeran," and points out its value ; and (3 and 4) M. de Harlez deals further with Dr. W. Geiger's *Ost-Iranische Kultur im Altertum*.

In the *Mélanges Orientaux* (dedicated to the Congress of Leyden) M. Schefer has printed "Trois Chapitres du Khitay Nameh (in Persian and French).

Of books relating to Persia, recently published, we may note the following : Whinfield, E., *Quatrains of Omar Khayyam* (2nd edition) :—Fitzgerald, C. (the late), *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* :—Harlez, M. de, *L'Exégèse et la Correction des Textes Avestiques* :—Schefer, C., *Chrestomathie Persane* :—E. H. Palmer's *Concise Persian and English Dictionary*, completed by Guy Le Strange, M.R.A.S. :—Geldner, K. F., *Drei Yasht aus dem Zendavesta* :—Barbier de Meynard, *Boustan de Sadi* :—M. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien* :—Abul-Fazl's *Akbar-Namah*, 3 vols., Lucknow, 2nd edition :—Kazimirski, A. de B., *Dialogues Français-Persanes*, etc. :—Chodzko, J., *Grammaire de la Langue Persane*, 2nd edition :—West, E. W., *Dadistan-i-Dinik* and

Epistles of Manus Kikar, Part 2:—Fazl-i-Ali, Dictionary of English and Persian, Bombay:—Rubâiyyat-i-Omar Khaiyyam, Lucknow:—Rieu, C., Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, vol. iii.:—and Robinson, Persian Poetry for English Readers.

Turkish.—From the *Athenæum* (Sept. 22) we learn that the Mijman-i-Funam, a scientific Magazine, started many years ago by Munif Pasha, but since suspended, has been resumed by him, and appears regularly in Constantinople:—that Mazhar Effendi, who has been for some years lecturing in Turkish at the Imperial School of Medicine at Constantinople, has published his Lectures on Anatomy in a volume fully illustrated:—and that there is now, also, publishing in Constantinople, a paper called the “Osmanli,” devoted to the architecture of Constantinople.

From Dec. 15, we learn that Jaghatai, the literary language of the Eastern Turks, is being much studied at Constantinople, and that Sheikh Suleiman Effendi has produced a Dictionary in this language. It is hoped that in some of the old libraries old Jaghatai MSS. may yet be found. Vambéry discovered some, and Dr. Ethé spoke at the Leyden Congress of a new text of the same class he hoped to be able to publish.

In the *Academy* for March 20, 1884, Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., gives a translation in English verse, line for line with the original, and with the preservation, as far as is possible, of the metre of the original Turkish, of a poem taken from a little volume called Zemzeme.

In the “*Melanges Orientaux*” M de Meynard has printed “*Notice de l’Arabie Méridionale d’après un document Turc.*”

Among books, may be mentioned MM. Chakri et Asgain, *Dictionnaire Franç.-Turc*, Tome I:—J. W. Redhouse, *Engl.-Turk and Turk.-English Dictionary*:—and by the same, *A Simplified Grammar of the Ottoman Turkish Lan-*

guage:—E. J. W. Gibb, Translation of the History of Jewad:—Faris ash Shidiak, a new Edition of his Grammar:—and by M. du Rieu, Levini Warneri, De Rebus Turcicis epistolæ ineditæ.

We should add that in the *Revue Critique* for April 14, 1884, is an account of the “*Almanach de l’Orient*,” published at Constantinople by M. A. Paléologue, with a notice of an interesting paper in it by M. Stavros Aristarchi, entitled “*Les Bibliothèques Ottomanes à Constantinople*.” Perhaps not every one is aware that there are sixty-eight public libraries in that City. A catalogue of the Library of the Hamidieh has just been issued by the Minister of Public Instruction.

Kurdish.—In *Z.D.M.G.* (38. i.) is a long article by Mr. A. Houtum-Schindler, entitled *Beiträge zur Kurdische Wortschatze*.

China Review.—This journal has kept up during the past year its well-established reputation. Thus, in vol. xi. No. 5, March and April, 1883, Mr. Dyer Ball continues his “*Scraps from Chinese Mythology*,” and Dr. Edkins his “*Notes on some Chinese Works*.” There are, also, a large number of papers of varying interest, such as (by an anonymous writer) “*On the so-called blockade of Hong-Kong*,” in which the defects at present existing in the Junk Trade are clearly pointed out, and some remedies for the same indicated: Dr. S. W. Bushell, M.R.A.S., also writes, “*On the Mongol mark on Porcelain* :”—and M. G. von Gabelentz with reference to his Chinese grammar. Some brief but good notices of books are added, which will be of use to students of Chinese matters.

In No. 5, May and June, Mr. C. H. Piton continues his account of China during the Tsin Dynasty, A.D. 264–419 and Mr. Dyer Ball his “*Scraps from Chinese Mythology* :”

Mr. E. H. Parker contributes two valuable papers, the first "On Sz-ch'uen Plants," which shows how much can be accomplished by any one who has his heart in his subject, without "any apparatus for preserving the specimens while travelling comfortlessly and through a poor and mountainous part of the country, among nations more ignorant and suspicious than the average." The chief botanical questions of the Sz-ch'uen, he adds, are the varnish, wax, tallow and wood-oil trees. The second, "On the Rapids of the Upper Yangtze," gives the native sailing instructions for the gorges of the Great River, translated from the narrative of Admiral Ho chin shen, who was officially employed in superintending the gunboats, etc., between I-ch'ang and Wu-Shan. M. Kleinwachter, also, writes "On the origin of the Arabic numerals," and establishes some, though rather a slight connexion, between the Indian and the Chinese forms. There are brief notices, also, of Bunyiu Nanjio's Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, and of Dr. Chalmers' "Structure of Chinese characters after the Shwoh-wan 100 A.D. and the Phonetic Shwoh-wan, 1833."

In vol. xii. No. 1, July and August, Mr. Piton further continues his "China under the Tsin dynasty, A.D. 264-269," and Mr. Kleinwachter adds some further notes "On the origin of the Arabic numerals," a complicated problem which he does not seem to have fully realized. Mr. E. H. Parker continues his studies of the vernaculars of China, with a precise account of the Dialect of Yungchow, and Mr. Jordan gives a notice of the poet, commonly called Su Fung-p'o, who lived in the province of Sz-ch'uan in A.D. 1036. A promising scholar, Mr. J. Stewart Lockhart, reviews Dr. Chalmers' work noted above; which is a classified résumé of the Shwoh-wan, the celebrated dictionary of the first century A.D. and of the Phonetic Shwoh-wan, an able work of which we speak further on. The learned sinologist has there explained with great

ability the Chinese style of writing (known in this country as the small seal character), the Siao-chuan, as it existed about the Christian era, with the explanations, often childish, of the native authors. It is to be regretted that Dr. Chalmers, at least in his preface, has not thought fit to give some information on the older styles of writing which have been used in succession previously to the Siao-chuan. It is worthy of note as a remarkable instance of painstaking perseverance that Dr. Chalmers is able to say "that every character in the volume has been written for the lithographer with the author's own hand:" the work was compiled in China and printed in Scotland during a short stay of the author at home. This number contains, also, a few notices of books relating to China and Japan, such as, of Mr. W. G. Dixon's "Land of the Morning"—"Cochin Chine Française, Excursions et Reconnaissances," etc., etc.

Vol. xii. No. 2, Sept. and Oct., contains papers by Messrs. J. H. Stewart Lockhart, Dr. Edkins, R. H. Graves, G. Jamieson, and B. C. Henry. Dr. Edkins writes on the vexed question of the "Yi-king, with notes on the Sixty-four Kwa," which he evidently considers to have been in some sense a "book of divination," or, at all events, to have been used for this purpose, divination having been in common use in China before and during the time of Confucius. In this paper, Dr. Edkins deals with the first 29 Kwas. Mr. Graves writes on "Aryan Roots in Chinese," taking for his basis those given in Prof. Skeat's "Etymological Dictionary," and, for Chinese, the "Cantonese Colloquial," the connections suggested being, as might be expected, rather with Sanskrit than with any other Aryan tongue—perhaps, too, it may be added, that his conclusions are not very convincing. Mr. Jamieson's paper "On the tributary Nations of China," has some interest at the present time, as showing what was and is the habit of the Greater Empire in dealing with the smaller states which pay tribute to her, the general conclu-

sion being that the connection between the two may be best described as a "Relationship at Will, begun at will, continued at will, and therefore terminable at will." There is, also, a curious notice of the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of investing a Corean Prince as king. Mr. B. C. Henry completes his account of a "Journey through Hainan," a curious record of well-attempted though unsuccessful travel. There is, also, a good review of Professor Beal's *Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsang, or Life of Buddha* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xix.), and of Colonel Money's "Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea." From the latter we learn that India is now pressing China hard, on what was long her peculiar and especial source of wealth. Thus, from 1879 to 1882, the Indian export of tea has risen from 35 millions of pounds to 51 millions, while, on the other hand, the Chinese export has fallen off by 12 millions, *i.e.* 125 millions in the first year, and 113 millions in the second.

Vol. xii. No. 3, Nov. Dec. In this No. Messrs. Piton and Dyer Ball continue their former papers, the other contributors being Messrs. Henry, E. H. Parker, R. Eichler, and E. L. Oxenham. Mr. Henry in his paper "On eight Lions of Canton," points out that the number "eight" has, for some reason, had a special influence in Chinese Philosophy till, at length, in Canton, this influence has been crystallized around certain objects, and has found concrete expression in what has been designated as the "Eight great Sights" of that city. The whole paper is very curious. Mr. E. H. Parker's notice of the Winchow Dialect is valuable philologically, in that we learn from it that, with the exception of the letter *r*, "every letter in the English (we may indeed say, in the European and Sanskrit) alphabet is found as an initial." The rest of the paper is technical, and of value chiefly to Chinese scholars; it, at the same time, shows earnest study, and a remarkable acquaintance with the vernaculars of Southern China. There are, as usual, some

good notices of books, such as that of the new Edition of Dr. S. Wells Williams's "Middle Kingdom." Mr. Williams was a distinguished Scholar, as well as Missionary, and the President of the American Oriental Society, at the time of his recent and lamented death.

Vol. xii. No. 4, Jan. and Feb. 1884, contains continuations of former papers by H. Dyer Ball, Esq., and Charles Piton, Esq., and others by Messrs. Arendt, G. M. H. Playfair, A. A. Fauvel and Kleinwachter. Of these Mr. Arendt contributes three papers—"On the Mother of Mencius," which is curious; Chiang-Yi's "Apologues of the Fox and the Tiger and the Dog," and Su Tai's "Apologue of the Bittern and the Mussel": Mr. Playfair gives in verse, a translation of "A song to encourage Thrift" (which however scarcely does so), by Governor-General Chiang:—M. A. A. Fauvel gives an interesting account of "Chinese Plants in Normandy:"—M. Kleinwachter adds a good notice of the "History of Formosa under the Chinese Government" down to the present time. There is, also, an excellent review of Mr. H. A. Giles's "Gems of Chinese Literature."

Besides the *China Review*, and other periodicals, such as the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, which we have no room to analyse in the present Report, a considerable number of papers, essays, and books have been issued from the press during the last year, to some of which attention will now be called. In the *Athenæum* (Aug. 11) is a brief but good notice of Dr. Eitel's Chinese Dictionary in the Cantonese dialect, parts iii. and iv.; and, from the same Journal, we learn (March 1, 1884) that Mr. D. C. Boulger, M.R.A.S., has read a paper before the Society of Arts entitled, "Reflections on Chinese History, with reference to the present situation of affairs," and Dr. Zerffi, F.R.S.L., a paper, "On the Tchóng-Yóng of Confucius," before the Roy. Hist. Soc.:—from March 29, that M. Billequin has translated M. Malgutti's "Elementary Chemistry"

into Chinese, and that this work has been published at the College of Peking under the auspices of the Chinese Government, the preface to it having been written by the First Minister, His Excellency Tong Lung. The same scholar has also translated Fresenius's "Chemical Analysis." Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Education" has, also, just been rendered into Chinese by Y. K. Yen (May 17).

In the *Academy* (July 21) is an able letter by Dr. Edkins "On criticism of Early Chinese Literature," in which he replies to some of Prof. T. de Lacouperie's objections, and speaks in high terms of the scholarship of the Chinese Minister in this country, the Marquis Tseng:—and, in July 28, Sept. 1, and Oct. 6, Prof. de Lacouperie gives three letters, successively entitled, "Early Chinese Literature," "The Affinity of the Ten Stems of the Chinese Cycle with the Akkadian Numerals," and "The Chinese Mythical Kings and the Babylonian Canon," in the first of which he replies to Dr. Edkins, and, in the other two, enforces by abundant examples and illustrations his original view of the connection of the civilization of South-Western Asia with China. This he has well summarized in the following words: "The Chinese mythical list of Kings is based on the early Babylonian Canon, and reproduces the first Dynasty of Eighty-six Kings mentioned by Berosus, as well as many legends and historical facts of the same period." In Oct. 20 is a very interesting, though perhaps not entirely exact, letter by Dr. Edkins on "The Early History of Cochin-China." In Nov. 17, Prof. T. de Lacouperie returns to his main subject in a letter entitled, "Traditions of Babylonia in Early Chinese Documents," which gives some more details about the fragments of the Babylonian Canon, scattered among the Chinese traditions of the Mythical period. These we hear will be yet more fully dealt with in a work he has in the press. In December 29 Professor Douglas reviews the new Edition of the late

Professor S. Wells Williams's "Middle Kingdom," in which the useful portion of the revised work is well pointed out. [See also, in "Trübner's Record," Nos. 191-2, p. 100, a severe stricture on this work by H. A. Giles.] In the same number, also, is a short notice of Dr. Eitel's Dictionary, in which, while praising highly the whole, the reviewer shows there are many errors which ought not to have been left uncorrected:—in Jan. 12 of Mr. Dyer Ball's "Cantonese made easy," and "Easy Lessons in the Hakka Dialect":—in Feb. 9 Dr. Edkins writes on "The Chinese Cycles of Ten, Twelve, and Twenty-Eight," in which, admitting that all these Cycles "are more or less remotely connected with the West," he remarks that the Silk Trade "would render the communication of Babylonian knowledge possible in China."

In Feb. 23 Prof. Douglas reviews Mr. H. A. Giles's "Gems of Chinese Literature," in which, while allowing the general goodness of this scholar's work, he would like to feel sure "of what we have in every case before us, whether an accurate translation or only a paraphrase":—In March 1, March 8, and March 15, M. de Harlez and M. de Lacouperie discourse amicably "The origin of Chinese Civilization."

Before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at their meeting at Southport, Sept., 1883, Mr. W. Hancock read a paper, "On North Formosa," and Mr. H. S. Hallett, "On the advance of the Southern Chinese."

In the *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. XV. Pt. 3, Prof. Beal, M.R.A.S., has printed "Two sites named by Hiouen-Tsang in the 10th Book of the Si-yu-ki;" and, in Vol. XVI. Pt. 2, "Some further gleanings from the Si-yu-ki":—Mr. H. H. Howorth, M.R.A.S., has also issued "The Northern Frontagers of China, Part VI. Hia or Tangut," in Vol. XV. Pt. 3.

In the *Journal Asiatique* (Août-Septembre) M. Imbault-Huart continues his "Miscellanées Chinoises, fragments d'un

voyage dans la province du Kiang-sou” :—(Oct.-Nov.-Dec.) M. Edouard Specht writes on *Etudes sur l’Asie Centrale d’après les Historiens Chinois* :—M. Imbault-Huart (Jan. 1884) further continues his previous paper. Scattered in other Journals, etc., may be noted Dr. Legge’s *Tao Teh King*, in the *British Quarterly Review* (July 1, 1883) :—Ditto, *On Mencius*, *Encyclop. Brit.* (vol. xvi.) :—In the *Proc. of the American Or. Soc.*, Prof. B. S. Lyman has written, “On certain Sounds in the Peking Pronunciation of Chinese.” We may add to these, Duchateau, *Sur l’ancien Nom Serique* (*Athen. Orient.* 1, 2) :—Hoskiaer, V., *Routes Commerc. de Yunnan* (*Danish Roy. Geog. Soc.*) :—Scott, W., *Ting-huan-tschu* (*Erdkunde in Kurz darstellung*) (*Sitz. Berl. Ak. d. Wissensch.* May 31) :—Prof. T. Campbell, *On the laws of Phonetic Change in the Khitan Languages* (*Proc. of the Canadian Institute*). In the “*Mélanges Orientaux*,” M. Cordier has printed an “*Essai d’une Bibliographie des ouvrages publiés en Chine par les Européens au xvii^e et au xviii^e siècle.*”

In the *Annales de l’Extrême Orient*, the following papers may be noticed :—Thus (July, 1883), M. de Lucy-Fossarieu gives an account of “*Les Codes de la Cochinchine et du Camboge*” :—In the September No. is a severe judgment on *Li-Hun-Chang* and the Chinese Army, by an anonymous writer :—In Jan., 1884, is a brief account of “*Les Sociétés Secrètes de la Chine* ;” of the Commerce of Lower Cochinchina ; and of an interesting journey made by Capt. Gautier into the wild country of the *Mois* :—In Feb. is an article on the Emperor of China and his Court :—In March is a notice of a translation from *Ta-Tsing-Hwei-Tien*, by Dr. G. Jamieson, of Shanghai, to the effect that the presents sent with various European Ambassadors have always been considered by the Chinese historians as so many tributes ! In the same number is a translation of a paper read by Mr. C. H. Lepper, M.R.A.S., before the British Association at

Southampton, in 1882, entitled, "The question of an Overland Route to China from India."

Mr. Henri Cordier has published a double number, January to June, of his valuable "Revue de l'Extrême Orient," second year, in which there are several articles of interest: as, *Les Français à Shanghai en 1853-1855, épisodes du siège de Shanghai par les Impériaux*, par M. Arthur Millac.—A continuation by the editor, of his series of "Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de l'Extrême Orient." The two principal documents are: a "Memorial du Tsang-tou ou Gouverneur-General des deux provinces du Fan-Kien et de Tche-Kiang, appelé Monan, présenté contre la religion chrétienne à l'Empereur de la Chine, vers la fin de 1723;" from the Archives of the French foreign office. The second document, which is in the British Museum, is a "Catalogus Omnium Missionariorum qui Sinarum Imperium ad hæc usque tempora ad tradicandum Jesu Xti Evangelium ingressi sunt."—Add to these, "Mémoires très intéressantes sur la Royaume de Mien (Burma)," translated from the Chinese by the celebrated Mgr. Claude de Visdelou, a MS. in the collection of the British Museum; and Dr. Ch. J. Martin's "Notes sur le Massacre de Tien-tsin."—The editor publishes under the title of "Le Consulat de France à Hué," a series of documents and official correspondence which he has collected from the French Archives. In the same number there is a rather unfavourable review of "Corea, the Hermit Nation," by W. J. Griffis;—an interesting note on the suppressed book on the "Expedition de Chine par le Comte d'Hérissou"; and, a bibliography, with an interesting review, drawing the attention of continental scholars to the various writings of Prof. de Lacouperie and to his opinions on the derivation of the Chinese civilisation from Western Asia.

The following books may be noticed:—Schlegel, *Nederl. Chin. Woord. boek. Deel. iii. Afl. 3, 1884*:—Gabelenz, G. v., *Anfangsgründe d. Chines. Grammatik*, an excellent little

grammar simplified from his larger work :—Edkins, J., *Religion in China*, 2nd Ed. :—St. Denys, Hervey de, *Matouan-lin*, *Ethnographie des Peuples Etrangers* : David, *Journal d'Exploration dans l'Empire Chinois* :—McGowan, J., *Engl. and Chin. Dicty. of the Amoy Dialects* :—Do., *Manual of the Amoy Colloquial* :—Ball, T. Dyer, *Easy Sentences in the Hakka Dialect* :—Do., *Cantonese made Easy* :—Nocentini, *Il santo editto di K'añ-hi*, versione Mancese :—Richtshofen, F. von, *China*, vol. iv. *Paleont.* :—Francken, J. J. C., en Grys, C. F. M. de, *Chineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek van het Emoi Dialect* :—Cordier, *Consulat de France à Hué* :—Do., *Bibliotheca Sinica* Tome 2. fasc. 2 :—Contenson, Baron de, *Chine et L'Extrême Orient* :—M. Jametel has received the *Prix Stanislas Julien* for his work entitled “*L'Eucre dans la Chine* ;” —and M. Terrien de Lacouperie has been appointed Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology in University College, London.

Japan.—A considerable number of essays, reviews, and books have been issued during the last year on subjects connected with Japan, to some of which we shall briefly refer here. Thus, in the *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, XV. 3, Chamberlain, B. H., writes *On two questions of Japanese Archæology* :—in the *Athenæum* (June 2) is an excellent review of the “*Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, A.D. 1615-22*,” which has been edited for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. E. M. Thompson. We, also, learn (Oct. 20) that many of Mr. Herbert Spencer's works have been translated into Japanese, and, also, that, in the University of Tokio, they, along with other European works, are studied in the originals. From May 31, we, also, learn that an interesting collection of early printed books from Japan and Corea has been offered for purchase to the Trustees of the British Museum. The earliest specimen is a Buddhist *Dáráni*, enclosed in a small wooden model of a

Pagoda, which was printed by order of the Empress Shiyautoku in the latter half of the eighth century A.D. There are, also, copies of Buddhist works issued during the following centuries, together with native editions of Chinese works, beginning with the "Confucian Discourses" (A.D. 1364), the first non-Buddhist work printed in Japan.

In the *Academy* (Aug. 18) is a review by Mr. Monkhouse, of Mr. E. G. Holtsman's "Eight Years in Japan," a work, perhaps, not of great literary merit, but, as a description of the people he met with, thoroughly reliable:—and in March 29, 1884, the same reviewer notices, with high praise, the "Japan" of Prof. J. J. Rein, the valuable outcome of travels and researches undertaken at the cost of the Prussian Government in the years 1874 and 1875.

In the *Annales de l'Extrême Orient* (August, 1883), M. Meyners D'Estrey writes on Japanese Anthropology:—and in October, December, and February, 1884, M. Pierre Bons D'Anty gives three articles entitled "Les Divisions Territoriales du Japon, Géographiques, Politiques et Administratives," which are interesting as giving brief but clear summaries of the matters with which they deal. In February, is a notice of a new Society, called Kana-no-Khwai, the object of which is to eliminate from the Japanese language, as far as possible, the Chinese characters which materially add to the difficulty of its study. The Society proposes in future to make use of only the Kana or Indigenous Alphabet, which comprises 48 distinct characters.

In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Prof. B. S. Lyman has a paper On the Japanese Nigori of Composition. Among miscellaneous papers may be mentioned Pfizmaier, A., Untersuchungen über Aina-gegenstände (Sitzbericht. Wien. Akad.):—Rosny, L. de, Memorial sur l'Antiquité Japonaise (Mélanges Orient.):—Müller-Beeck, F. G., Gesch. d. Liukiu Inseln nach Japan (Berl. Ges. f. Anthropol.):—Brauns, D., Die Ainos der Insel Yezo (ibid.):—Art Manufactures in

Japan (Builder, xlv. No. 2111):—and, in the *Chrysanthemum*, iii. 3, Chamberlain, B. H., Notes on Japanese Philosophy:—Brinkley, F., The Story of the Riukiu (Loochoo) complication, and The House of Karoda:—Dixon, J. M., The Aino Language:—and Dr. Groth, Higher Education in Japan, transl. from the German by C. S. Ely. Among miscellaneous books, we may mention Cotteau, E., *De Paris au Japon en quatre-vingt-dix Jours*:—Audsley, G. A., *The Ornamental Arts of Japan*, part i.:—Crowe, A. H., *Highways and Byeways in Japan*:—Griffis, W. E., *Corea, the Hermit Nation*:—Dresser, C., *Japan, its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufacture*:—and a new Edition of “Murray’s Handbook for Japan,” drawn up by E. M. Satow, Esq., M.R.A.S., now H.M. Agent and Consul-General at Bangkok, and Lieut. A. G. S. Hawes, R.A., and F. A. J. von Langezsg, *Japanische Thee-geschichten*:—*Fu-sô-châ-wa*,—a series of Miscellaneous Essays. In the “*Mélanges Orientaux*,” M. Léon de Rosny gives “*Ko-zi-ki, Mémorial de l’Antiquité Japonaise*.”

Further India and Malayo-Polynesia.—To the “*Annales de l’Extrême Orient*,” with its now additional title “*et de l’Afrique*,” as on former occasions, we are indebted for many notices of the Islands, etc., to the East of India Proper. What, however, we have to record, from this source, is, this year, comparatively little, as, unfortunately, a large part of this once valuable Journal is now given to Politics, not to say Polemics, into which we cannot enter: this new plan mars, too, its value as a record of literary work. Taking, then, as little heed as possible to International Politics, the following articles may be noticed:—Thus, in the July number, agreeably with the new title of this work, we have an account of Madagascar by M. Charles Grémieux, accompanied by an useful and well-executed Map of the Island:—In August, the same writer deals with what he calls “*Le Second Canal de Suez*.” There is, also, a

brief notice of the New Hebrides and of a Birmese Embassy recently arrived in Paris. At the end of it, Dr. Harmand briefly replies to some of the views put forth by Mr. A. H. Keane, in the "Annales" for Feb. and March of last year. In September, M. de Fonville has a good paper entitled "La Justice aux Indes Orientales Néerlandaises," p. 65.

In October, M. Leon Féer gives a pleasant résumé of the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden:—There is, also, a notice of "Binh-Thuan, nouvelle province Française," a brief sketch of the "Marquis Tseng," with a notice of two useful books of their class, M. Paul Deschanel's "La question du Tongkin," and of M. Bouinai's "La Cochinchine contemporaine."

In November, is a very interesting Memoir of Dr. A. J. C. Geerts, who has been known for the last 14 years, as one of the most eminent Europeans in Japan—together with a notice of the discovery of the scene of the massacre of the ill-fated La Perouse and of his companions. The December Number, with the exception of a brief article on the Volcanic action of Krakatau, is entirely political. In January 1884, is a further account of the misdeeds of Krakatau and a good notice of M. Gautier's "Les Français au Tonkin 1787-1883."—We learn, also, that, apropos of the last Oriental Congress at Leyden, L'Institut Royal des Indes Néerlandaises has published four volumes of importance for the history of the Extreme East, 1. Essais de poesie Boughis et Macassar, par la Dr. B. T. Matthes; 2. Histoire de Nanette, texte Boughis, etc., par G. K. Niemann; and two vols. of the Memoires de l'Institut.—The February Number contains nothing of any interest. That of March contains a good article by M. Dubard entitled, "La Legislation Cambodgienne,"—and one by M. Léon Féer (all that this scholar writes is worthy of attention) on "Les Trentedeux Récits du Trone, ou les merveilleux exploits de Vikramaditya, traduits du Bengali."—In the number for April, M. Valabrigue gives a paper, "Sur la littérature

Annamite," and there is, also, a brief notice of the Oasis of Merv.

Of the excellent collection published by the French Government at Saïgon, under the title "Cochin-chine Française, Excursions et Reconnaissances," several numbers have appeared, the most important of which is an able "Etude sur la Littérature Annamite," by Mr. L. Villard, who gives long quotations translated from the original texts (No. xii. pp. 446-491). In the "Mélanges Orientaux," M. des Michels prints Kem Vân Kiên Truỳn, poème Annamite, avec traduction.

Egyptology.—The work of the last year and the discoveries made in it have so far surpassed that of any similar period of the same length, that it is impossible within our limits to do more than allude to many matters, each of which really deserves a careful study and a full record. As on former occasions, we can only note the more important papers that have been issued during the last year, with a list of books, etc. Thus, in the Proceedings of the Biblical Archæological Society, May 1, 1883, is a letter from Mr. Le Page Renouf "On mythological figures on an Egyptian papyrus:"—June 5, a letter from Prof. Pleyte "On Mr. Revillout's notice of The Papyrus-Dodgson:"—and in the same number, a communication from Mr. Cope Whitehouse "On his Researches in the Moeris Basin" and what, he (probably) alone, thinks, these demonstrate:—In Dec. 4, Jan. 8, Feb. 5, March 4 and April 1, are a series of papers "On Hypocephali by Dr. Birch and Mr. De Horrack. The plates of the objects, which are perfect as specimens of art, have been drawn on stone by the Sec. B.A.S., Mr. W. H. Rylands, M.R.A.S., F.S.A.:—Mr. Le Page Renouf contributes two papers, the first "On two Egyptian prepositions," Feb. 5; the second, "On the bow in the Egyptian Sky," March 4. In the *Transactions* of the Society, vol. viii. pt. 1, M. Revillout prints, "Les

Anathèmes d'une Mère Payenne contre son fils devenu Chrétienne," and "Pièces relatives à une mariage du temps de Darius:"—in Part 2, Dr. Birch has a paper "On a Tablet in the British Museum relating to two Architects," and Mr. Le Page Renouf, one, "On Egyptian Mythology, particularly with reference to Mist and Cloud." Again, from the *Athenæum*, June 30, we learn that H.H. the Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, the brother of the Khedive, is preparing a bibliography of Printed Books, MSS., etc., relating to the Political and Social life of Egypt from the earliest to the present times:—In the same number, in July 21, and in Aug. 18, Signor Lanciani gives the wonderful tale of the recent discoveries in Rome on the site of the Iseum:—In July 7, is a good review of Dr. Birch's very complete catalogue of "The Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle"; and we also learn that he is far advanced with his "Hieroglyphic Dictionary."

In March 1 is a review of Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie's "The Pyramids and Temples of Ghizeh," which is interesting as all works on such a subject must be, which are original. Mr. Petrie's measurements are, probably, superior to those of any of his predecessors; we are, therefore, glad to learn that the Royal Society has granted to him £100, in aid of further researches.

In March 22 is a notice of the Report of "The Commission for the Preservation of the Monuments of Cairo," for whom our Member, E. T. Rogers Bey, has worked so zealously—the object of the Commission being simply to see to *necessary* repairs, not, as has been ruinously done in India, to *restore* or *rebuild*.

In April 26 is a brief notice of Mr. J. Loftie's "Essay on Scarabs,"—a useful manual for collectors, who, we hear, are more likely to secure the objects themselves than the book intended for their description, as the number of copies issued has been strangely limited.

In the *Academy* we find, as usual, a prominent attention paid to Egyptian matters, the invaluable correspondent of this Journal, Miss Edwards, having given to it quite as many and quite as interesting communications as last year. We will take these in their regular order. Thus, in June 23, Miss Edwards gives a useful review (in that she points out what "The Book of the Dead" really is) of Prof. W. Pleyte's "Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts":—In July 21, she calls attention to some important metrical results with reference to the Ancient Empire and the Measurements of the Great Pyramid, recently arrived at by M. Grébaut, adding that M. Maspero has just found a new copy of the so-called "Decree of Canopus," and, also, the Sarcophagus of Psammetichus II.:—In Nov. 10 she reviews Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie's "Pyramids and Temples of Ghizeh," and shows its real value as sweeping away once and for all the notions about a "sacred cubit," a "Pyramid inch," and any number of other affected "symbolisms":—In Dec. 8 she gives, under the title "Egyptian Jottings," much information as to the doings of MM. Maspero and Pleyte, and a résumé of the last fasciculus of "Etudes Egyptiennes":—in Jan. 10, 1884, she contributes a very clear notice of M. Maspero's "Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq;"—and in Feb. 16, a pleasant sketch of four American books or papers referring to Egypt:—in Feb. 23 she points out how much destruction is still being done to Egyptian Monuments, etc., chiefly by the ignorance of the petty local officials, limestone for building purposes and for the kiln being ruthlessly taken from any ruins within reach of river-transport: in March 22 she reviews Mr. Loftie's "Essay on Scarabs."

In April 26, Miss Edwards records M. Maspero's discovery of an "entire necropolis, the mere existence of which has remained unsuspected by tomb-breakers and depredators ancient and modern." The Necropolis thus discovered seems

to belong to the Greek period, but was, almost certainly, constructed upon earlier entombments.—As an idea of the value of the “find,” it is enough to state that five vaults only contained as many as 120 mummies, and that these were all uninjured. M. Maspero has also found, quite perfect, the tomb of Pepi I. (6th Dyn.) :—In May 3, Miss Edwards gives a further report of Mr. Flinders Petrie’s last achievement, “The discovery of the Necropolis of Tanis,” but the details far exceed our space, though exceedingly worthy of careful study. Lastly, Miss Edwards writes, May 31, on what she well calls “A Colossus of Colossi,” being Mr. Petrie’s account of the fragments he has found of a granite Colossus of Rameses II., which had been cut up for building purposes by one of the rulers of the 26th Dynasty. The fragments he has found show that the original statue must have been nearly one hundred feet high, as tall, indeed, as the Colossi at Bamian. “The great toe, alone,” he says, “measures eighteen inches across.” He adds that only “small pieces of a few tons each are now to be seen.”

We learn further (June 16) that the Louvre has recently acquired from the Posno Collection a bronze statuette of great beauty and early date :—and in July 7 and August 18, M. Barnabei gives notices of the recent discoveries in Rome of Egyptian antiquities, which should be read along with those of M. Lanciani, already referred to.

In Sept. 15, is a notice of Prof. Merriam’s paper “On the Greek and Latin Inscriptions,” on the bronze Crab of the Obelisk recently removed to New York ; and, in Oct. 6, is a letter from M. Naville, M.R.A.S., controverting, but in his own kind manner, some previous views of the veteran Lepsius, “On Pithom and Ramses.” We have much pleasure in adding that the “Hawk and the Statue of the Recorder of Pithom,” found by M. Naville, are now (as the gift of Sir Erasmus Wilson and of the Egyptian Exploration Fund) in the British

Museum. In Jan. 19, Prof. Sayce writes from Abydos, announcing the discovery of a tomb of the XIIIth Dynasty, near Siût, and stating that the tombs in the cliff behind the Citadel of Cairo are not older than the time of Augustus.—In Feb. 2, is a further letter from Prof. Sayce, dated Luxor, Jan. 7, which has only to be read, to be appreciated. To March 15, Mr. R. S. Poole contributes Mr. Flinders Petrie's own description of his remarkable discoveries in "The Great Temple of San," of the highest interest as showing how much, after more than 2000 years of wilful destruction, there still remains, in Egypt, to reward the honest explorer; see, also, in April 5, a capital letter from M. Naville on the same subject.—In the same Number, is an energetic letter from M. Renan urging support to M. Maspero in his great labours in Egyptian excavation. M. Renan's letter commences with the words, "La conservation des monuments de l'Égypte importe à l'humanité tout entière"—and, concludes, no less characteristically, "Ajoutons que l'honneur de la France s'y trouve engagée."—Lastly, in July 21, Mr. R. S. Poole demolishes Mr. Cope Whitehouse, and his vagaries about Lake Moeris; and, in Sept. 22, satisfactorily answers Prof. Lepsius's contention that M. Naville has not found "the Pithom of the Bible," though what the latter scholar has advanced "rests on the unimpeachable testimony of monuments dug up on the spot."—In a still later paper (May 24, 1884) Mr. Poole conveys to us the welcome news that Dr. Brugsch fully and unreservedly accepts M. Naville's discovery.

In the *Z.D.M.G.* is a paper by Dr. A. Erman, entitled *Eine Aegyptisch Statuette* (37. 3).

In the *Journal Asiatique* M. Maspero (Oct.-Nov.-Dec. p. 533) gives an account of an Egyptian inscription of 6000 lines, recently discovered by him.

From the *Rev. Crit.* we learn that, in M. Royet's *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, livrs. 3, 4, there are many beautiful

specimens of Egyptian art, with descriptions by M. Maspero. In. Jan. 7, 1884, is a notice of M. Maspero's "Conference sur la vie populaire à Thebes sous les Rois de la XIXe Dynastie":—in April 7, is the substance of M. Renan's appeal in favour of the preservation of Egyptian monuments. Lastly, in May 5, we have a notice of M. Maspero's forthcoming Guide to the Museum at Boulaq.

The *Révue Egyptologique* continues to publish many valuable and well-illustrated papers. Thus, IIIe Ann. No. 1, contains papers by M. Revillout and the late M. Chabas, with a notice of the recent additions to the Egyptian Museum in the Louvre:—Sybil, L. v., also, writes, *Kritik d. Aegypt. Ornaments*. IIIe Ann. No. 2, has a second letter from M. Revillout to M. Lenormant, "Sur les Monnaies Egyptiennes," and a paper by MM. Revillout et Krall, "La vie d'artiste ou de Bohème en Egypte, fragment d'un poème Satyrique." Three parts have been issued of the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde*, containing papers by MM. Lepsius, Erman, Stern, Naville, Dumichen, Lefébure, Maspero, Wiedemann, and others.

Of miscellaneous books, the following may be noted: Lagarde, P. de, *Aegyptiaca*:—Prato, *La leggenda del Tesoro di Ramsinite*:—Lemm, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*:—Linke, A. A., *Skizze d. Aelt-Aegypt. Lit.*:—Wiedemann, A., *Aelt-Aegyptische wörter von Klass. Autoren*:—and, by the same, *Aelt-Aegypt. Gesch. 1. Abth.*:—Landmehrer, *Papyrus Bero-linensis*:—Maspero, *Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire, vol. 4*:—*Guide du visiteur du Musée de Boulaq*:—and, *Etudes Egyptiennes, fasc. 3*:—Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscr. Ægypt. Abtheil. 3*:—Loftie, *Essay on Scarabs*:—Dr. Birch, *Cat. of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick*:—Lenormant, F., *Civilisation, Mœurs et Mons. de l'Egypte* (vol. 3 of *Histoire Ancienne*):—Schia-parelli, *Monumenti Egiziani rinvenuti di recente in Roma*.

Epigraphy.—The most important work of the last year has

been the publication of the second part of the great French "Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum," which was, as we ventured to anticipate (Report 1883, p. cxvii), presented to the Oriental Congress at Leyden on Sept. 10. It is needless to discuss its merits here: suffice it, that the grand work done by the French scholars in 1882 has been thoroughly well sustained, in their last publication, tomus i. fasc. 2. This fasciculus is illustrated by a volume of plates, xv-xxxvi, quite equal to those issued with the first part. We trust that a work, so justly appreciated by all true scholars, may be successfully carried out with as little delay as possible.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, Mr. Fleet has continued his valuable researches, and has published Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Nos. 127-145:—to Professor Bühler we, also, owe a notice of the Dhiniki Grant of King Jâikadeva (June); of the Rathor Grants No. 3 (July); of that of Dharanivahâra of Vadhvân (ibid); and of the Ilichpur Grant of Pravaraséna II. of Vakataka (Sept.). In July is a paper by H. H. Dhruva, on a copper-plate grant of King Trilochanapala Chalukya of Latudesa, dated Saka 972, A.D. 1050. In the same number Dr. A. F. H. Hoernle replies, and most courteously, to the views promulgated by Prof. Bhandarkar with reference to the Gatha Dialects, and Mr. Rehatsek writes on an epitaph from Aden. In August Mr. Fleet deals with Rajapitamahâ, the Silahara title:—and, in October, is a continuation of M. S nart's papers under the title of the "Column Inscription of Piyadasi." From Dr. Hultsch, we have a notice of "A grant of Krishna II. of Ankulesvar, dated A.D. 888: of Karnata Grants No. 1: A grant of Venkata II., A.D. 1636: A note on a Bhauma-Yantra: and, Karnata Grants, No. 2, a grant of Ranga II., dated A.D. 1644-5.

In January, 1884, the Rev. T. Foulkes gives an account of the "Grant of the Bana King Vikramaditya II.":—in February, S. M. Nat sa Sastri Pandit, describes "Two

Eastern Chalukya Copper Plates":—and the Editor, Dr. Burgess, "Two Tamil Copper Plate Grants."

In March, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, Hon. M.R.A.S., gives a notice of a "New Gurjara Copper Plate Grant: and Mr. K. B. Pathik of "An Old Canarese Inscription of Hadali." In April, Mr. K. T. Telang writes on "The date of Sankarâchârya." In May, Prof. Kielhorn describes "Three Inscriptions from Kanheri.

In the *Proceedings of Biblical Archæological Society* is a paper by M. Alex. Ermann "On the origin of the Cypriote Syllabary" (May, 1883):—and, in June, one by Mr. W. H. Rylands, M.R.A.S., "On the Aleppo Inscription," with an excellently executed folding plate:—in the same number, is, also, a paper by Mr. E. A. Budge, M.R.A.S., "On some Himyaritic Inscriptions presented to the British Museum by Major W. Hunter." In Nov. Dr. W. Wright, of Cambridge, gives an account of a Samaritan Inscription, now in the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical Society; and of some inscribed stones from Palmyra. Mr. Rylands, also, notices a Cylinder belonging to the Rev. H. E. Reichardt, bearing a brief Phœnician Inscription, the purport of which is doubtful.—In March 4, is a letter from M. Berger "On the Phœnician Inscriptions in the British Museum": M. Ganneau gives a paper "On a Hebrew Inscription from the Necropolis at Joppa," and Mr. Rylands a drawing of a Hittite Inscription formerly at Aleppo. In the *Z.D.M.G.*, 37. 2, Dr. Bühler writes "Beiträge zur erklärang d. Asoka Inschriften":—with a further paper on the same subject in pt. 3; and, in the same part, M. von Stichel has a paper "Zur Orientalischen Sphragistik."—In part 2, also, D. H. Müller deals with Sabæan Inscriptions collected by Siegfried Länger, who was murdered in 1882.—In pt. 4, M. Euting has a paper entitled "Epigraphisches," with three plates of Phœnician Inscriptions: Hultzsch deals with Inscriptions from Amravati, and Bühler continues his article above noticed.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, Febr.-Mars, M. Ganneau writes on Sceaux et Cachets, Israélites, Phéniciens et Syriens:—M. Barth on an “Inscription Sanscrite de Han Chey” :—M. Sénart continues his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* [ch. 3^{me}] Dhauli et Jaugada:—De Vogüé writes on “*Inscriptions Palmyreniennes inédites*” discovered recently by Prince Lazarew:—and M. Renan, “*Sur deux Monuments Epigraphiques d’Edesse.*”—In April-Mai-Juin, M. Aymonier gives “*Quelques Notions sur les Inscriptions en vieux Khmer*” : and, p. 524, Ganneau puts forth the suggestion that the Inscription of Esmunazar is later than Alexander.

In Août-Sept., De Vogüé and Aymonier continue their papers ; and MM. J. and H. Derenbourg print *Études sur l’Epigraphie du Yémen* : In Oct.-Nov.-Dec., M. Rubens Duval comments on M. de Vogüé’s Palmyrene inscriptions, and M. de Vogüé gives a note in reply.—In January, 1884, M. Halévy criticizes severely the “*Inscriptions Sabéennes*” of MM. J. and H. Derenbourg.

In the *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Feb. 1883, Mr. E. V. Westmacott, M.R.A.S., contributes a rubbing of a Kutila Inscription of Mahi Pál Deb from Monghyr, Messrs. Rajendra Mitra and G. A. Grierson adding some remarks :—and in March, Rajendra Mitra notices “A Sanskrit inscription from Deoghár (see also, *Journal*, lii. 1. 2, p. 186, etc.).

In the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xvi. No. 42, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, writes “On a New Copper-Plate Grant of the Chalukya Dynasty found at Navsâri” :—with two papers, “On New Copper-Plate Grants of the Rashtrakûta Dynasty,” Parts 1, 2 :—Mr. J. B. Fleet, M.R.A.S., publishes “A Godavari Copper-Plate Grant of the Raja Prithivimula” :—and Surgeon-Major O. Codrington, M.R.A.S., contributes a very valuable paper “On the seals of the Satâra Kingdom.”

At the Meeting of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, May,

M. Renan presented a Carthaginian Inscription (tarif des Sacrifices), found by M. Delattre (see antè, Berger. Proc. Bibl. Arch. Soc., March 4):—Aug. 24, M. Ledrain notices a Phœnician Inscription in the Louvre:—and, in Aug. 31, Ganneau speaks of some Phœnician Monuments in the British Museum:—in Sept. 14, M. Ledrain deals with “An Aramæan Inscription”:—In Feb. 8, 1884, M. Berger reads a “Note sur quelques Stèles Phéniciennes trouvés à Hadrumete,” with a further notice on Feb. 22:—In March 14, is an important reading by M. Sènant of the oldest Religious Edict of Asoka, first published in 1877: M. Sènant agrees with MM. Bühler and Oldenberg:—On April 9, M. Renan gives Punic Inscriptions on *amphori* discovered by M. Delattre. In the *Journal des Savants*, July, the late M. F. Lenormant writes “Les Inscriptions Hittites,” being a review of an article by Prof. Sayce in “Fraser,” Aug. 1880, and in vol. vii. of the Trans. Bibl. Archæol. Soc. This must have been one of the latest papers he completed.

The most important separate book published during last year (after the French ‘Corpus,’ already alluded to) is Mr. Euting’s *Sammlung d. Karthagischen Inschriften*, at present plates only:—M. de Vogüé has also published his “Inscriptions Palmyreniennes inédites,” and M. Amador de los Rios, *Memoria acerca de algunas inscripciones Arabigas de España y Portugal*:—E. T. Rogers Bey has, also, printed a brief “Mémoire sur certaines Inscriptions en caractères Coufiques carrés. In the last list of presents we acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Isaac Taylor’s “The Alphabet,” which is a mine of general information of what other scholars have done before him, with many clever and acute suggestions, the result of his own extensive reading and research. The long discussion on this intricate subject at the Leyden Congress shows, however, that scholars have not as yet made up their minds about the origin of the Alphabet, used in the general sense of this word. In the *Athenæum* of July, 1883, is a

long and able review of Dr. E. Müller's Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon; and, from the same Journal, we hear that there is now good hope that the Acad. d. Inscriptions will be able to publish the collection of Arabic Inscriptions collected, during several years, with such zeal by Mr. Doughty.

Numismatics.—The record, this year, for Numismatics, is not so full as on former occasions; but we may note, in the *Academy*, Aug. 11, an important paper by E. T. Rogers Bey, entitled "A new Revelation on Early Kufic Coins," the point being that the French collection has been recently enriched, from that formerly in the possession of Soubhi Pasha, by several dirhams, one earlier by 37 years than any one previously known. In Jan. 5, Mr. S. L. Poole, M.R.A.S., gives a full and careful review of M. Sauvaire's "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes," a collected volume of papers originally published in the *Journal Asiatique*. At a meeting of the American Oriental Society, a letter was read from W. W. Rockhill, M.R.A.S., inclosing a rubbing of a coin with a Neu-chih Inscription from China, the legend of which has not yet been deciphered.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. 3, 1883, has been published a "Catalogue of the Collection of Muhammadan Coins, Pt. 1, The Coins of the Eastern Khalîfeh," from the collection of E. T. Rogers Bey, M.R.A.S.:—Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie has contributed a valuable paper on "The Old Numerals, the Counting-Rods, and the Swan-pan in China:—and, in Pt. 1, for 1884, Mr. S. L. Poole has written a paper entitled, "The Arabian historians of Mohammedan Numismatics," which is, in fact, the substance of M. Sauvaire's work, "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes."

In the *Journ. of the Bengal Asiatic Society* (lii. pt. 1,

No. 2) Mr. C. J. Rodgers gives a paper on "The Rupees of the Months of the Iláhi years of Akbar," and, in lii. pt. 1, No. 3, Dr. A. F. Hoernle describes "A New Find of Muhammadan Coins in Bengal." In the Proceedings of the same Society (March) Dr. Hoernle describes some rupees of Shams-ud-din Ilyás, and of Sikandar Sháh ben Ilyás, and a coin of Sikandar Sháh from a hitherto unknown Mint, Chawalstan in Assam:—in April, Mr. Gibbs exhibited and read a note on some gold Ramtinkis:—in May and June Dr. Hoernle exhibited and described a collection of Durráni coins sent by Mr. Longworth Dames, M.R.A.S. from Derá Ismáíl Khan, with two letters from Mr. Dames: and Mr. C. J. Rodgers published (with an engraving) a Nisár of Shah Jahan in the Museum at Dehli. In July, August and November are notices of coins recently acquired under the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act. Dr. Hoernle, also, exhibited an interesting gold coin found in the ruins of Gaur, and believed to be one of Shír Sháh, and, also, two gold coins procured by Mr. Rivett Carnac, one of which, of the Gupta series, has been presented by him to the British Museum. Dr. Hoernle, also, described a new find of Muhammadan Coins of Bengal, including hitherto unknown ones of Mahmud Shah I. and of Barbak Sháh. In December is a full abstract of the important and long-expected paper by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, M.R.A.S., entitled "A classified and detailed Catalogue of the Gold Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India," which will shortly appear in full in the Journal:—lastly, in January, 1884, Mr. C. T. Rodgers contributes a paper "On some Coins of Ranjit Deo, King of Jummá, a hundred years ago."

In the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. xvi. No. 42, are papers by Lieut.-Col. Prideaux, on the Coins of the Benu Rasool Dynasty of South Arabia:—Part 4 of Mr. Gerson da Cunha's Contributions to the Study of Portuguese Numismatics:—On some rare Coins of the

Amawee Khaleefehs, by Surgeon-Major O. Codrington, M.D., M.R.A.S.:—On the Coinage of El Harar in East Africa, by Lieut.-Col. Prideaux, and “On Copper Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty,” by Surgeon-Major O. Codrington, M.D., M.R.A.S.

Of books, the only one we have this year to notice as of importance is that by Mr. S. L. Poole, 8th vol. of the “Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum,” containing chiefly a description of the Coins of the Ottoman Turks, with a notice of the Crimean war medals, and a table drawn up by E. J. W. Gibbs, M.R.A.S., showing the growth and chief divisions of the Ottoman Empire. The *Cat. d. Num. Afdeeling van het Museum Batav. Genootschap tweede druk* (published, it would seem, in 1877, but only just to hand) is interesting for its coins of the Extreme East.

The Trustees of the British Museum have bought the collection of Chinese Coins made by C. T. Gardner, Esq., M.R.A.S., H.M. Consul, Ichang.

Mr. Barclay V. Head, M.R.A.S., has received the *Prix-Hauteroche* this year.

Africa.—There is comparatively little to record under this head on this occasion, but M. Berthoud has given in the *Journal of this Society*, Vol. XVI. Pt. 1, a “Grammatical Note on the Gwamba Language of South Africa.” In the *Journal Asiatique*, Avril-Mai-Juin, M. Basset gives “Notes sur Lexicographie Berbère.” Some useful books have been published; of these, the most valuable is Mr. R. N. Cust’s *Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa*, a comprehensive account of the 591 Languages and Dialects of the whole continent of Africa, with a language-map and thirty-one autotype portraits. We have, also, by J. Payne, *A Grebo Grammar*, one of the dialects spoken by the Agau in Abyssinia:—M. Schuchardt has published a *Grammatical Note of the Negro-Portuguese patois of the Island of St. Thomas*; and, also,

of that of Benguela. The Soc. Prom. Christ. Knowledge has printed a third edition of Bp. Steere's Suahili Hand-book.

*Selections from the Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Progress in the work of Translation and Revision (1883-1884).—Amoy Colloquial (in Roman Character).—*The Old Testament is now completed, the version having been made by the Amoy Missionaries, from the Delegates' version, for Amoy and Formosa.

Amharic.—The Bible, as revised by the late Dr. Krapf, has been corrected chiefly for printer's mistakes, etc. The book will be reprinted in paragraph form.

Arabic.—The Rev. Dr. Van Dyck, the translator of the Arabic Bible, is now carefully reading the vowelled and unvowelled editions of this Bible.

Ararat - Armenian.—Mr. Amirkhanianz is engaged at Tifis in preparing many references and chapter-headings for the Bible, by the aid of Dr. Scrivener's Edition of the Authorized Version.

Bengali.—A Representative Committee has translated the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

Baluchi.—The Rev. A. Lewis has translated the Gospel of St. Matthew.

Chamba.—The Gospel of St. Matthew has been published in the Hill dialect of Chamba, and a considerable portion of the Gospel of St. John has been translated. The character used is called Thakari, and is a modification of the Devanagari, the dialect being distinctly Sanskritic. The translation was made by Sohan Lal, pastor of the native church, and himself a native of Chamba, from the Hindi text, compared with the Panjabi and English. The translation will probably be useful as far westward as Jammu, and also throughout a large portion of the valley of the Chenab in the hills.

Canton-Colloquial.—The Committee have authorized the printing of a new edition of the Psalms by Dr. Graves.

Corean.—Mr. Ross has progressed steadily during the year in the work of translation, revision, and publication, and several of the earlier translations have been re-translated and revised.

Dahome.—The Rev. T. J. Marshall, of Porto Novo, has completed his version of the Gospel of St. Matthew. There are several Popa dialects between the Volta and Lagos, but it is believed that with the Ewe for the Westerly part and Mr. Marshall's Dahome version for the Eastern, we shall have all we really need.

Ewe.—The Rev. T. J. Marshall, of Porto Novo, hopes to complete the revision of St. Matthew very soon.

Fanti.—The New Testament has been translated as far as the Epistle of St. John by Mr. Parker. The translation has been chiefly made from the Authorized English Version, compared with the Otji version.

Fijian.—The Bible has been completed.

Greco-Turkish.—The Revision of the Turkish Bible in Greek characters, which was begun in 1881, has been completed.

Gujarati.—A Committee has been engaged during the year in the revision of the New Testament, preparatory to printing a new edition.

Hebrew.—Dr. Delitzsch continues unremittingly the improvement of his version of the New Testament. The Committee have resolved to print an edition in 8vo. to match their 8vo. Old Testament.

Javanese.—The Rev. P. Jaulz, of Japara, has translated the Gospel of St. Luke, and begun that of St. Matthew.

Jaghatai Turkish.—The Rev. James Bassett, of Tehran, has revised his Gospel of St. Matthew for the Committee, and a new edition is being carried through the press by Mr. Amirkhanianz of Tiflis.

Japanese.—The translation of the Old Testament has made steady progress throughout the year. Since the last report

I. Kings and II. Samuel have been translated, by the Rev. P. K. Fyson, C.M.S., and printed and circulated. Dr. Hepburn has translated the Book of Jeremiah, and this has also been published.

Kabyle.—With a view to securing as accurate a version as possible, Dr. Sauerwein was sent out to Algiers by the Committee. He has returned with a version of the Gospel of St. John, made from the French by an Arab who assisted Père Olivier with his Kabyle-French Dictionary. Dr. Sauerwein is now revising the Gospel from the Greek, and this will shortly be sent to press.

Kaffir.—The Revisers began work April 3rd, 1869, and completed the New Testament March 4th, 1874. The revised New Testament has been printed. From July 8th, 1874, to Jan. 22nd, 1882, the Old Testament was revised up to Jeremiah xxvi., and Genesis and the Psalms have been published tentatively.

Khasi.—The printing of the Pentateuch has gone on under the care of the Rev. William Lewis of Wrexham. The revised MS. for which the printing of the Pocket New Testament was suspended, is now completed.

Kazan Tartar.—The Gospel of St. Matthew, translated by M. Saleman, has been published.

Kalmuck.—The Committee have authorized the publication of an edition of 2000 copies of the New Testament, prepared by Prof. Pozdnajeff, and new type has been cut at the expense of the Society. This book will be a companion volume to the Mongolian New Testament.

Lifuan.—The work of translation and revision has gone on steadily during the year.

Malagasi.—During the year the work of revision has gone on uninterruptedly at Antananarivo.

Multani (or Derwâl).—Dr. A. Jukes, of Dera Ghazi Khan, Col. Millett, of the Punjab Police Force, and the Rev. T. Bomford, C.M.S., are engaged in translating the New

Testament into Multani or Derwâl, which is spoken by 1,600,000 at least.

Persian.—The Committee have agreed to print an edition of 2000 copies of the Gospel of St. Mark, slightly revised by Dr. Bruce. Dr. Bruce has also revised the Books of Genesis and Exodus, and part of the Book of Psalms.

Rarotongan.—The Rev. W. Wyatt-Gill, who has had forty years experience among the islands of the Pacific, is now engaged on a thorough revision of the Rarotonga Bible.

Swahili.—Archdeacon Hodgson, of the Universities' Mission, has carried through the press the Book of Genesis. The translation was the work of the late Bishop Steere, and a portion has been printed tentatively at Zanzibar. The Book of Joshua is about to be published from a version made by Archdeacon Hodgson with the aid of a native of Zanzibar, once a slave, now a student at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. This version will be the first translation of the Book of Joshua in any East African language.

Telugu.—The Book of Exodus has been revised the second time, and Leviticus and Numbers prepared for the press. Drs. Hay and Chamberlain have been appointed to bring Genesis in style and phraseology into harmony with the style adopted in the rest of the Pentateuch. Genesis is printed, and a portion of Deuteronomy. Dr. Hay also has made a thorough revision of his new translation of the Book of Proverbs, which has been published, and is well received both by Hindus and Christians. A tentative edition of the Revised New Testament has been issued in brevier type.

Tibetan.—The Rev. H. A. Jaeschke, the greatest of Tibetan scholars, died last year while passing the revision of his version, by Messrs. Hyde and Redslob, through the press. The Committee have consented to the proofs being read by the Rev. Mr. Reichelt, who worked many

years on Jaeschke's Dictionary, and by the Rev. Dr. S. C. Malan.

Trans-Caucasian-Turkish (Azerbaijan).—Mr. Amirkhanianz has completed the translation of the Bible.

Turkish.—The Rev. R. H. Wankley and Drs. Rigg and Herrick have continued their revision of the Bible throughout the year.

Yoruba.—The printing of the Bible, which was being carried through the press by the Rev. D. Hindever for this Society, has now been completed.

Encyclopædia Britannica [Ninth Edition].—In this publication, vol. xv., are the following Essays bearing on the history, etc., of Asia and of the East, viz. Mencius, by the Rev. Dr. Legge, M.R.A.S.:—Merv, by Major F. C. Clarke, R.A., M.R.A.S.:—Mesopotamia, by Prof. A. Socin:—Micah, by Prof. Robertson-Smith:—Micronesia, by Coutts Trotter, Esq., M.R.A.S.:—Midrash and Mishnah, by Prof. Szinessy:—Moab, by Prof. Wellhausen:—Moallakat, by Prof. Nöldeke:—Mohammedanism [Mohammed by Wellhausen; Eastern Caliphate, by Stan. Guyard; Koran, by Prof. Prof. Nöldeke]:—Mongol, by Prof. Douglas, M.R.A.S., and Prof. Jülg:—Morocco, by H. A. Webster:—Moses of Khorene, by Von Gutschmidt:—Mosque, by J. H. Middleton.

Oriental Congress of Leyden.—The Sixth Oriental Congress, which met at Leyden on Sept. 10, 1883, under the Presidency of Prof. Kuenen, was a complete success—the weather being brilliantly fine, the papers and discussions good, and the attention and kindness shown to the visitors beyond all praise. As, however, no *official* account has as yet been published of the work of the various sections, a detailed account of it must be reserved for the Report of next year.

A portion of the Annual Report of the Council having been read, the following gentlemen were duly elected as the Council and officers of the ensuing year.

President.—Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D.

Director.—Major-General Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.—Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.; Sir Barrow H. Ellis, K.C.S.I.; James Fergusson, Esq., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.; and Arthur Grote, Esq.

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The CHAIRMAN (Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., Director) then said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—As you are all well aware, I am not filling this chair to-day as your President. I have merely, for the last four months, been acting as President in place of Sir Bartle Frere, our late President, who has been incapacitated, through illness, from continuing his duty in this respect to this Society. I need not dilate on Sir Bartle Frere's abilities or qualifications for the post of President. You all know him too well to render any eulogy of him on my part necessary. But he finds himself in such a state of health at present that he is neither able to perform the duty of President nor does

he entertain the hope of being able to do so in the future. Under these circumstances, the Council have considered the qualifications of one of the greatest Orientalists in this country or in Europe, and they have come to the conclusion that no one could better fulfil the duties of President, or do more honour to this Society, than Sir William Muir. His reputation is known, not only throughout this kingdom, but throughout Europe and Asia. I feel satisfied that he will meet all your expectations, and that he will carry on the affairs of this Society in the same efficient manner as they have been for many years past. I have great pleasure in handing over to him—vicariously, I should add—a most efficient Council and Secretary. Nothing could exceed the efficiency of either. As for our Secretary, he has performed his duties with assiduity and ability. I may say, indeed, that by his energy he has raised the Society to our present flourishing condition, with a Journal too, for the last four years, issued quarterly. I have no doubt that Mr. Vaux will continue his labours under Sir William Muir in the same manner as heretofore. Without, therefore, trespassing any further on your time, I will now call upon our new President to take the chair. (Sir Henry Rawlinson then vacated the chair, which was taken by the President, Sir William Muir.)

The PRESIDENT, in returning thanks for his election, said it was a great pleasure to him to receive such an honour. At the same time, they must all regret the reason of the absence from their midst of their former President, who was unable to continue the office for another term, to the great advancement of the interests of the Society, as they all believed. As for himself, they had done him (the President) a great honour, the more so as he had to confess to deficiency in times past in his attention to the affairs of the Society. He could only say that it would be his endeavour, while he held the office that they had done him the honour to confer upon him, to “turn over a new leaf,” and do

all he possibly could by being present and assisting the Council and Secretary in all their work towards the furtherance of the objects of this great Society. And it was a great Society, for he thought that this country was unduly indifferent to its obligations in the matter of Oriental literature. This country was so bound up, commercially, socially, and morally with India, that it was a matter of regret and surprise that the nation, as a nation, took so small an interest in Oriental subjects, and that, when they wanted information on many such matters, they had to go to Germany or some other foreign country, wherein a deeper interest was taken in Oriental affairs than with us. In this respect he considered the nation owed much to the Royal Asiatic Society for promoting the culture of Oriental sciences and literature, and he trusted that, in this respect, it would even do more in the future than it had done in the past.

Professor MONIER WILLIAMS, C.I.E., who had specially come from Oxford to give to the meeting some account of his recent visit to India and the Jaina and Buddhist temples there, was next called upon by the President to address the meeting. The Professor, who met with a cordial reception, said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—First, let me say that I have had great pleasure in hearing, in the report read by your Secretary, the reference to my late friend Mr. Eastwick. In the second place, let me say how delighted I am to see my friend Sir William Muir in the chair which he now occupies as President of your Society. He is, if I may say so, a square man in a square hole, and I am very much pleased to see him there. Next, it is expected that I should give you some account of my late travels in India, and I am told that I am to be limited to half an hour. Therefore, perhaps you will allow me to speak from notes, that I may the more rapidly address you. Let me first say that, notwithstanding my repeated visits to India, I feel more diffidence than ever in speaking before many here present,

who are much better acquainted with India than I am, and have done far better work there. Still India is changing so rapidly that many who left it even a few years ago will be interested in what I have to tell them. And, first, a few words about the Calcutta International Exhibition. During my stay of nearly a month, I went there almost every day. The Indian portion was in temporary buildings on the Maidān, opposite the Imperial Museum, and the non-Indian portion in the Museum itself and annexes. No one could have foreseen that the natives of all classes would have crowded into the Indian portion as they did, willingly paying their four annas each, not only men, but women; for one of the remarkable things was that the Exhibition opened the doors of many Zenanas. The women insisted on coming.

To one standing on the bridge connecting the Indian and non-Indian sections, the sight was extraordinary, and to both ethnologists and philologists afforded valuable lessons. A motley crowd of all peoples, races, tribes and castes, clothed in every variety of bright costume, and looking like a moving flower garden, pressed eagerly through the turnstiles, giving forth a confused Babel of loud voices in an infinite variety of dialects. Almost all thronged over the bridge towards the Indian portion. The non-Indian section, except, perhaps, the Australian, attracted few visitors. One great use of the Exhibition was that it seemed to teach the people to appreciate their own manufactures, arts and industries. In this way, I think, many extinct industries will be revived, and many new ones introduced. One had only to look at the beautiful wooden gates inlaid with Tār-work, sent by Mr. Growse, from Bulandshahr, and the magnificent carved stone gateway, sent by Major Keith, M.R.A.S., from Gwalior, to be convinced of this. Nor must I omit to mention how interested I was in the economic court of Dr. Watt, with its 5000 different varieties of rice, and its unique collection of Indian products, from silks to poison, and its wonderful

ethnological treasures of all kinds. But, after all, the dead exhibits were not so interesting as the living. The Government projected a sort of living inter-ethnic exhibition, which was partially carried out. Living specimens of the various frontier tribes and aborigines were sent to Calcutta under the charge of trustworthy Europeans. I gazed every day at some fresh arrival of picturesque groups of Nāgas, Ākhas, Mīrīs, Mishmīs, Daflas, Lepchas, Lopas, in every variety of dress and half-dress. Dr. Vinton, an American missionary, brought most singular specimens of Karens, of whom there are six different tribes scattered throughout Burma. 50,000 of these Karens have been converted to Christianity, and Dr. Vinton is a kind of king among them. They have a legend that the Bible once existed among them, before the advent of the white missionary, but that they had negligently left it at the root of a tree. There fowls came and scattered dust over it, and dogs carried it off. To atone for this neglect, they have had to endure great sufferings for many generations, till the Bible has been now restored to them by the white men.

Then there was a group of Nicobārīs—said to be of the Malay type—from the Nicobār Islands, and about 20 Andamanese, brought by Mr. M. V. Portman, M.R.A.S. Believers in Darwinism must have gazed with delight at these odd specimens of humanity, with their coal-black skins, woolly hair, stumpy nature, and generally ape-like appearance. Of course, they ought to have been stark naked, with the exception of a few long leaves hanging down behind, and looking like a tail, but Mr. Portman had clothed them decently in white garments. He has mastered their language, or jargon, as it ought rather to be called, and told me that every word ends in Dā. He is sending me articles to illustrate their domestic life, such as it is, for they have no conception of a God, never cultivate the soil, but live on roots. Their only idea of music is striking a kind of wooden sounding-board,

placed on the ground, with one foot. Another great object of interest to me was the Burmese theatre. A play was being acted every day, or, rather, the same continuous play, which was no other than the story of Rāma, from the Rāmāyaṇa. It was to last for 28 days at least, and consisted chiefly of a dialogue between Rāma and Sītā, who kept circling round a small shrub stuck in the ground, which, I suppose, represented the forest to which Rāma was banished. Rāma occasionally smoked a cigar and varied his dialogue by stopping to expectorate. Sītā was dressed in a tight dress, very like that worn by the women painted on the old willow pattern china. She now and then gave us a dance, so far as the limited range of her tight dress would allow. Some of the performers wore masks, and a band of musicians interposed at intervals with a discordant din. Then there was the Bengāli-Pāṭha-śālā, or indigenous school, in a little annex, where twice a week boys were taught before a crowd of spectators. First, there was the chanting of the multiplication table by all the boys, in a shrill scream. Then the Palm-leaf class wrote the alphabet and tables on palm-leaves. Next, the Plantain-leaf class wrote sentences on plantain leaves. After that came the Paper class, where paper was used for writing. Then the printed book class, when a few printed books were used. Finally, the boys sang a hymn to the Goddess of Learning (Sarasvatī), and to the Goddess of the Ganges (Gangā). One of the most curious and instructive sights for a study of Indian life was to be seen in the refreshment sheds. Whether the Exhibition was personified or deified by the natives, and regarded as a kind of incarnation of Vishṇu, who, as at Jagannāth-purī, had the power of suspending caste, I know not; but, certainly, eating went on in these sheds with perfect freedom, and without fear of contamination from European eyes.

And now permit me to say a few words about the centenary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (founded by Sir

W. Jones in 1784), which occurred while I was at Calcutta. A special meeting in celebration of the event took place at the fine rooms of the Society in Park Street, and a dinner afterwards. The Viceroy was present at the dinner, and made an excellent speech, and Mr. Reynolds, the President, gave an epitome of the history of the Society, speaking eulogistically of a galaxy of illustrious members of the Bengal Society, well known to all of us here—Jones, Colebrooke, Carey, Harrington, H. H. Wilson, Brian Hodgson, James and H. T. Prinsep, Torrens, and many others, and referring to the Centenary Review of the history of the Society, written for the occasion by Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra. In replying to the toast of “The Guests,” I ventured to allude to my personal reminiscences of one specially honoured in this Society, whose portrait I see before me, our former President and Director, H. H. Wilson. Let me repeat to you what I said of him:—“I remember when I was a youngster, soon after I received my appointment in the Indian Civil Service, I was made to go and call on Horace Hayman Wilson, and my boyish exclamation on leaving his presence was—‘What a dry old stick!’ But I soon found out that beneath that ‘dry’ exterior a warmer and truer heart never throbbed, and that the ‘stick’ possessed an intellect as pointed as the Kusha-grass (Kuśāgra-buddhi), and full of the fire of genius, like the Vedic Araṇi. His death was to me like the death of a father; and I have ever since been an ardent worshipper of his memory and a humble follower in his footsteps.”

And, now, allow me to take you, for a few minutes, to two or three other places visited by me before I left India in March last. First, Darjeeling:—I cannot help expressing my admiration of the engineers who constructed the marvellous railway, or, rather, steam tramway, from Silliguri right up to the heights which command the view of Mount Everest and Kinchingunga, the two highest moun-

tains of the world. The little engine, dragging a light train, whisks round curves, and describes figures of '8' on the brink of precipices, with the ease of a figure-skater on the ice. Near Darjeeling I gained a few ideas about the Buddhism of Tibet. I visited one of the nearest monasteries and temples, saw the prayer-wheels turned, the prayer-flags flying, the wandering mendicants with their *ḍamarus*, and the wild dances of the masqueraders, imitating the demon dance of the Gaṇas of Śiva. The conclusion I came to was that the Bhutias, Lepchas, and Tibetans generally, know nothing of pure Buddhism. They mix it up with Hindū superstitions, and really worship the image of Buddha as if he existed as a god ready and able to benefit them. Their chief religion consists in the fear of evil spirits. The numbers and variety of the amulets worn by the people who frequent the Darjeeling bazaars is remarkable, and the magical efficacy of the Dhurj or Vajra for scaring demons is an article of universal faith.

Next, about my visit to Buddha Gayā. This, in my opinion, is now one of the wonders of India, and, perhaps, one of the most interesting spots in the whole world. Here, as every one knows, was the sacred Pīpal-tree, under which, after six years of austerity and meditation, the young Prince Gautama was converted into the Buddha, and from which, as from a central focus, radiated that faith which now claims more adherents than any other of the religions of the world. Here, when I visited the place in 1876, there was a striking tower-like pagoda, still in fair preservation, with a terrace round it, and a veritable descendant of the Buddha's Sacred Fig-tree, which some Burmese of high rank, who had come to see the Prince of Wales at Calcutta, were in the act of worshipping. Now, during the past two years, General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar, his assistant, have—*mirabile dictu*—changed all this, and no little abuse have they justly incurred in consequence. The old temple is

said to be still there, *but is no longer to be seen*. It is incased by an entirely new brick structure, painted of a yellowish colour and resembling a huge Burmese pagoda, with a lofty central and two subordinate side towers. The central tower is 196 feet high, and crowned by a pointed umbrella-ornament, in seven tiers. The whole has cost a lac of rupees and is now quite finished, except that I noticed the remains of the bambu scaffolding over the entrance, where some projecting ornamentation has still to be completed.

Speaking in this place with little knowledge of art, and in the presence of Mr. Fergusson, I must leave Mr. Beglar to his tender mercies, but I trust Mr. Fergusson will allow me to express my admiration of Mr. Beglar as a most devoted and conscientious worker in the field of archæology. Doubtless, after having, eight years ago, had the old temple and its surroundings impressed indelibly on my mind, I stood for some minutes astounded, not to say almost speechless and petrified with astonishment, on first beholding the transformation; but, on looking down on the spacious excavated quadrangle which surrounds the new structure, with its beautifully-carved stone railings, with its recently-unearthed side temples and tombs, with its sacred trees and innumerable images of Buddha in eight or nine different attitudes, with its myriads of votive stūpas, small and large, piled one on the other in countless layers, I must confess that my feelings, in the end, experienced a revulsion. Whatever may be the verdict with regard to the restored temple, General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar have most assuredly accomplished a great work in these excavations. A more marvellous disentanglement of a kind of necropolis is not to be seen anywhere else, not even in Pompeii. The old Pīpal-tree was transplanted by Mr. Beglar to a neighbouring garden, and efforts were made to preserve it, but the Burmese pilgrims have, out of their excessive devotion, killed it by watering it with Eau-de-Cologne. Several

of these pilgrims were worshipping before the principal image of Buddha in the shrine at the basement of the great tower when I entered. They bowed down and touched the stone floor, and presented a curious mixture of offerings, consisting of rice, flowers, tin boxes of sardines, Huntley and Palmer's biscuits, Eau-de-Cologne, and packets of gold leaf, all the time intoning prayers. After finishing their worship, they occupied themselves for several hours in gilding the image with the gold leaf. I noticed that just behind the temple a rich Buddhist from Ceylon had quite recently set up a large horizontal stone tablet, with an inscription giving the old date of the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, B.C. 543, not accepting new theories. On the right of the temple entrance is a raised platform of earth with a Pīpal-tree growing on it, and idols of Vishṇu and Śiva set up under it. Here two or three groups of Hindus were performing Srāddhas with balls of rice, while some Buddhist pilgrims stood near, worshipping the tree. It struck me as an interesting exemplification of the intertwining of Buddhism with Hinduism and their interconnection and mutual toleration.

One of my chief objects in visiting India this time was to learn more about the Jains, and I am bound to confess that I learnt very little beyond what I knew already, for the Jains themselves are very ignorant of their own religion. Yet I went to some of their most sacred places, especially to the Hill of Pāras-nāth and Mount Abu. The former is called Śikhār, and is held by the Jains to be their most sacred place of pilgrimage in India. The reason is that more Jainas or Tirtham-karas have attained beatitude at Pāras-nāth than anywhere else. Hence, it is crowded with shrines of the 24 Jaina saints. The finest shrine at the very top had been recently struck by lightning and nearly destroyed. Long lines of pilgrims, in bright-coloured dresses, continually passed me. They toil up the whole height of 4500 feet, and neither eat nor drink till their

return. Rows of lepers lined the pathway, and I was told that a contractor brings them from all parts of India to work on the feelings of the pilgrims, and extract money from them.

Of all the Jain temples, none I saw anywhere equalled those on Mount Abu. The stone carvings there are exquisite, and the surrounding scenery is beautiful. Most of the Jain temples all over India are in charge of Brahmins. Two Digambara Jains, who visited me at Jaypur, spoke Sanskrit fluently and wore the Brahminical thread. They did not deny that they were half Brahmins, and held most of the tenets of Hinduism, except the infallibility of the Vedas. Their sacred books are in Sanskrit, yet are little known to us; whereas the sacred books of the other great division of the Jains—the Śvetāmbaras—are in Māgadhi Prākṛit, and are well known to European scholars, indeed, some have been printed. Dr. Weber has just given a long account of them in his *Indische Studien*. The two sects of Jains, without actually quarrelling, have no great love for each other. I believe the Digambaras, whose images are quite naked, are the elder sect, though this is often denied. They freely admitted me into their temples, whereas the Śvetāmbaras excluded me. As to the relative antiquity of Jainism and Buddhism, this is a disputed point which I cannot myself think yet settled. Aśoka is claimed as the patron of both Buddhists and Jains. The probability is that there was formerly one school of free thought which split into two branches, just as all other Indian schools of religious thought seem to do, and each then claims to have preceded the other.

Before concluding, let me say how much I have been impressed by the wealth of ancient monuments scattered everywhere throughout India. Many, I fear, are gradually suffering irreparable injury from the climate. I saw one exquisite Mahomedan tomb near Gwalior, quite as lovely in its way as the Tāj, falling into decay, and the unique Vajrāsana, or

thunderbolt throne of Buddha, though protected by brick walls, is exposed to the rain, and its curious markings are being effaced. I heard with deep regret that the office of Curator of Ancient Monuments has just been abolished, and with it the office of Assistant Curator, in which Major Keith has done such excellent service. Both will, I trust, be resuscitated in some form or other. There is work for a whole army of archæologists in India, and inscriptions enough for a thousand Mr. Fleets to decipher. With regard to the Indian Institute at Oxford, I am happy to tell you that I have brought back an immense number of specimens of the arts and produce of India, together with books for its library, and that the Supreme Government of Calcutta has assented to my proposal for founding six scholarships for deserving natives. This was one of my principal objects in making my recent journey, and I am now awaiting with some anxiety the approval of the Home Government, without which the scholars cannot be appointed. The Institute will be opened for work on the 11th of October in this year.

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From the Secretary of State for India in Council. Sacred Books of the East, vols. xv., xvii., xix., xxi., and xxiii.—Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, vols. vi. vii.—Archæological Survey of India. Vol. iv., Buddhist Cave-

Temples; vol. v., Elura.—Major-General Cunningham's Archæological Survey, vols. xv. and xvi.—Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan, by Major Raverty.—Flora of British India, Parts x. xi.—Calcutta Review, Nos. 152—156.—Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. cxcī.—Second Part of the Chronicles of Peru (Hakluyt Society), by C. R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S.—Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1883.—Colonel Wilson's History of Madras Army, vol. 3.—Census of the Indian Empire, 3 vols.—Report of the Census for Assam, 1881.—Administration of Mascat, Records of Government, No. 181.—Account of Durbar at Dehli, by Talboys Wheeler, translated into Persian.

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———— *Government of Madras.* Report on the Administration of Madras, 1882-3.—Meteorological Reporter, 1881-3.—Suggestions on Forest Administration, by Dr. Brandis, F.R.S., C.I.E.—List of Books printed at Madras.—Village War Statements, Census of 1881, twenty-two papers.—Administrative Report of Bangalore, 1882-3.—Ditto of Coorg, 1882-3.—Census of the Madras Presidency, 1881.

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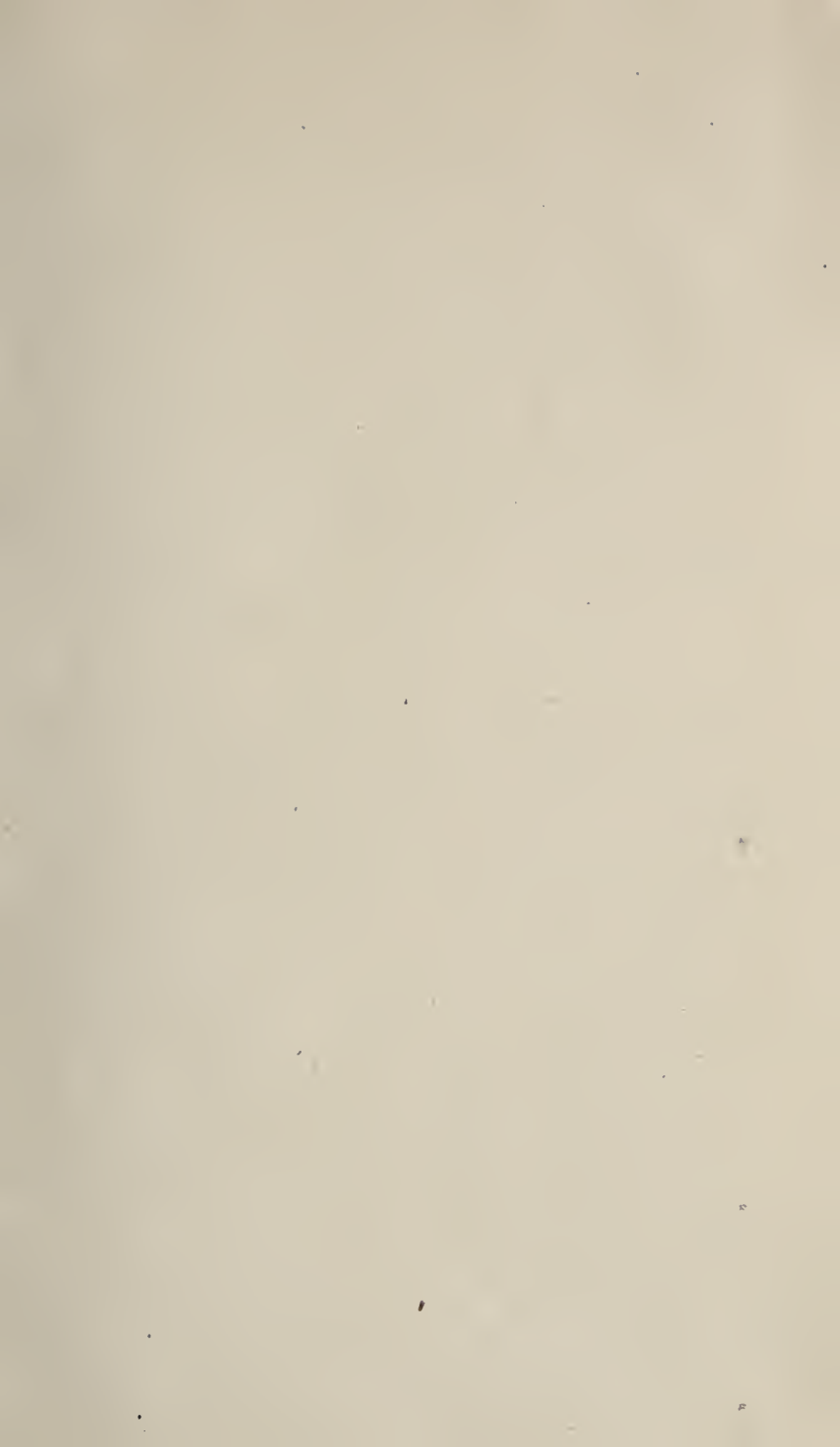
———— *Government of New Zealand.* Handbook to New Zealand, by James Hector, C.M.G., F.R.S.

———— *Government of Denmark.* Tillæg till Aarbøger for Nord. Oldkyndighed og historie, 1879-89.

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- *University of Oxford.* Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, vol. 1, Pt. 2.—Sukhavati Vyuhā, or the Land of Bliss.
- *University of Cambridge.* Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library at Cambridge.
- *Royal Institute of British Architects.* Simpson, W., Architecture in the Himalayas.—I'Anson, E., and Vacher, S., Mediæval and other Buildings in Cyprus.
- From H. St. Clair Baddeley, Esq., *Bedouin Legends and other Poems.* London, 1883.
- Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, Notice of a Copper Plate Grant: and Pandu Lena Caves at Nasik.
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